

EASTERN CAPTIVITY. 71

BY SIR JOHN KAYE, K.C.S.I.

1. *Journal of the disasters in Affghanistan, 1841-42. By Lady Sale.* London, 1843.
2. *Journal of Imprisonment in Affghanistan (continued and concluded) by Lieut. Vincent Eyre, Bengal Artillery.* London, 1843.
3. *Journals kept by Mr. Gully and Captain Denham, during a captivity in China in the year 1842.* Edited by a Barrister. London, 1844.
4. *The Bohhara Victims ; by Capt. Grover, F.R.S.* London, 1845.

WHEN the first stunning effects of that dire massacre in the Kabul passes, with which the year 1842 dawned so portentously upon India, had in some small measure subsided, the public mind turned from the contemplation of that great irreparable calamity, to a present evil of terrific import which filled it with sad forebodings and distracting fears—fears and forebodings, which magnified the evil, because they “could not discern the shapes thereof.” A band of British officers and British gentlewomen were prisoners in the hands of the Affghans. The fact was well established, none questioned it. The Englishwomen, and children, who had accompanied that ill-fated force into Affghanistan, had survived the great national immolation, only to become the living victims of the insanity which had drawn them there. A few English officers, rescued from the wreck of the army as hostages, or spared because they were husbands and fathers, had accompanied the women and children into captivity. They were at the mercy of Mahommed Akbar Khan—of the man, whose name from one end of India to another, was seldom uttered by British lips without the accompaniment of a curse.

Various were the thoughts—various the anticipations to which the knowledge of this event gave birth. Into different channels of speculation and conjecture flowed the apprehensions of the community. Many saw death in the pot. They prophesied that a terrible end was awaiting the luckless captives. The bloody drama, which had just been enacted in Affghanistan, was about to be closed by an epilogue as bloody. A crown was about to be set upon the terrible work of destruction by the consummation of another less extensive, but more deliberate butchery. Others beheld, in imagination, their ill-fated countrymen sold into hopeless captivity—outrages worse than death, it was thought, ~~were in store for the female captives ;~~

whilst the gallant souls, who had done their best in that unequal struggle, to uphold the waning character of England, were to be driven, like herded cattle, into far-off lands beyond the frosty Caucasus, to end their days as the wretched, heart-broken slaves of insolent Mahommedan task-masters. The heart sickened with unutterable fears; the cheek reddened with burning indignation, as men pictured to themselves acts of insult and barbarity, the most humiliating the most cruel, ever inscribed in the dark annals of human warfare and human crime.

A few—a very few—were more hopeful. They knew that the captives had been rescued from immediate death, and did not feel assured that they were reserved for a future sacrifice. Not seeing all crime, all cowardice, all treachery, written in characters of blood across the whole length and breadth of Afghanistan, these more sanguine natures ventured to hope that the prisoners would emerge, after a not unendurable captivity, in safety out of the hands of the Philistines—ventured to believe that the little band, who had survived the great national wreck were destined under Providence to live many years of happiness and freedom, and beneath the shadow of their own vines, to thank God for having made them prisoners of the circumcised foe.

Many and varied, as in this conjuncture, were the anticipations of the community, one common feeling of intense and painful interest, filled the hearts of the English in India. Every little scrap of information obtainable from any authentic source—nay, every uncertain rumour, and many such were current—was greedily devoured, hastily disseminated, and everywhere most volubly discussed. The names of the captives—names, in some instances scarce known before their captivity beyond their own regimental circles,—became familiar as household words. Heroes and heroines for the nonce, they suddenly began to fill an important space in the world's eye and seemed in a fair way to attain to the dignity of historical characters. Weeks, months passed away, and the fate of the prisoners was still involved painfully in doubt. Uncertain tidings from beyond the Indus, ever and anon came straggling in, intelligence, somewhat vague and unsatisfactory, reached us that the captives had been carried first to one hill fort, then to another; whilst, as time advanced, new names were added to the list, and hope sprung up in the breasts of many, who had not yet assured themselves, that their beloved relatives or friends had perished in the disastrous retreat, and therefore clung to the belief that they *might* be among the number of

the captives. Time brought with it, too, a certain sense of security. The captives had been spared up to a certain point, their case did not appear so desperate as it had been. Such brief communications as had been received from the prisoners themselves, recorded no terrible outrages—expressed no extremity of fears. True, they were exposed to surveillance—the letters might have been read by the enemy, and to complain, might have been perilous. Still, the general impression was that their lot, hard as it unquestionably was, had not so many terrors as the public mind had invested it with at the outset of the captivity. It was no longer regarded as “worse than death;” and men, who had exclaimed in the bitterness of their souls, “oh! would that they had perished with their companions in the passes,” now thanked God for having snatched these few sufferers from the vortex of the great destruction.

As the year advanced more certain intelligence of the condition of the prisoners was received in India. Even those who had been from the first most unwilling to believe that an Affghan chief could abstain from treating his prisoners with cruelty and indignity, were compelled reluctantly to acknowledge that the cup of bitterness and humiliation had not been filled to overflowing. There were, doubtless, some mitigations. The prisoners had not been slaughtered, the men had not been sold into slavery, the women had not been doomed to end their days in the degradation and pollution of a Mahommedan harem. Some even wrote cheerfully from their prison-house, spoke with gratitude of the treatment they had received, they had suffered much; but, for the most part, their sufferings had been inevitable sufferings—not aggravated by the wanton barbarity of their captors. To be sure, all this might be nothing more than a proof of Affghan guile—the craft of avarice, which knows that a living prisoner is worth more than a rotting corpse. Still there was some consolation in the thought, that the captives might be preserved if only for the ransom-money, which would be forthcoming on a future day, and good treatment too was something, though wrung from Affghan cunning and Affghan cowardice, and only another proof of the deep depravity of the national character. The worst possible use to which we can put a prisoner is to hang him. The Affghans knew at least this much—and had, it was said, enough of the wisdom of the serpent to turn their captives to better account.

The Army of Retribution assembled—for months it was an “Army of Impotence.” More than once was a negotiation for the release of the prisoner attempted. First one delegate, then

another, chosen from among the captives by the Affghan sirdars, appeared in the British camp. The prisoners were safe ; this was proved, upon the oral testimony of one of their own party. It was obvious, moreover, that the enemy had no desire to retain them ; that it rested with the British Government to release their subjects from captivity, or, by rejecting all the terms of the Affghan chiefs, to perpetuate their imprisonment. Various were the opinions expressed in this conjuncture. Some thought, and not unreasonably, that to push on a hostile force into the enemy's country would be to sacrifice the prisoners ; others believed that not to advance would be to abandon them to their fate. It seemed easier, if less honorable, to rescue them by negotiation than by force of arms. But other and weightier interests than the salvation of these captives were involved in the great question of advance or retirement ; and it was settled at last, irrespectively of their claims, to be considered in the adjustment of the balance. The army advanced on Kabul. The prisoners were removed beyond the reach of the invading force ; and again, in the estimation of the public, their situation became critical ; they were begirt with peril. What might not be anticipated from the baffled malignity, the despairing vengeance of the barbarian foe ?

But soon all India rang with triumphant joy and grateful acclamations. General Pollock had planted the British ensign on the Balla Hissar of Kabul, and the prisoners were safe in his camp. No intelligence had ever been received in India with more universal satisfaction. Every house, every bungalow tenanted by an European, was gladdened by the good tidings of victory, and men met each other with cheerful faces, in the public ways, to exchange expressions of congratulation and delight. The insolent foe had been humbled ; our disasters repaired, and the prisoners had been restored to their friends.

Soon the whole truth was known. The history of the captivity was no longer a sealed book. The prisoners were now permitted to speak and to write out ; to detail facts and to express opinions, without a thought of the surveillance of an ever-vigilant foe. Many characteristic anecdotes were soon afloat in the social atmosphere. Oral accounts of all that related to the imprisonment and the prisoners were every where current. Detached scraps of information, from time to time found their way into the public prints ; and far more rapidly than could have been anticipated, the community were gratified with full and particular narratives of the disasters in Affghanistan and the subsequent captivities, from the pens of two of the

prisoners, who came forward, in their own persons, to declare all they knew to the world. Few works have ever excited a more lively interest than the narratives of Lieutenant Eyre and Lady Sale ; few works have been more extensively circulated and more greedily devoured.

In England these contemporary histories were read and quoted ; wept and wondered over. In India, they produced other effects. Here the writers were summoned before a totally different tribunal. Their works were now to be judged by men not wholly ignorant of the events detailed in them, not wholly incompetent to form and to deliver correct opinions. They had to run the gauntlet not of ignorant reviewers, but of critics who had learnt in the hard school of experience, to decide upon the claims of these narratives to be regarded as just and impartial histories—of men, who had been actors in the scenes described, whose doings were recorded and whose merits were canvassed in the pages of the works now before the world.

The result, as might be expected, was a considerable amount of discussion—principally, carried on in the public prints—between different members of that little party of released captives, some of whom, believing themselves to have been wronged, now summoned their judges to the judgment seat. These controversies were chiefly carried on openly under the signatures of the parties concerned : but numerous anonymous writers entered the field at the same time, and one at least of the two narratives, was somewhat severely handled by these knowing critics—who knew as much of what had taken place, as the writers who had come forward with their green and red octavos—and ventured, therefore, sometimes not very courteously, to set the historians right. It is irksome to our gallantry to be compelled to add that the work which suffered most severely from this critical manipulation, was that written by the Lady.

With these controversies we desire not to meddle. To us the personalities of the affair were invested with little interest. Another question of a more general character was discussed at the same time, and of the progress of this discussion we were not inattentive observers. It was now to be decided whether the prisoners had been, as was anticipated, cruelly treated by their captors, or whether the conduct of the Affghan gaolers was not, all the circumstances of the case considered, honorable to the national character—to humanity at large. The question was never fairly settled. The passions of men had not sufficiently cooled down to admit of its fair and temperate discussion, as an interesting historical question.

On either side there was a point to be gained, irrespective of the real merits of the question. Both parties had to prove that they had been right—to establish a character for sagacity—to illustrate by a reference to admitted facts, the soundness of their former positions. There was prejudice on either hand to contend against : and it may be doubted whether the facts admitted as evidence availed to move, one tittle to the right or to the the left, the foregone conclusions of the controversialists. All were, in truth, advocates—none judges. The balance was never held by a firm and equal hand.

We believe that the time is now present, when all the circumstances of the Affghan war can be considered by reasonable minds without prejudice and discussed without passion. We do not now hear on every side the language of execration ; we do not see quiet, soberminded men lashed into a whirlpool of turbulent excitement, swelling with wrath and indignation, and burning to execute a frightful vengeance on the enemies who had confounded our politics and humbled our pride. We do not hear just and impartial men denouncing, in the same breath, atrocities committed by the enemy, and defending—ay, recommending—the commission of similar atrocities by our own troops. The equilibrium of the public mind, so sadly shaken by the earthquake shock of an unparalleled disaster, is now restored, and even the conduct of our Affghan enemies may be discussed with some approach to moderation and justice.

We doubt not that many, like ourselves, when considering this question, permitted their thoughts to take a wider range than it at first appeared to embrace ; and soon found themselves wandering into new fields of enquiry and speculation. The subject of the treatment of prisoners is one well worth regarding in its general aspect ; and in truth, we do not know that the conduct in this respect of an individual nation can be fairly estimated, without comparing it with the manner, in which other nations of the world are wont to comport themselves in similar conjunctures.

To elaborate such a subject as this would require the space of volumes ; and volumes of deep interest might be filled with illustrations drawn from the many narratives of captivity with which the literature of all countries abounds. Our space is limited, and from the abundance of materials before us, it is necessary that we should make but scanty selections. Still we are not without a hope that enough may be condensed within the limits of a single article to enable our readers to form a correct estimate of the general character of captivity in the

East, and in accordance with this standard, fairly to determine the extent to which the Affghans, as captors, are to be condemned, and our countrymen, as captives, to be pitied.

There is no description of literary work more interesting—none which is read with greater avidity, and which takes a firmer hold of the reader's mind—than those personal memoirs, which embrace a narrative of sufferings experienced during a season of imprisonment. It would require a larger stock of obduracy and indifference, than falls to the share of most Christian men, to peruse such narratives without many a heart-throb of sympathy and many a spasm of indignation. The simple naked truth, with the homely minuteness of details with which these memoirs abound, is more touching than the highly-wrought effectiveness of the most artistic fictitious history. The pathos of reality goes straight to the heart. We suffer with the sufferer. We sit beside him on his bed of straw, and share the solitude of his dreary prison-house. Whether we read of the victims of political intolerance—of religious persecution—of personal animosity—or of national contentions; of poets and philosophers, condemned to expiate the offences of free thought in a land of slavery—of patriots, suspected of a hatred of tyranny—of warriors, taken by the insolent foe, and sentenced to a life of pining misery in chains,—whether we commence with Tasso in the dungeons of Ferrara, a poet guilty of too much sublimity of thought and too much fervour of feeling—too passionate in his poetry and his love, or think of Galileo, under the ban of Papal tyranny, paying the penalty of that audacity, which disperses error and proclaims to the world demonstrable truth, of Cervantes, striving to brighten up the gloom of his prison-house, by creating, with the magic wand of the Romancer, ideal shapes of beauty and of mirth, to share his solitude; of our Eliot, philosophising in his Tower-cell, the first to suffer in the cause of that liberty, which ere long was too mighty to be put down by the hand of a prerogative king; of Prynne, the victim of a semi-papal hierarchy, scratching "comfortable cordials" on the sides of that damp wall—his Jersey prison-house;—or whether, entering upon later times, we dwell upon the sufferings of Toussaint L'Ouverture, the high-souled negro leader, starving with cold and hunger, in his ever-dripping, plashy-cell, on the bleak wilds of Burgundy, sacrificed by painful inches at the altar of Napoleon's despotic ambition; or Silvio Pellico, one of the many victims of Austrian tyranny, scratching fine thoughts on his prison-table, and, lacking other companionship, entering into fellowship with a spider; or Niemcuvitz, suffering for his poor country,

unhappy Poland, pacing his dungeon-floor like a wild beast, until he had worn a sunken road across the hard pavement ;—whether we dwell on these, or others like them, such as our own Raleigh, with the long years of imprisonment spent by him in grave studies, writing world-histories when suffered not to look, with fleshly eye, beyond the narrow limits of his dungeon—or Boetius, discoursing on the consolations of Philosophy, which every prisoner needs so much—or Bonnivard, the Genevese patriot, chained to a pillar in the dreary dungeons of Chillon ;—of these and other great men and great sufferers—and the catalogue might be swelled to any length—we cannot think without taking an interest in their hard fate, far beyond that which any ideal sufferings, whatever be the pathos with which the romancer describes it, can ever excite ;—we cannot but grieve for the oppressed, burn with hatred of the oppressor, and carry with us long after we have laid down the volume, deeply engraven on our hearts, vivid remembrances of many minute picture-like details of prison-life, which the memory will not willingly let die. The effect of all these narratives is eminently painful. They teach us what imprisonment really is ; they teach us that the mild punishment, in which Christian legislators delight, is one which often converts life into so grievous a curse, that death is looked forward to as a deliverance—one indeed, which kills slowly, by inches destroying body and mind and bringing with it daily terrors, beside which the gibbet is but a holiday spectacle.

To these narratives of European captivity, pregnant with interest as they are, we can only incidentally allude. Our Indian annals are unfortunately but too full of painful prison-scenes—of records of captivity, rendered the more grievous by the added curse of the fell tropical climate, and often by the savagely ingenious barbarity of Pagan or Mahomedan gaolers, who have thought that in refining the tortures to which they have subjected the unbeliever, they have done their gods good service. From these, or rather a few taken almost at random from these, we must draw our illustrations. There are many painfully interesting narratives of Indian captivity, which in the abundance of our materials, we are compelled reluctantly to put aside. Our career in India has been one of warfare and bloodshed ; and though victory has, save in a few extraordinary cases, been the constant attendant of our arms, it has rarely been our fortune to engage in a war of any extent or duration without consigning a few of our countrymen to the endurance of all the aggravated horrors of captivity—in this burning clime.

The conquest of Bengal by Clive and Watson—an event precipitated by the most notorious of all Indian captivities, the miserable affair of the Black Hole,—was marked by the loss of several European prisoners, who were murdered by their inhuman captors ;—but of all the military transactions in which we have been engaged since we first ceased to be a party of simple traders, none have presented so many illustrations of our present subject, as the wars in the Carnatic and Mysore with Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultan. The horrors of these captivities are almost unexampled. In the characters of the Mysore Rulers, father and son, the fiercest Mahommedan bigotry was united with a natural ferocity of disposition which made cruelty a pastime, and it may fairly be questioned, whether history can supply a parallel to the character of Hyder Ali, unless it be in the person of his successor. The influence of their wickedness extended far and wide, for everywhere throughout their territories, they were represented by deputies, who in their more limited spheres, exerted themselves to out-Hyder Hyder in the energy and refinement of the barbarities which they exercised upon their victims. Nothing has ever exceeded—perhaps, we may write, that nothing has ever equalled the ingenuity which these wretches seem to have exerted in the application of the most refined cruelty to purposes of human torture. Captivity in all its bitterness was, indeed, tasted by the unhappy men who fell into the hands of these un pitying barbarians. Many, after enduring all the horrors of imprisonment, were put to death by their captors ; many, unable to bear up against the sufferings to which they were subjected found a merciful end to their captivity in death. Few lived to tell the tale of horror ; but enough has come down to us, to enable us to form a true estimate of the exquisite sufferings of those, who died under the hands of their goalers, narratives have been written and published, which none can read without a creeping of the flesh.

As a specimen of these narratives, we may not unfitly take a memoir written by a Captain Campbell, who fell into the hands of Hyder Ali, about the year 1780, and who after enduring extraordinary sufferings, escaped to record his miserable experiences in a series of letters written to his sons. Campbell was returning to India by, what is facetiously called, the overland route, because almost the entire journey between the two countries is performed by sea. On his voyage from the Persian Gulph, he was shipwrecked on the South-Western Coast of India, and together with a few other survivors, was taken prisoner by Hyder's officers. Among the passengers in

the vessel was a young man named Hall, who shared Campbell's sufferings, but who was less able to bear up against the accumulation of anguish by which he was oppressed and which ultimately destroyed him. The narrative, though disfigured throughout by much execrable taste and false philosophy, is painfully interesting ; and there is intrinsic evidence of its perfect fidelity.

Though we admire not the writer, we believe him. Other narratives, as interesting might be selected, but none, which on the whole will answer our purpose better, as there are none, which render us more familiar with the multifarious aspects—each one more hideous than its predecessor—which captivity in the East may assume,—none in which are traced more minutely, and with less apparent exaggeration, the unendurable sufferings of an individual prisoner in the hands of a savage and remorseless enemy.

This unhappy man was cast on shore in a state of utter nudity ; and in this woeful plight was seized, together with his companions, by some of Hyder's people, to be carried before the Governor of the place. His nakedness distressed him ; and a lascar, perceiving his "great concern, tore into two a piece of cloth, which he had tied round his waist and gave him part of it." "This simple act," adds the narrator, "of a poor uninformed black man, whom Christian charity would call an idolater, methought had more of the true and essential spirit of charity in it, than half the ostentatious parading newspaper public characters of London—the slough of purse-proud vanity and unwieldy bloated wealth. . . . The lower order of people of a certain country, I know, would think a man in such circumstances as I was then, a fitter object of pleasantries than pity." Soon after this, Captain Campbell, having thus paraded the benevolence of the achievement, tells us that he divided his moiety of the Lascar's rag with Mr. Hall. "You may well conceive our misery from this," he says, "if other circumstances were wanting, that such a thing as a rag of linen, not worth six pence, was a very material accommodation to us both."

The food of these wretched prisoners was not much more abundant than their raiment. "For some days," writes Capt. Campbell, describing his sad journey into the interior, "we lay in this place, exposed to the weather, without even the slender comfort of a little straw to cover the ground, beneath us—our food, boiled rice, served very sparingly, twice a day by an old woman, who first threw a handful or more of it to each upon a very dirty board, which we devoured with those spoons

nature gave us." But their sufferings had only just commenced. In a little while they became the prisoner of one Hydut Sahib, who appears to have been a worthy and congenial representative of Hyder, and to have done his best to render the condition of the prisoners as pitiable as human cruelty could make it. They had need of all their philosophy; and according to Captain Campbell it was exerted not without success:—

"One thing, however, I must not forget, is the fortitude with which he and all of them bore their punishment: it was truly heroic indeed, beyond all belief. Nothing could surpass it, except the skill and inventive ingenuity which the barbarians exhibited in striking out new modes of torture. My soul sickened with horror at the sight: the amiable Hall could worse support it than his own miseries, and lost all that fortitude, in his feeling for others' misfortunes, which he displayed in so unbounded a share in his own; and often, very often, we found the rigour and severity of our own situation utterly forgotten in our anguish and sympathy for the sufferings of others. Never shall I forget it; never shall I think without horror of the accursed policy and wicked tyranny of the eastern Governments, where every sense of humanity is extinguished, and men, more merciless than the tiger, riots in the blood of his fellow-creatures without cause.

Mr. Hall, notwithstanding the various sufferings both of mind and body which he had undergone, began to recruit, and get a little better; and this circumstance, of itself, diffused a flow of spirits over me that contributed to my support. We consoled each other by every means we could devise—sometimes indulging in all the luxury of woe—sometimes rallying each other, and, with ill-dissembled sprightliness, calling on the Goddess Euphrosyne to come with her '*quirps and cranks, and wreathed smiles*;' but, alas! the mountain nymph, sweet liberty, was far away, and the goddess shunned our abode. We however began to conceive that we might form a system for our relief, and, by a methodical arrangement, entrench ourselves from the assaults of grief; to this end, we formed several resolutions, and entered into certain engagements—such as, never to repine at our fate, *if we could*—to draw consolation from the more dreadful lot of others, *if we could*,—and to encourage hope—hope that comes to all, and, on the whole, to confine our conversation as much as possible to subjects of an agreeable nature: but these, like many other rules which we lay down for the conduct of life, were often broken by necessity, and left us to regret the fallibility of all human precautionary systems."

Hall, from the first, had been affected by one of the many cruel scourges of a tropical climate. The dispensations of Providence were no less severe than the cruelties of man. Exposure to all the vicissitudes of the season—to heat, damp, and cold, without anything to mitigate their severity—scanty and unwholesome food—anxiety of mind and bodily sufferings,—had brought on a severe attack of dysentery; and to render this added curse the more intolerable, the unhappy man, whilst in this distressing condition, was chained to the companion of his sufferings. Campbell and Hall had been yoked together by

their inhuman gaoler,* and no representations, no entreaties could induce the savage wretch to release them from this dreadful bondage. Hall, who appears to have been a man of much delicacy and sensitiveness of mind, suffered more from the thought of the offensive nature of his disease, when thus unable, for a moment, to escape from this enforced contact with his companion, than from the agonies of the complaint itself, and when death came at last, as come it did, it was indeed a deliverance. Campbell, amid the darkness of a melancholy spiritual gloom, thus records the last moments of his poor friend.—

“As it must be much more naturally matter of astonishment that any bodily strength could support itself under such complicated calamities, than that infirmity should sink beneath them, you will be rather grieved than surprised to hear that poor Mr. Hall was now approaching to his end with hourly accelerated steps. Every application that I made in his favour was refused, or rather treated with cruel neglect and contemptuous silence; and I foresaw, with inexpressible anguish and indignation, that the barbarians would not abate him, in his last minutes, one jot of misery, and that my most amiable friend was fated to expire under every attendant horror that mere sublunary circumstances could create. But that pity which the mighty, the powerful, and enlightened denied, natural benevolence, operating upon an uninformed mind, and scanty means, afforded us. Hydut Sahib, the powerful, the wealthy, the Governor of a great and opulent province, refused to an expiring fellow-creature a little cheap relief—while a poor Sepoy taxed his little means to supply it: one who guarded us, of his own accord, at hazard of imminent punishment, purchased us a lamp and a little oil, which we burned for the last few nights.

Philosophers and Divines have declaimed upon the advantages of a well-spent life, as felt, *in articulo mortis*, and their efforts have had, I hope, some effect upon the lives of many. To witness one example such as Mr. Hall held forth, would be worth volumes of precepts on this subject. The unfeigned resignation with which he met his dissolution, and the majestic fortitude with which he looked in the face the various circumstances of horror that surrounded him, rendered him the most dignified object I ever beheld or conceived, and the most glorious instance of conscious virtue triumphing over the terrors of death and the cunning barbarity of mankind. Were the progress of virtue attended with pain, and the practice of vice with pleasure, the adoption of the former would be amply repaid by its soothing in the dreadful moment, even if it were to accompany us no farther. About a quarter of an hour before he died, Mr. Hall broached a most tender subject of conversation, which he followed up with a series of observations, so truly refined, so exquisitely turned, so delicate and so pathetic, that it seemed almost the language of inspiration, as if, in proportion to the decay of the body, intellect increased, and the dying man had become all mind. Such a conversation I never remembered to have heard or heard of. Its effects upon me were wonderful, for, though the combination of melancholy circumstances attending my now critical situation had almost raised my mind to frenzy, the salutary influence of his words and example controlled the excesses of

* Capt Campbell here says, that they devoured the very dirty board, but we suppose that we are to set this assertion down to the account of a little syntactical confusion.

my sensations ; and I met the afflicting moment of his departure with a degree of tranquillity, which, though not to be compared to his, has on reflection appeared to me astonishing. This conversation continued to the very instant of his death ; during which time he held my hand clasped in his, frequently enforcing his kind expressions to me with a squeeze—while my sorrow, taking its most easy channel, bedewed my face with tears. As he proceeded, my voice was choaked with my feeling ; and I attempted once or twice in vain to speak. His hand grew cold . he said his lower limbs were all lifeless, and that he felt death coming over him with slow creeping steps. He again moralized, thanking God with pathetic fervour for his great mercy in leaving him his intellects unclouded, and the organ of communication (the tongue) unenfeebled, that to the last, he might solace his friend and fellow-sufferer. “ Ah ! Campbell ! ” continued he, “ to what a series of miseries am I now leaving you ! Death in such circumstances is a blessing—I view mine as such ; and should think it more so, if it contributed, by awakening those people to a sense of their cruelty, to soften their rigour to you : but cruelty like theirs, is systematic, and stoops not to the control of the feelings. Could I hope that you would yet escape from their clutches, and that you would once more press your family to your bosom, the thought would brighten still the moment of our separation : and Oh ! my friend, could I still further hope that you would one day see my most beloved and honoured parents, and tell them of my death without wringing their hearts with its horrid circumstances, offer them my last duties, and tell how I revered them—if too, you could see my—, and tell her how far, far more dear than——” Here he turned his eyes toward the lamp, then faintly on me, made a convulsive effort to squeeze my hand—cried out, “ Campbell ! Oh, Campbell ! the lamp is going out ! and expired without a groan.”

The situation of the survivor now indeed became most dreadful. The human mind can scarcely picture to itself any thing more horrible. Campbell was chained to a rotting corpse. Putrefaction came on, as in Eastern climes it ever does, with fearful rapidity ; and still the inhuman captor sternly refused to listen to the promptings of mercy ; but we must here again permit the sufferer to tell his own melancholy tale :—

“ It is impossible for me to express to you the agonies of mind I underwent during the rest of the night. In the morning, a report was made to the Commandant, of the death of Mr. Hall ; and in about an hour after he passed me by, but kept his face purposely turned away from me to the other side. I patiently waited for the removal of the dead body till the evening, when I desired the Sepoys who guarded me to apply for its being removed. They returned, and told me that they could get no answer respecting it. *Night came on, but there was no appearance of an intention to unfetter me from the corpse.* The Commandant was sitting in his court, administering, in the manner I have before described, *justice* ! I called out to him myself with all my might, but got no answer from him. Nothing could equal my rage and consternation , for, exclusive of the painful idea of being shackled to the dead body of a friend I loved, another circumstance contributed to make it a serious subject of horror. In those climates, the weather is so intensely hot, that putrefaction almost instantly succeeds death ; and meat that is killed in the morning, and kept in the shade, will be unfit for dressing at night. In a subject, then, on which putrefaction had made advances even before death, and which remained exposed to the open air, the process

must have been much more rapid. So far, however, from compassionating my situation, or indulging me by a removal of the body, their barbarity suggested to them to make it an instrument of punishment ; and pertinaciously adhered to the most mortifying silence and disregard of my complaints. For several days and nights it remained attached to me by the irons. I grew almost distracted—wished for the means of putting an end to my miseries by death, and could not move without witnessing some new stage of putrescence it attained, or breathe without inhaling the putrid effluvia that arose from it—while myriads of flies and loathsome insects rested on it, the former of which, every now and then visited me, crawling over my face and hands, and lighting in hundreds on my victuals. I never look back at this crisis without confusion, horror, and even astonishment ; and, were it not connected with a chain of events preceding and subsequent to it, too well known by respectable people to be doubted, and too much interwoven with a part of the history of the last war in India to admit of doubt, I should not only be afraid to tell, but absolutely doubt myself, whether the whole was not the illusion of a dream, rather than credit the possibility of my enduring such unheard-of hardships without loss of life or deprivation of senses."

At length, when the corpse was in such a state as to render it a work of difficulty to remove it, in a compact mass of corruption, the fetters were loosed :—

" At last, when the body had reached that shocking loathsome state of putrefaction which threatened that further delay would render removal abominable, if not impossible, the monsters agreed to take it away from me—and I was so far relieved ; but the mortification and injury I underwent from it, joined to the agitation of the preceding week, made a visible inroad on my health. I totally lost my spirits, my appetite entirely forsook me : my long-nourished hopes fled ; and I looked forward to death as the only desirable event that was within the verge of likelihood or possibility.

One day, my opposite friend (the native prisoner) gave me a look of the most interesting and encouraging kind ; and I perceived a more than usual bustle in the citadel, while the Sepoys informed me that they were ordered on immediate service, and that some events of great importance had taken place. From this feeble gleam, my mind, naturally active, though depressed by circumstances of unusual weight, again took fire, and hope brightened with a kind of gloomy light the prospect before me : I revolved a thousand things, and drew from them a thousand surmises ; but all as yet was only conjecture with me. In a day or two, the bustle increased to a high pitch, accompanied with marks of consternation : the whole of the troops in the citadel were ordered to march ; and the commandant, and a man with a hammer and instruments, came to take off my irons.

While they were at work taking off my irons, I perceived that they were taking off those of the native prisoner opposite to me also. He went away under a guard : we looked at each other complacently, nodded and smiled, as who should say, " we hope to see one another in happier times." But, alas ! vain are human hopes, and short and dark is the extent of our utmost foresight. This unhappy man, without committing any sort of offence to merit it, but in conformity to the damnable, barbarous policy of those countries, was, by the Jemadar's orders, taken forth, and his throat cut ! This the Jemadar himself afterwards acknowledged to me—and, what was still more abominable, if possible, undertook to justify the proceeding upon the principles of reason, sound sense, and precedent of Asiatic policy."

We cannot afford space sufficient to enable us to pursue this narrative any further. Campbell's sufferings having reached their climax, now began somewhat to abate; the rigour of his captivity, by degrees, relaxed, and he at last effected his escape. The record is one, indeed, of almost incredible suffering—the details, of a most revolting character; and the inhumanity recorded difficult to understand. These prisoners were not even prisoners of war; they were not taken with arms in their hands, they were a set of helpless, harmless men, cast by the elements on an inhospitable shore—their sufferings, endured almost in secrecy, and unknown by their friends, could not have acted as warnings to others. They were tortured, from a mere love of cruelty—seemingly aiming at nothing beyond the gratification of a ferocious lust. It is altogether a singular chapter in the Philosophy of Man.

We now turn to another—or rather to a new section of the same chapter—for we have still the same torturers on the stage; Hyder Ali, his son, and his creatures. The narrative, which we have now placed before us, is one entitled the “Captivity, sufferings and escape of James Scurry, who was detained a prisoner during ten years in the dominions of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Saib.” Scurry was a Devonshire boy. He was shipped on board the *Hannibal* in 1780, and had the misfortune to be taken, when to the east of the Cape, a prisoner by the French fleet. With the other prisoners he was landed at Cuddalore, and the French admiral, to his eternal disgrace, delivered over the whole party to the tender mercies of Hyder Ali. In the first instance they were taken to the Fort of Chillenbroom, but were soon moved off to Bangalore. “No butcher ever drove oxen with more cruelty than they were driven.” After a march of twenty-one days, they reached their destination, and then the party was divided, and Scurry, with other prisoners, carried off to Burrampúr. Here they were for some days fed upon rice, when their gaolers “changed it to *ragee*, the flour of which is nearly as black as coal. This no doubt,” he says, “occasioned the death of numbers of our poor fellows, who died in excruciating agonies, which I think would not have been the case, if they had medical assistance—but they might as well have asked for mountains of gold, as anything of this nature.” Out of this diminished number, however, a small corps of boys was formed—fifteen in number—who were soon associated with other boys from the different parties of prisoners. The whole number—amounting to fifty-two—were then carried off to Seringapatam, where, having been well drugged with magun, they were formally Mahomedanised;

dressed out in oriental habiliments and formed into a separate Company. On the death of Hyder Ali, however, they were incorporated with Tippoo's slave-battalions, and the consideration, which had before been shown to them as "Hyder's children," for so they were called, soon resolved itself into brutal and ignominious treatment, of which the following extract contains a sample :—

"Once we were kept without food for two days ; and conscious we had done nothing to deserve it, we sallied forth to the durbar (a seat of justice so-called,) in order to exhibit a complaint of our grievances to the killadar, but Abdel Gunney, to whom I have adverted, learning our intentions, was before us and intimated to the killadar to take care of his person, for that we were coming in a body, and he knew not for what purpose. This alarmed the Governor ; and we no sooner arrived, than we were surrounded by a battalion of Sepoys, and our interpreter, Clark, a Lieutenant in the Company's service, who had begun to speak, was knocked down, and beaten in a most shocking manner. While he lay on the ground, they put him in heavy irons, and took him away, nor do I recollect ever seeing him afterwards. All this time we were secured by the Sepoys, who had orders to prime and load, and to fix their bayonets ; and all this against fifty-two defenceless boys. Judge of our situation, my good reader, at this crisis ! We were seized, and each of us was bound with two new ropes, confining our hands behind us ; and, to make us secure, a strong man enclosed our arms, and with his knee almost dislocated our shoulders ; many of us had the marks in our arms for some years after. This done, we were wheeled to the right, then to the left, by the myre, or adjutant, in broken English, who would frequently, in the most contemptuous manner, cry out, "General Matthews."—"Colonel Bailey."—"Captain Ramney," and repeat the names of many officers they then had in their custody, of whom I shall very soon give the reader an accurate account. We were hauled in this degrading manner, until I and several more fainted ; when I came to myself, we were all seated on the ground. I was bound between two lads, both midshipmen of the *Hannibal*, who told me, when I fell they fell, with most of the rest ; those who did not, informed us that so many falling, they were ordered to sit down. The skin of our breasts was like a drum head, and I am conscious to this day, if it had not been for the humanity of the durga, an officer equal to a sergeant, in slackening the ropes about twelve o'clock at night, very few would have survived till morning. This was done on his part at a great risk : may God reward him for it !

The next day we were ordered to be united, one by one, and our heads to be again shaved,* which was performed ; our ears also were bored, and a slave's mark was put in each of them. This being done, we were prohibited from speaking to each other in English, under pain of severe punishment. We were then marched, or led crawling, rather, to our square, where they gave those who could immediately make use of it, some food. Here we met every day, more or less, with severe treatment, until the year 1784, when a peace was concluded between the East India Company and Tippoo."

* Not contented with shaving and circumcising the youths, the Mussalmans scalded them in huge coppers, to boil the impurities of their bodies. "The reason assigned for this," says Scurry, "was that we had eaten a great quantity of pork in our time, and were therefore unclean."

Here is another specimen of the manner in which these poor creatures were treated :—

" Shortly after the arrival of General Matthews, Tippoo, thinking his mode of punishment towards those poor creatures who happened to fall under his displeasure not severe or terrific enough, ordered nine large tiger cages to be made and placed opposite his kerconah, or treasury. They were arranged there according to his order, and soon tenanted, each with a large tiger. After the death of Colonel Bailey, we were paraded before these ferocious animals, and had an opportunity of seeing them fed once or twice a day ; one of the nine was as black as a coal, the only one I ever saw of that colour. They were all taken in the Curakee jungles, which abound with elephants, tigers, wild boars, panthers, tiger cats, leopards, &c., and lie about twenty miles from Patam, and about ten from Mysore. Those tigers, above stated, were designed for the punishment of high crimes and misdemeanours ; three of his principal officers, namely, his head inche-walla, or general postmaster, his buxey, or paymaster-general, and another were severally thrown to the tigers and devoured in an instant, all but their heads ; for which purpose the tigers were always kept hungry ! these all suffered within the short space of four months."

In 1784, a peace with Tippoo was concluded—many of the prisoners in the Sultan's hands, were given up, but Scurry and his companions, of whom, in all probability, little was known in the British camp, were abandoned to their fate :—

" One morning, we were all sent for in a great hurry, and seated on the ground in front of the palace. An hour elapsed, during which period hope and fear alternately succeeded. A few were quite sanguine that we were going to be released. Vain imagination ! We were escorted under a strong guard to Mysore, nine miles from the capital, where we were separated, and sent to different prisons. The spot I was in, was the fatal place where Captain Ramney and Lieutenants Fraser and Sampson had their throats cut ; and about this period, Lieutenants Rutledge and Spediman were Mahommed-anized. The latter cut his own throat between the Mysore gates ; and the former, an amiable character, after surviving him about three years, being suspected of correspondence with the English, was sent to Nairandroog, or rock of death, perhaps as unwholesome a spot as any in Asia. If this did not answer the end intended, that of putting a period to his existence, it is highly probable that prison, or the but-ends of muskets did. This Nairandroog was the place to which the afflicted Hindus were sent by hundreds."

During four miserable years, Scurry and his companions continued to bear the burthen of this oppressive captivity, hurried from place to place, often threatened with death, and often on the verge of starvation. Many of the party died ; some were murdered ; and the sufferings of those who lived were such as to make them envy the departed. Tippoo had taken it into his head to provide this battalion with wives, and the young men had all been regularly married according to the ceremonials of Mahommedanism.* This does not seem to have mitigated

* Scurry's account of this transaction is somewhat amusing, we may therefore give it, in a note :—

" We were one day strangely informed, that each of us, who was of a proper age, was to

their griefs; and when at last they contrived to effect their escape, the joy of deliverance was clouded over by the wretchedness of being compelled to abandon their wives and children. On the renewal of the war, the prisoner-battalion affected great loyalty in the cause of the Sultan, and were employed by him in operations against the Mahrattas. Some of them were killed, when fighting with much gallantry, and many of the remainder took advantage of the opportunity afforded by the confused state of the country to make their escape; and after undergoing considerable hardships and privations on the way, arrived in safety in the English camp. These prisoners were principally young naval men—many of them midshipmen, who had been taken prisoners by the French. The entire number of English prisoners, which during the war fell into the hands of Hyder and his son, it would be difficult to compute. Among these were a number of children. Besides the battalion composed of Scurry and his companions—all British youths—there was, we are informed, a company of European boys at Seringapatam, too young to carry fire-arms—the eldest being not more than fifteen. These juvenile captives appear to have excited the sympathies of the ladies of the seraglio, by whom and their attendants the youngsters were kindly treated; but when the British army, under Cornwallis, advanced upon the capital, Tippoo ordered them to be put to death.

It would be easy to multiply instances illustrative of the horrors of eastern captivity, under Hyder Ali and his son. We have many volumes of interesting personal memoirs available for such a purpose, but we have found it necessary to make scanty selections, and though it has been our object to quote

have a wife, for this piece of news we were extremely sorry, but there was no possibility of our preventing their designs. There were, at this time, a number of young girls, who had been driven with their relations out of the Carnatic, when Hyder infested that country, which he almost overran, as already stated. Some of these poor creatures were allotted for us, and one morning, we were ordered to fall into rank and file, when those girls were placed one behind each of us, while we stood gazing at one another, wondering what they were about to do. At last, the Durga gave the word, "To the right about face," with the addition (in the Moonsh language) of "take what is before you." This, when understood, some did, and some did not, but the refractory were soon obliged to comply. Thus they fed their vanity, by making our first interview as ludicrous as possible, each being by this means supplied with a piece of furniture, for which, however valuable in general, we had neither want nor inclination. When this ceremony was completed we were ordered back to our square, and on our return with our young black doxies, we had the bazar, or public market to pass, where the crowd was so difficult to penetrate as to separate us. This laid the foundation for some serious disputes afterwards, many insisting that the women they had, when they arrived at the square, were not the same they had at first. This scene was truly comic, for the girls, when we understood them, which was many months afterwards, had the same views that we had, and were frequently engaged with their tongues on this score, long before we could understand the cause of their disputes. Our enemies seemed to enjoy this in a manner that would have done honor to a British Theatre. Two months passed on, when the priest came to consummate our nuptials, and the conclusion of the ceremony was as curious as the beginning. The bride and her consort were led to an eminence, with flowers round their necks, and seated, after which, their thumbs were tied together, when the priest muttered something which we could not comprehend, and we were married."

from those narratives, which are probably the least familiar to the majority of our readers, we are not sure that we have selected wisely. They are all very much of the same character, differing only in accidental circumstances—and all go a long way to establish the fact, that there are harder gaolers in Asia than the Affghans.

Working up chronologically to these latter days, we come upon the operations of the British in Ceylon, from the chronicles of which, could we afford space for such ample illustration of our subject, we might derive more than one interesting narrative of captivity in the East. Reverting to an earlier date, there are few prison-histories, better calculated to awaken attention and sympathy than that of Mr. Robert Knox, a sea captain, who passed many years in captivity among the Singalese. In more recent days, the captivity of Major Davie stands forth as a prominent illustrative example—but we are compelled to pass it by unnoticed.

The painful interest attending the recent captivity of the prisoners taken by Mahommed Akbar Khan was so greatly enhanced by the distressing consideration, that some of these prisoners were English ladies, that our illustrations of the present subject will, we feel assured, be rendered more valuable by the introduction of one or two narratives of captivity, in which the principal sufferers have belonged to that interesting class. The first instance of female imprisonment, which presents itself to us, is contained in the history of Mrs. Fay, who at the close of the last century, published a series of letters from which we made some amusing extracts in the earlier numbers of our journals. Mrs Fay was the wife of a barrister, who, on her way out to Calcutta with her husband (*they*, also, attempted the overland route by the Persian Gulf) was cast away on the southern coast, and had the ill-fortune to fall into the hands of some of Hyder's creatures. The narrative of her sufferings is rather amusing than touching. There is nothing in it to raise our opinion of womanly fortitude, little to awaken sympathy or admiration. The party of prisoners were, on the whole, a sufficiently contemptible set—the lady, at least according to her own account, the best of the captive band. We had purposed to have given some extracts from these letters; but it is necessary that we should discard *some* of our materials, and we have more pleasure in dwelling upon the womanly heroism of a Judson, than the bustling, fussy impudence of a Fay.

In May 1824, the British force, under Sir Archibald Campbell was landed at Rangoon. The effect produced was similar

to that which might be looked for from the bursting of a bomb in the market place, when all the people are intent on traffic undisturbed by a thought of war. The invasion, at such a time, was wholly unexpected. No preparations had been made for the defence of the place, and when the alarm note was first sounded, the frightened inhabitants fled hither and thither, in the extremity of mortal fear. The Government officers, who had gained intelligence of the coming danger, as soon as the British force entered the Rangoon river, had issued orders for the apprehension of every *topi-wallah** in the place; and accordingly the missionaries then present, Messrs. Hough and Wade, were seized and cast into prison. The danger which threatened them was imminent. Orders had been sent to the gaolers to massacre the unhappy captives, so soon as the sound of the first shot fired by the British should reach the prison-house, but these men of valour were so unnerved by the noise of the British artillery that they shrunk cowering into the corner of the dungeon—unable to perform the duty of the headsman. The second round shook the walls of the prison, and the gaolers fled, panic-struck from an abode, which seemed about to fall and crush them. After a while the firing ceased and the prisoners thus left to themselves, were reckoning on a speedy deliverance, when a band of some fifty Burmans rushed into the dungeon, dragged their victims into the open air, tore off all their clothes with the exception of their trowsers, bound their arms behind them with cords, drawn as tightly as human strength and human cruelty could achieve, and “almost literally carried them through the streets upon the point of their spears to the seat of judgment.” There they were made to sit upon their knees, with their bodies bent forward for the convenience of the executioner, who was ordered that moment to behead them.†” Mr. Hough, understanding the order given, bethought himself, in this crisis, of turning the alarms of the enemy to good account; he petitioned for a respite, and urged that if he were permitted to proceed to the British fleet, he would “exert his influence to prevent any further firing on the town.” The intercession caused some delay. The prisoners were saved. During the colloquy that ensued, the voices of the speakers were suddenly drowned by the roar of the British cannon. The Court was immediately broken up. The judges fled in dismay from the judgment seat, and the prisoners fled, only,

* A *topi-wallah* is a hat-wearer—in eastern eyes, the distinguishing mark of an European.

† Letter from Mr. Wade.

however, to be re-captured outside the town by the Government people. They were then imprisoned in a "kind of vault," which "afforded only sufficient air for purposes of ventilation;" but on the following morning the cry of the "English are coming" having been raised, the affrighted gaolers took to their heels, and the British force soon afterwards coming up, the prisoners were rescued, and the irons struck from their limbs.

At this time, two other members of the mission, Dr. Price and Mr. Judson, were at Ava. The latter was attended by his wife. Their situation was one of imminent peril. It was difficult to encourage even a faint hope that they would live to be restored to their friends. Humanly speaking, their doom was sealed, and it remained only to look for a remarkable interposition of Providence in their behalf. The saving hand was miraculously extended. For nearly two years, the fate of the prisoners was enveloped in doubt and uncertainty. It was impossible to reflect on the fact of their captivity without the most painful emotions. If they lived, they lived but a life of suffering; and charity sometimes almost ceased to wish that they were any longer in the flesh. At length, in the spring of 1826, intelligence was received in the British camp, that the prisoners had survived their captivity, and presently they were delivered up into the hands of Sir Archibald Campbell.

Their sufferings had been intense. Of these sufferings, we have afforded our readers, in a recent number of this journal, some not uninteresting glimpses. But for this, we should have been tempted to borrow more largely from Mrs. Judson's narrative. As it is, we must content ourselves with a few touching extracts, not, as in the article to which we have referred,* to illustrate Mrs. Judson's heroism, but her husband's sufferings and her own.

When the news of the arrival of the British fleet before Rangoon reached Ava, Dr. Price and Mr. Judson were seized and cast into the prison. Writing to the brother of the latter, the author of the narrative now before us, says —

"On the 8th of June, just as we were preparing for dinner, in rushed an officer holding a black book, with a dozen Burmans, accompanied by one, who, from his spotted face, we knew to be an executioner, and a 'son of the prisoner.' 'Where is the teacher?' was the first enquiry. Mr. Judson presented himself. 'You are called by the the king,' said the officer; a form of speech always used when about to arrest a criminal. The spotted man instantly seized Mr. Judson, threw him on the floor, and produced

* Ait. "Englishwomen in Hindustan,"—*Calcutta Review*, No. VII.

the small cord, the instrument of torture. I caught hold of his arm ; ' stay, (said I,) I will give you money.' ' Take her too,' said the officer ; ' she is also a foreigner.' Mr Judson, with an imploring look, begged they would let me remain till further orders ; the scene now was shocking beyond description. The whole neighbourhood had collected—the masons at work on the brick house threw down their tools, and ran—the little Burman children were screaming and crying. The Bengali servants stood in amazement at the indignities offered their master—and the hardened executioner, with a kind of hellish joy, drew tight the cords, bound Mr. Judson fast, and dragged him off, I knew not whither. In vain I begged and entreated the spotted face to take the silver, and loosen the ropes ; but he spurned my offers, and immediately departed. I gave the money, however, to Moang Jug to follow after, to make some further attempt to mitigate the torture of Mr. Judson ; but instead of succeeding, when a few rods from the house, the unfeeling wretches again threw their prisoner on the ground, and drew the cords still tighter, so as almost to prevent respiration."

Of the general character of the captivity which followed, Mrs. Judson writes :—

"During seven months, the continual extortions and oppressions to which your brother and the other white prisoners were subject, are indescribable. Sometimes sums of money were demanded, sometimes pieces of cloth, and handkerchiefs : and at other times, an order would be issued, that the white foreigners should not speak to each other, or have any communication with their friends without. Then again, the servants were forbidden to carry in their food, without an extra fee. Sometimes, for days and days together, I could not go into the prison, till after dark, when I had two miles to walk in returning to the house.

Oh dreary prison ! at nine o'clock at night, solitary and worn out with fatigue and anxiety, I threw myself down in that same rocking chair, which you and Deacon L. provided for me in Boston, and endeavoured to invent some new scheme for the release of the prisoners. Sometimes, for a morning or two, my thought would glance toward America, and my beloved friends there—but for nearly a year and a half, so entirely engrossed was every thought with present scenes and sufferings, that I seldom reflected on a single occurrence of my former life, or recollected that I had a friend in existence out of Ava."

The intercessions of Mrs. Judson, who was not incarcerated with her husband, appear to have done much to mitigate his sufferings, but having for a while been rendered helpless by her own condition—for at this time she gave birth to a daughter—her influence declined, and she was soon compelled sorrowfully to write—"When Maria was nearly two months old, her father one morning sent me word that he and all the white prisoners were put into the inner prison, in five pair of fetters each ; that his little room had been torn down and his mat, pillow, &c., had been taken away by the sailors. This was to me a dreadful shock." She exerted herself, but in vain, to procure from the Governor some mitigation of this excessive punishment ; and soon afterwards she adds :—

"The situation of the prisoners was now distressing beyond description.

It was at the commencement of the hot season. There were above a hundred prisoners shut up in one room, without a breath of air, excepting from the cracks in the boards. I sometimes obtained permission to go to the door for five minutes when my heart sickened at the wretchedness exhibited. The white prisoners, from incessant perspiration and loss of appetite, looked more like the dead than the living. I made daily applications to the Governor, offering him money, which he refused, but all that I gained, was permission for the foreigners to eat their food outside, and this continued but a short time."

A little further on she describes the effects of this rigorous treatment; and the success of her own unwearying importunities.—

"After continuing in the inner prison for more than a month, your brother was taken with a fever. I felt assured that he would not live long, unless removed from that noisome place. To effect this, and in order to be near the prison, I removed from our house, and put up a small bambu room in the Governor's enclosure, which was nearly opposite the prison gate. Here I incessantly begged the Governor to give me an order to take Mr. J. out of the large prison, and place him in a more comfortable situation; and the old man, being worn out with my intreaties, at length gave me an order in an official form, and also gave orders to the head jailor, to allow me to go out all times of the day, to administer medicines, &c. I now felt happy indeed."

Soon after this, the prisoners were carried off to Oung-pen-la; the manner of their removal is thus described by Mrs. Judson, who having been summoned to the presence of the Governor, was absent at the time, after the account of the transaction supplied by her husband:—

"As soon as I had gone out at the call of the Governor, one of the jailors rushed into Mr. J.'s little room—roughly seized him by the arm—pulled him out—stripped him of all his clothes, excepting shirt and pantaloons—took his shoes, hat and all his bedding—tore off all his chains—tied a rope round his waist, and dragged him to the court house, where the other prisoners had previously been taken. They were then tied two and two, and delivered into the hands of the Lamine Hoon, who went on before them on horseback, while his slaves drove the prisoners, one of the slaves holding the rope which connected two of them together. It was in May, one of the hottest months of the year, and eleven o'clock in the day, so that the sun was intolerable indeed.

They had proceeded only half a mile, when your brother's feet became blistered, and so great was its agony, even at this early period, that as they were crossing the little River, he ardently longed to throw himself into the water to be free from misery. But the sin attached to such an act alone prevented. They had then eight miles to walk. The sand and gravel were like burning coals to the feet of the prisoners, which soon became perfectly destitute of skin, and in that wretched state they were goaded on by their unfeeling drivers."

Mrs. Judson set out immediately to follow the wretched band of captives, and on the following morning was re-united to her husband. Their sufferings now were intense. Her husband

in a high fever; her child in the small-pox; herself covered with pustules. And soon after this, anxiety, fatigue, privation, exposure to the climate, and other deteriorating influences brought on "one of the diseases of the climate, which is almost always fatal to foreigners," and for some time, this heroic woman lay at the point of death. The disease, which though not named, nor very clearly indicated by Mrs. Judson, appears to have been the same cruel scourge which destroyed Mr. Hall; it yielded, after some time, to opium; but the poor woman was so greatly reduced, that she could scarcely crawl to her mat—"so altered, so emaciated," that her old servant, "the good native cook," on her reaching Dung-pen-la, "burst into tears at the first sight" of her. Of this man's goodness Mrs. Judson writes earnestly and affectionately; and we have no little pleasure in recommending the annexed paragraphs to the attention of those who declare that the natives of India are utterly without gratitude:—

"At this period, when I was unable to take care of myself, or look after Mr. Judson, we must both have died, had it not been for the faithful and affectionate care of our Bengali cook. A common Bengali cook will do nothing but the simple business of cooking but he seemed to forget his caste, and almost his own wants, in his efforts to serve us. He would provide, cook, and carry your brother's food, and then return and take care of me. I have frequently known him not to taste food till near night in consequence of having to go so far for wood and water, and in order to have Mr. Judson's dinner ready at the usual hour. He never complained, never asked for his wages, and never for a moment hesitated to go any where, to perform any act we required. I take great pleasure in speaking of the faithful conduct of this servant who is still with us, and I trust has been well rewarded for his services."

During this time, be it remembered, Mrs. Judson had a young infant, for whom "neither a nurse nor a drop of milk could be procured in the village." And then she adds, in her simple, touching style, "By making presents to the jailors, I obtained leave for Mr. Judson to come out of prison and take the little emaciated creature around the village, to beg a little nourishment from those mothers who had young children. Her cries in the night were heart-rending, when it was impossible to supply her wants. I now began to think that the very afflictions of Job had come upon me." They had indeed; for before she was nearly recovered from the disease which had attacked her at Dung-pen-la and reduced her to a very skeleton, she "was seized with the spotted fever with all its attendant horrors." On the very day of her seizure, however, by a merciful provision of Providence, a Burmese nurse offered her services for the little Maria. The fever raged violently; and

she was again at the very point of death. She was in fact so far gone, that the Burmese neighbours who had come in to see her expire, said, "she is dead ; and if the king of angels should come in, he could not recover her." But she was saved ; after the fever had continued for some seventeen days it began to abate ; but before she had began to recover her strength, she heard a report that Mr. Judson was to be sent back to the *Dung-pen-la* prison, in which she had suffered so much, and these melancholy tidings nearly brought on a relapse. She could do nothing, but—*pray*. What could she have done better ? Her prayers were answered. "The Governor of the North Gate presented a petition to the court of the empire, offered himself as Mr. Judson's security, obtained his release, and took him to his house, where he treated him with every possible kindness, and to which I (Mrs. Judson) removed as soon as returning health would allow." Their sufferings were now nearly at an end. The British troops were marching towards the capital ; and the effect of this movement was speedily felt throughout the country. The Burmese Government were panic-struck ; and the white prisoners were released. Mrs. Judson thus describes the events attending her restoration :—

"It was on a cool, moonlight evening, in the month of March, that with hearts filled with gratitude to God, and overflowing with joy at our prospects, we passed down the Irrawaddy surrounded by six or eight golden boats accompanied by all we had on earth. The thought that we had still to pass the Burman camp, would sometimes occur to damp our joy, for we feared that some obstacle might there arise to retard our progress. Nor were we mistaken in our conjectures. We reached the camp about midnight, where we were detained two hours ; the Woongyee, and high officers, insisted that ~~we~~ we should wait at the camp, while Dr. Price (who did not return to Ava with your brother, but remained at the camp) should go on with the money, and first ascertain whether peace would be made. The Burmese Government still entertained the idea, that as soon as the English had received the money and prisoners, they would continue their march, and yet destroy the capital. We knew not but that some circumstance might occur to break off the negotiations ; Mr. Judson therefore strenuously insisted that he would not remain, but go on immediately. The officers were finally prevailed on to consent, hoping much from Mr Judson's assistance in making peace

We now, for the first time, for more than a year and a half, felt that we were free, and no longer subject to the oppressive yoke of the Burmese. And with what sensation of delight, on the next morning, did I behold the masts of the steam boat, the sure presage of being within the bounds of civilized life ! As soon as our boat reached the shore, Brigadier A. and another officer came on board, congratulated us on our arrival, and invited us on board the steam boat where I passed the remainder of the day, while your brother went on to meet the general, who, with a detachment of the army, had encamped at Yandaboo, a few miles further down the river. Mr. Judson returned in the evening, with an invitation from Sir Archibald, to come immediately to his quarters, where I was the next morning introduced, and received with the greatest kindness by the general, who had a tent pitched

for us near his own—took us to his own table, and treated us with the kindness of a father, rather than as strangers of another country.”

Of Mrs. Judson little is known in the noisy world. Few comparatively, are acquainted with her name; few with her actions; but if any woman, since the first arrival of the white strangers on the shores of India, has on that great theatre of war stretching between the mouth of the Irrawaddy and the borders of the Hindú Kúsh, rightly earned for herself, the title of a heroine, Mrs. Judson has, by her doings and sufferings, fairly earned the distinction—a distinction be it said, which her true woman's nature would have very little appreciated. Still it is right that she should be honored by the world. Her sufferings were far more unendurable—her heroism far more noble—than any which in more recent times have been so much pitied and so much applauded; but she was a simple missionary's wife,—an American by birth; and she told her tale with artless modesty, writing only what it became her to write—treating only of matters which concern a woman. Her captivity, if so it can be called, was voluntarily endured. She, of her own free will, shared the sufferings of her husband, taking to herself no credit for anything that she did, putting her trust in God, and praying to him to strengthen her human weakness. She was spared to breathe once again the free air of liberty; but her troubles had done the work of death upon her delicate frame, and she was soon translated to heaven. She was the real heroine. The annals of captivity in the East present us with no parallel.

And yet we are not unmindful of the doings and sufferings of others, who in more recent times have entitled themselves to our pity and our admiration. Doubtless, in the person of Mrs. Noble—of Lady Sale and her companions in captivity, many heroic qualities were developed. Mrs. Noble,—who was taken by the Chinese—the vessel, which her husband commanded, having gone to pieces on a shoal, in the China seas, when bound for Chusan,—underwent cruel hardships, and was subjected to gross insults, all of which she appears to have borne with due Christian fortitude. Her husband and her child perished with the vessel which bore them; but she herself contrived to escape, with Lieut. Douglas, who shared her captivity. In a narrative, which she published in an Anglo-Chinese periodical, she thus describes her landing:—

“We had scarcely ascended the bank, when, on looking behind, we saw a large party of soldiers, a mandarin, and a number of Chinese, pursuing us. We saw at once we were betrayed, flight was impossible, resistance as vain. I was leaning on Lieut. Douglas's arm, he stood boldly in my defence, but

it was of no use, for they struck me several times. They then put chains around our necks, hurrying us along a path, not half a yard in breadth, to a large city, through every street of which they led us. The people thronged by thousands to stare, so that we could scarcely pass. Their savage cries were terrific. From this they led us to a temple full of soldiers, and one of the wretches stole my wedding ring from my finger, the only thing I treasured. Alas ! that I was not to keep that one dear pledge of my husband's affection. They then set a table and wrote Chinese, asking whether we understood it. Never shall I forget that temple, their fierce grimaces and savage threats.

Hitherto Lieut. Douglas had been my only friend, and I think I may say, that we have been a mutual comfort to each other throughout our sufferings. But we were soon to part ; the soldiers bound Leut Douglas's hands behind him, and tied him to a post, and in this situation I was forced from him. We took our affectionate leave of one another as friends never expecting to meet again, until we met in heaven. He gave me his black silk handkerchief to tie round my waist, which I shall ever treasure as a remembrance of that truly sad moment. We anticipated instant death in its most cruel form, and I think I could say, surely the bitterness of death is past.'

And here is a graphic account of the progress of the prisoners :—

" We must have looked wretched in the extreme, our clothes being much covered with dirt as well as drenched with rain. My hair hung dishevelled round my neck. In this state we must have walked at least twenty miles and passed through numberless cities, all the inhabitants of which crowded around us, and their hooting and savage yells were frightful. We twice passed through water nearly up to our waist. After having reached a temple, we were allowed to rest ourselves on some stones. They gave us here some prison clothes and food. At night they laid down some mats and a quilt, on either side of a large temple. Mr. Witts and the boy took one side, and after a short prayer to my Almighty heavenly father, I lay down but not to sleep ; the chain round our necks being fastened to the walls. Would I could describe to you the scene ;—the temple beautifully lighted up with lanterns, our miserable beds, and more miserable selves, all the dark faces of the frightful looking Chinese (of whom I think there were eight), the smoke from their long pipes, the din of gong and other noises, which they kept up all night, were indeed horrid. Long, very long did this night appear."

Mrs Noble was not confined in a prison but in a *cage*. She thus describes the manner in which her condition was assimilated to that of a beast in a *cage*. Like Mrs. Judson she appears to have gone to the only source of consolation :—

" We remained here two days and three nights, taunted and derided by all around us. On the morning of Monday, the 21st, they took the end of our chains, and bade us follow them. They put our coats and quilts into small cages, just such as we should think a proper place to confine a wild beast in, mine was scarcely a yard high, a little more than $\frac{3}{4}$ of a yard long, and a little more than half a yard broad. The door opened from the top. Into these we were lifted, the chain round our necks being locked to the cover ; they put a long piece of bambu through the middle, a man took either end, and in this manner, we were jolted from city to city, to suffer insults from the rabble, the cries of whom were awful ; but my God had not forsaken me, and even then, although a widow and in the hands of such bitter enemies, and expecting death at every moment, I could remember with delight, that

Christ my Saviour had said, "I am the resurrection and the life, he that believeth in me, though he were dead yet shall he live," and through the blessing of the Almighty, I was enabled to sing praises to God aloud. I need not tell you, my dear and much loved friend, how much I thought of my sweet and once happy home, and my dear fatherless child, and how fervently I prayed to that God of mercy and goodness, who had so wonderfully upheld me in all my sufferings, to bless her also.

Death was nothing to me ; I longed to be with my Saviour to praise him for ever, and to meet again my affectionate husband and sweet child who were more than life to me."

The prisoners were carried to Ningpo, where they remained for some months, suffering great hardships and indignities. Mrs. Noble's chief consolation was a Bible—an "inestimable treasure," sent to her by a friend. They remained for some time at Ningpo, when they were removed to Chin-hai, and then taken to Chusan and released. We need not pursue the narrative ; Mrs. Noble appears to have possessed a considerable amount of Christian fortitude, which enabled her to bear up against her manifold trials with patience and resignation. She has not paraded her sufferings ; the record which we have is simple and unostentatious ; and we doubt not that the story might have been rendered more effective. There appears to have been much untold.

We now turn to the narrative of the Kabul captivity :—On the 9th of that fatal January, when the knives of the Affghans and the terrific cold of the winter-season had done their work upon our force, when thousands of the dead and dying were stretched in that blood-stained snow ; and there appeared to be small hope that the survivors would ever reach Jellalabad in safety, Akbar Khan came forward with a proposal to take the ladies and children under his protection, suggesting that the married men should accompany their wives, and that a few wounded and sick officers should join the party. This was acceded to—other wounded officers were subsequently added to the number, and certain hostages, who were given up during the Retreat as a guarantee for the evacuation of Jellalabad, were soon joined to the band of captives. "Shortly after," says Lady Sale, "Pottinger, Mackenzie, and Lawrence, arrived at the Kúrd Kabul Fort with the Sirdar ; he turned to Lawrence and said that he had a proposal to make, but that he did not like to do so lest his motives might be misconstrued ; but that as it concerned us more than himself, he would mention it, and that it was that all the married men with their families should come over and put themselves under his protection, he guaranteeing them hon-

"ourable treatment and safe escort to Peshawur. He added, "that Lawrence must have seen from the events of the day "previous—the loss of Capt. Boyd's and Capt. Anderson's "children,* &c., that our camp was no place of safety for the "ladies and children. Lawrence replied, that he considered the "proposition a most admirable one, and, Skinner coming in "just then, he repeated what had passed to him, who replied, "'this is just what I was thinking of suggesting.'" "On which "Lawrence begged he would go off and get the General's "sanction and bring them all without delay. Major Pottinger "concurred entirely in the expediency of this measure." The General acceded to the proposition, and Lady Sale adds. "There can be little doubt but that the proposition was "acceded to by the General in the two-fold hope of placing "the ladies and children beyond the dangers and dreadful pri- "vations of the camp; and also of showing the Sirdar that he "was sincere in his wish to negotiate a truce, and thus win from "him a similar feeling of confidence." The captive-band thus formed were carried by a circuitous route to Kúrd Kabul, whither Captain and Mrs. Boyd enjoyed the inexpressible happiness of finding that their missing child had been conveyed in safety. The accommodation here was scanty, and the food not very delicate, "mutton bones and greasy rice," but it was the best procurable; and on the morrow they were hurried off through "dreadful scenes" to the Tezeen fort—"the road covered with awfully mangled bodies all naked—numbers of camp-followers still alive, frost-bitten, and starving, some perfectly out of their senses and idiotic, the smell of the blood sickening, and the corpses so thick, it was impossible to look from them, as it required care to guide one's horse so as not to tread upon the bodies." At Tezeen they found another British officer, Lieut. Melville of the 54th. "He "had, in guarding the color of his regiment, received five "severe wounds. He had fortunately seven rupees about "him; these he gave to an Affghan to take him to the "Sirdar (Akbar Khan) who dressed his wounds with his "own hands, applying burnt rags and paid him every attention."† At Tezeen they were well treated; and on the

* Capt. Anderson's child, which was carried to Kabul, was subsequently restored to its parents. She had been most kindly and tenderly treated, and had attached herself to her rough Affghan keepers. It is observable that throughout the captivity the Affghan Sirdars were all kindness and gentleness to the children, even Akbar Khan was a favorite with these little prisoners, who neither feared nor suspected him.

† Lady Sales's Journal—page 249.

following day they were moved to Abdúlâh Khan's fort.* Here "the whole parties were crammed into one room," and "an old woman cooked chupatties for them three for a rupee, but finding the demand great, soon raised the price to a rupee each"—an embodiment *in petto* of the spirit of commerce all over the world. The next day they were again on the move, hurried through rugged defiles, up stony hills, and down precipitate descents,—everywhere meeting sad memorials of the frightful carnage attending the retreat. On the night of the 14th, they bivouacked *el fresco*, the inhabitants of the fort which they had reached, having refused to take them in, because they were Kaffirs. "We therefore," says Lady Sale, "rolled ourselves up as warm as we could, and with our saddles for pillows braved the elements." The journal-writer adds:—

"Gen. Elphinstone, Brig. Shelton, and Johnson considered themselves happy when one of the Affghans told them to accompany him into a wretched cow-shed, which was filled with dense smoke from a blazing fire in the centre of the hut. These officers and Mr. Melville were shortly after invited by Mahommed Akbar Khan to dine with him and his party in the fort. The reception room was not much better than that they had left: they had, however, a capital dinner, some cups of tea, and luxurious rest at night; the room having been well heated by a blazing fire with plenty of smoke, with no outlet for either heat or smoke, except through the door and a small circular hole in the roof"—(Page 282.)

The entry of the following day contains these passages:—

"15th January—The chiefs gave us every assistance. Mahommed Akbar Khan carried Mrs. Waller over behind him on his own horse. One rode by me to keep my horse's head well up the stream. The Affghans made great exertions to save both men and animals struggling in the water; but in spite of all their endeavours five unfortunates lost their lives.

* * *

A great number of Hindu bunneahs reside at Tighri. We went to the fort of Golab Moymúdn, who took Mrs. Sturt and myself to the apartments of his mother and wife. Of course we could not understand much that they said; but they evidently made much of us, pitied our condition, told us to ask them for any thing we required, and before parting they gave us a lump of goor filled with pistaches, a sweetmeat they are themselves fond of."—(Page 282-283.)

On the 17th they reached the fort at Buddábad, which was destined for their prison-house. It was the most extensive fortress in the valley, in a good state of repair; and the best accommodation it presented was given up for the reception of the English prisoners. Lady Sale thus briefly describes it:—

"Six rooms, forming the two sides of an inner square or citadel, are appropriated to us; and a tykhana to the soldiers. This fort is the largest in the

* During the march they were joined by Dr. MacGrath, who "owed his life in a measure to an Affghan horseman, who recognised him as having shown some little kindness to some of his sick friends at Kabul."—Lady Sale.

valley, and is quite new ; it belongs to Mahommed Shah Khan . it has a deep ditch and a faussebraye all round The walls of mud are not very thick, and are built up with blanks in tiers on the inside. The buildings we occupy are those intended for the chief and his favorite wife ; those for three other wives are in the outer court, and have not yet been roofed in. We number nine ladies, twenty gentlemen and fourteen children. In the tykhana are seventeen European soldiers, two European women and one child, Mrs. Barnes, Mrs. Wade, and little Stoker."—(*Pages 284-285.*)

Here then the captivity commenced. The journey to Bud-diabad has been attended with none but unavoidable sufferings. The prisoners appear to have ridden throughout the journey, and if the roads were none of the best, they were good enough for the Affghans, whose country could not boast of better. They had not like Hyder's prisoners been driven along like herds of oxen to the slaughter, nor insulted and buffeted and spat upon on their way to the place of captivity, like the unhappy men who were massacred by the Chinese authorities on the island of Formosa. These wretched prisoners—the unfortunate crews of the *Nerbudda* and the *Anne*, which were wrecked upon that "beautiful" island in 1842—underwent their captivity contemporaneously with the Kabul prisoners, and were murdered very shortly after the latter were restored to their friends. Though the sufferings of these men were far more severe than those endured by the prisoners in Afghanistan, and consummated by the cold-blooded massacre of nearly two hundred human creatures, their fate excited comparatively but small interest either in India or England ; and it may be questioned whether, while Mr. Murray was selling his *thousands* of the Journals of Lieutenant Eyre and Lady Sale, Messrs. Chapman and Hall found it quite as easy to dispose of *hundreds* of copies of the "Journals kept by Mr. Gully and Capt Denham." The causes of this striking disproportion lie on the surface, and we need not pause to explain anything which must be so manifest to the understanding of our readers. But, as the Journals of the Chinese prisoners are now before us, by the side of the better known volumes of the Cabul captives, it may not be uninteresting whilst noticing the latter to make, ever and anon, some incidental references to the former, and leave the reader to draw the parallel. When Mr. Gully and his companions were first seized, they were stripped of all their clothes, though the weather was bitterly cold ; and the indignities heaped upon them by their captors were most distressing "We were stripped," says Mr. G., "of nearly every rag, some of us to the skin. They left me nothing but two pairs of old drawers. I never felt the cold so severe in my life." They were then carried off to the shore, and commenced

their painful march "with no covering and a piercing northerly wind, with rain and sleet, no shoes, and most of the way over the beach composed entirely of shingle, covered with old cockle and mussel shells, which cut the feet at every step, and often I was compelled to go upon my hands and knees to ease the pain of my feet." Some of the party "perished on the road from cold and fatigue." At night they were lodged in granaries, or joss houses—always in wretchedly small apartments; and everywhere they were told in the villages, that they would assuredly be beheaded. In passing through the towns they "suffered all sorts of abuse and indignities." They were treated like common felons, fettered with hand-cuffs and leg irons which cut painfully into the flesh. Captain Denham says, "in passing through these places we were abused and called all manner of names; our hair occasionally pulled by way of amusement; they also threw all sorts of filth at us, and the children and often full-grown men spat at us as we were carried along." Again, "During these days we were crowded with visitors of all sorts and at all hours, many of whom spat at us through the bars of our place of confinement." And again, "It was not at all an uncommon thing for them to pretend to give us cash, and when our hands were out between the bars, to have some filth put in them or else to have them spit in." "On entering the town we were surrounded by the natives, who crowded round us in hundreds, spitting at us, and behaving in a most brutal way." Thus different, indeed, was the treatment experienced at the hands of the populace, by the Chinese prisoners, from that endured by the captives in Afghanistan. To this cruel treatment, however, we find but too many parallels. Mr. Judson's sufferings, in the Burmese country, we have already described. Before betaking ourselves to civilized countries for further illustrations, we may present our readers with the following account, taken from the narrative of a French prisoner at Algeria, of the manner in which African captives are sometimes carried off to the place of imprisonment. A mounted Arab tied a rope round the prisoner's neck, and fastened it to his saddle-bow:—

"It was in vain to cry and beg for mercy; the Arab continued his rapid pace, dragged me, half strangled, over the rocks and brambles. This horrible punishment lasted for some minutes. At last the horse, compelled to mount a steep hillock, slackened his pace, and I succeeded, not without difficulty, in raising myself. Then, stunned by the rude shock, my hands and face bruised and bloody, my legs torn, I know not how I retained sufficient strength to seize the cord and to keep it up, so that it should not bear entirely on my neck, to run to catch the horse, and hang on its tail. But as soon as the other Arabs, put to flight by the sailors who had hurried

to our assistance, had rejoined us, they began to overwhelm me with insults, and tore my dress to rags. A single instant sufficed to strip me almost entirely. They only left me a bad pair of summer trowsers and boots, which the flints and brambles over which I had been just dragged, had worn into holes. They had perceived our misfortune on board the brig, and commenced firing at the Arabs, but each shot cost me numberless blows ; and the horse to which I was attached, alarmed at the noise of the cannon, suddenly darting forwards impetuously, I fell to the ground. The Arabs hurried after, striking me ; and if, after great difficulty, I had succeeded in raising myself, my merciless executioner, who soon perceived it, recommenced galloping furiously, casting at me, at the same time, a look of contempt."

The following is from the narrative of another prisoner in the same country :—

" I was destined to be sold to Abd-el-Kader, and we set off for the camp of the Sultan. During the journey, there is no description of ill-treatment which I did not endure. Menaces of death, insults, blows with the sticks and stocks of their guns. I endured all these tortures. I will give you an idea of them. In a tribe on the plain, the Arabs bound me to a tree, quite naked, my hands tied behind my back, and there, during twenty-four hours, the women and children, after having daubed my face with filth, amused themselves with throwing flints at me.

Since then, the blows and the insults never ceased ; but I never experienced so horrible a punishment. The horrid smell of the filth ; the flints that every moment struck my head, my body, my legs ; the children, who bit and pinched my thighs—I think it is impossible to suffer more."

We fear that some European countries are not much in advance of their Asiatic and African neighbours. Neither French nor Russian soldiers are wont to spare the feelings, or the persons of their prisoners, when carrying them off from the field of battle. The sufferings endured by the French prisoners, who fell into the hands of the enemy during the retreat from Moscow, far exceed in terrible severity those to which the British captives in Affghanistan were subjected. The Marquis de Custine, in his work on Russia, guarantees the fidelity of a narrative, which he received from M. Girard, who fell into the hands of the Russians. The Marquis says :—

" He was made prisoner during the retreat, and immediately sent with 3,000 other Frenchmen, under charge of a body of Cossacks, into the interior of the empire, where the prisoners were dispersed among the different Governments.

The cold became daily more intense. Dying of hunger and fatigue, the unfortunate men were often obliged to stop on the road, until numerous and violent blows had done the office of food for them, and inspired them with strength to march on until they fell dead. At every stoppage, some of these scarcely clad and famished beings were left upon the snow. When they once fell, the frost glued them to the earth, and they never rose again. Even their ferocious guards were horrified at their excess of suffering. Devoured by vermin, consumed by fever and want, carrying everywhere with them contagion, they became objects of terror to the villagers, among whose

abodes they were made to stop. They advanced, by dint of blows, towards the places destined for their taking rest; and it was still with blows that they were received there, without being suffered to approach persons, or even to enter houses. Some were seen reduced to such a state, that, in their funous despair, they fell upon each other with stones, logs of wood and their own hands; and those who came alive out of the conflict devoured the limbs of the dead !!! To these horrible excesses did the inhumanity of the Russians drive our countrymen. At night, in the bivouacs, the men who felt themselves about to die rose in terror to struggle, standing, against the death agony; surprised whilst in its contortions by the frost, they remained supported against the walls, stiff and frozen. The last sweat turned to ice over their emaciated limbs; and they were found in the morning, their eyes open, and their bodies fixed and congealed in convulsive attitudes, from which they were snatched only to be burnt. The foot then came away from the ankle, more easily than it is, when living lifted from the soil. When daylight appeared, their comrades, on raising their heads, beheld themselves under the guard of a circle of yet scarcely lifeless statues, who appeared posted round the camp like sentinels of another world. The horror of these awakings cannot be described.

Every morning before the departure of the column, the Russians burnt the dead; and—shall I say it—they sometimes burnt the dying!

From another party—M. Grassini, an Italian—the same authority has derived a striking confirmation of the truth contained in the above passage. In the following the “quondam captive” gives his own account of the barbarity with which the Russian soldiers treated their prisoners on the way to the place of confinement:—

“They obliged us to travel in companies. We slept near the villages, the entrance of which was refused us on account of the hospital fever that followed us. In the evening, we stretched ourselves on the ground, wrapped in our cloaks, between two large fires. In the morning before recommencing our march, our guard counted the dead, and, instead of burying them, which would have lost too much time and trouble, on account of the hardness and depth of the ice and snow, they burnt them, thinking thus to stop the contagion; body and clothes were burnt together—but, will you believe it; more than once, men still alive were thrown into the flames! Reanimated by pain, these wretched creatures concluded their lives with the screams and agonies of the stake!

Many other atrocities were committed. Every night the rigour of the frost decimated our companies. Whenever any deserted dwelling could be found near the entrance of the towns, they obliged us to lodge there; but not being able to make fires except in certain parts of these buildings, the nights we passed there were no better than those passed in the open air with fires all around us. Many of our people consequently died in the rooms for want of means to warm themselves.

I have often seen the Russian soldiers dragging the dead, by cords fastened round their ankles, down from the second story of the edifices in which we were herded. Their heads followed, striking and resounding against every step, from the top of the house to the bottom. ‘It is of no consequence,’ they said, ‘they are dead.’

Sometimes even worse things happened, for I have seen an end made of the living by this treatment; the blood of their wounded heads, left upon the stairs, has furnished hideous proofs of the ferocity of the Russian

soldiers ; I ought to observe also, that sometimes an officer was present at these brutal executions. Such things I and my companions saw daily without making any protest ; so greatly does misery brutalise men ! It will be my fate to-morrow, I thought, and this community of danger put my conscience at rest, and favoured my inertia "

We are afraid that the treatment received at the hands of the French, by the Spanish prisoners in the Peninsula, was not much more considerate than that which they in turn received from the Russians. Describing a march from Belem to Madrid, made by a party of English and Spanish prisoners, Captain Hamilton says :—

" Nothing more disagreeable than this march can well be conceived. We were about thirty in all, of whom my countrymen formed about a third. The party was under the command of a French Sergeant, who delighted in the exercise of his authority, and showed no inclination to contribute in any way to our comfort. There was a striking difference, however, in his treatment of the Spanish and English prisoners committed to his charge. The former were bound together without distinction of rank, and were treated with a degree of brutality most painful to witness. Our marches were long and oppressive, and when any of the poor creatures were unable to proceed either from fatigue or want of necessary refreshment, they were shot *sur le champ*, without the smallest compunction. There was certainly more ceremony used in the treatment of the English ; and in cases of any of them betraying too strong an inclination to fall into the rear, no more energetic measures of propulsion were restored to than an occasional prick of the bayonet or blow from the butt-end of a musket. Our rations during the march, which lasted for ten days, were scanty and very irregularly issued, and most happy were we when the rising towers of Madrid intimated that one portion of our sufferings were about to terminate."*

There is nothing extraordinary in this. War brutalises the minds of men, and to expect those, who have never been endowed with much delicacy of sentiment, to exhibit an extraordinary amount of it, in the midst of indurating scenes of savage excitement, were clearly something most unreasonable. When men have been employed for some time in cutting each other's throats with sabres, or riddling each others bodies with grape and canister, they are not in a very fit frame of mind to respect the feelings of their enemies. That atrocities of the worst description were committed, throughout the wars in Russia and the Peninsula, is as true, as that General Elphinstone's army was massacred in the Kabul passes ; and if we would seek for instances in the present century, of inhumanity to prisoners, we need not travel out of Europe to find many of the deepest dye

* *Cyril Thornton*.—Though this book is ostensibly a work of fiction, a considerable portion is occupied with details of actual occurrences. We quote the work, because it happens to be immediately within our reach ; but we might find similar passages in every authentic memoir of the events of the Peninsular War.

Of the prison-house at Buddábad we have given a brief description from Lady Sale's Journal. That a fortress in Affghanistan is not quite so commodious a residence as a mansion in Chowringhee, we may without crossing the Indus, venture with all confidence to pronounce. But we have no doubt that the Affghans themselves look upon their forts with as much complacency as we look upon our palaces ; and that Akbar Khan, in assigning to his captives the newly erected fort—"the largest in the valley"—was at least as firmly impressed with the conviction that he was treating them, honorably and hospitably, as our Government when it took for Dost Mahommed a house at Alipore, or consigned the Amírs of Sindh to the pleasant seclusion of Fairy Hall at Dum-Dum. We must not, in such cases as these consider, whether the accommodation would have been good accommodation in our country, but whether it was good in theirs—whether with reference to the manners and customs—the way of life and the tone of thinking of the Affghans, they treated their prisoners with severity or with mildness. We have seen that neither in India nor in the Burmese country have the British prisoners been as well housed as those in Affghanistan. In China, they were often pent up in narrow places, scarcely allowing them to move their limbs. Mr. Gully, speaking of one of his prisons, says "We were then taken into the Mandarin's premises and divided into two parties, the soldiers having previously told us we were going to be beheaded, which I should have believed, if they had not overdone the thing by beginning to sharpen their swords on the stones. We were put into two cells about eight feet by seven each, in each of which were stowed twenty-five of us, and three jailers of guards." And again speaking of another prison, "We were in a den so small that not one of us could stretch our legs at night, being coiled up like dogs.....Ten of us, viz., the five seacunnies, two Manilla men, the gunner, Mr. Partridge and myself, with a bucket, in a wretched hovel only eleven feet six inches by seven feet six, and for two months and more we were confined in it and never allowed but once a day to wash, and at first this was not allowed." And elsewhere Mr. Gully presents us with the following interior, painted with a Dutch minuteness of detail :—

"I have just thought, that in case this should survive us it may be interesting to know the furniture of our abode. The cell is all but as large as the opposite one from which we were removed, but we have three advantages over our opposite neighbours, viz, 1st. There are only three of us. 2ndly. The window has only single bars. 3rdly We have air-holes in the roof. To sleep on we have five hard-wood planks about eight feet long by

fourteen inches wide and two thick, the floor is of broken bricks. A bambu is slung nearly the length of the place, on which in the day time we hang our mats, two in number, for sleeping on. Besides these I now see two towels hanging from it, one made from part of an old plair of cotton drawers, and the other of grass cloth given me by Zen Quang Lin, ditto belonging to Mr. Partridge, and a bundle of papers, sketches, &c. tied up by a string. On the east wall are the remains of a picture of Chin Hae damaged by the rain. The window faces the west. On one side of it is hanging my pipe, given me by the Captain's party. On the other is a small looking-glass given me by one of the jailers, a number of pencils and four monghoms. Our pillows of pieces of bambu, with a gunny-mat for keeping the afternoon's sun out of the place, and a checquer-board are on the planks. On the north wall are hanging our washing-tub, which cost us 50 cash, a broom for sweeping the planks, a basket containing some books, &c., belonging to the former occupants; a basket containing our chop-sticks and spoons of bambu, the gunner's towel and a stick for carrying a lantern. In this wall is a small recess containing a clay lamp and stand, a few bambu sticks, and two iron wires for cleaning pipes, three papers of tobacco, and some waste-paper. In the corner two sticks have been driven into the wall, on which rest the log-books and some papers. Below that is a small shelf, on which are placed several cups, and broken saucers, and paints, two chow-chow cups (I broke the third a week ago), given us by Jack, a small earthen-ware kettle for boiling tea-water and brewing samshu when we can get it, given us by Aticoa. Below the shelf is suspended a hollow piece of bambu holding our firepan, and below that a small fire-place, likewise a present from Aticoa, a cooking pot bought by ourselves, another containing charcoal (the pot given by Jack,) several old straw shoes and pieces of bambu for smoking out the mosquitoes. On the south side are pendent, 1st the bank, a string of cash about 80 or 90, a fan, a small basket containing a few opium pills and our stock of tea, my hat which cost 30 cash; I have covered it with oiled paper, I am sitting on a bambu stool which belongs to the former occupiers of the place, my foot resting on another given by Mr. Partridge by the towka (I suppose the head jailer). Opposite is the door, behind it the bucket; on my left is the window, on the side of which are two combs, one of which I bought for thirteen cash, a few days after my arrival at this town, being money I had saved from the mess per day allowed us during the journey. My fan is sticking in the window, and I am writing with this book, resting on a board painted red with black characters on it, and two green eyes above looking at them. I think this is all. No, I have forgotten to mention that on the south wall hang my long ell trousers given me by Kitchil, lascar, my grass cloth ones, given me by the lotier, and a pair of woollen socks given me by Francis; and from the same string hangs Mr. Roope's log. If you can call any thing in this a luxury, you must recollect that we have only had it lately; for two months we had nothing, and were annoyed by myriads of fleas, bugs, lice, ants, mosquitoes, and centepedes, without a possibility of getting rid of them, except by death or a miracle. I have on my back now the only shirt (and a woollen one too) I have had for nearly five months, and half a pair of cotton drawers are on my legs. I omitted to mention, that on the north wall is my calendar. Every morning I scratch with the head of a rusty nail, the day of the month; we have also a third wooden stool lent to us by Aticoa. Employed we are, but the days are awfully tedious, and I am sadly at a loss for something to pass away the time, and feel the want of books."

And next it may be asked, how were the English prisoners in Afghanistan fed. Hear Lady Sale :—

“Two sheep (alias lambs) are killed daily ; and a regular portion of rice and ottah given for all. The Affghans cook, and well may we exclaim with Goldsmith, ‘God sends meat, but the devil sends cooks.’ for we only get some greasy skin and bones served out as they are cooked, boiled in the same pot with the rice, all in a lump. Captain Lawrence divides it and portions out our food, as justly as he can. The Chupatty is at once the plate and bread ; few possess other dinner table implements than their fingers. The rice even is rendered nauseous by having a quantity of rancid ghee poured over it, such as in India we should have disdained to use for our lamps.”—(*Journal*, page 287.)

Every nation has its own ideas of good cookery. The Affghans, in all probability, esteemed the dish, here not very temptingly described, as a most recondite and savory *pillau*. There is no saying that a party of Russian prisoners might not have relished it as an exquisite delicacy—a triumph of culinary art. For our own parts, we have no doubt that the dish was abominable, but not worse than the abominations in which a French restaurateur prides himself, or a German cook serves up to the *congeries* of all nations to be found at the Brunnens and the Spas. Lord Blayney complained most piteously of the viands which were served up to him during his captivity in France, because they did not happen to be precisely what he had been wont to enjoy in his days of freedom at his Club. The Affghan dishes, it would appear, like those of the Germans, are either sour or greasy. Sir Francis Head tells us, that at the Brunnens “the simple rule is this ; let him taste the dish, and if it be not sour, he may be quite certain that it is greasy ; again if it be not, let him not eat thereof, for then it is sure to be sour.” The delicacies of the Affghans, we suspect, may be judged by a similar standard ; and it were hard to say whether the fault be not ours rather than the cook’s, when we exhibit our inability to appreciate either the acidities or rancidities set before us.

There is something classical in Lady Sale’s account of the chupatties, “which served at once for plate and bread,” reminding us of the time when Æneas and his companions, feasting on the shores of the Strophades, were compelled to suffer the Harpies “ambesas consumere mensas.” The Affghans have obviously not yet attained to any great refinement in the European art of dining. Their table equipages are not of the most elegant fashion, and their *entremets* not precisely such as are calculated to awaken enthusiasm at the Mansion House. In the course of her captivity Lady Sale “kept the anniversary of her marriage,” by dining with the ladies of Mahommed Shah

Khan's family; and we are told that at this entertainment, "after a time" (oh! that sad time before dinner,) "an extremely dirty cloth was spread over the numdas in front of us, and dishes of pillau, dhye or sour curd, and férnéz or sweet curd were placed before us. Those who had not taken a spoon with them, ate with their fingers, Affighan fashion;—an accomplishment, in which I am by no means *au fait*. We drank water out of a tea-pot." This eating with one's fingers is a sad thing; and yet when Mr. Vigne was asked by Dost Mahommed why Englishmen do not eat with their fingers, he was puzzled to give any better answer than that the ladies would not like them to do so.

The Chinese prisoners complained bitterly of the provender which was served out to them. "Our food," says Mr. Gully, "consisted of salt-fish, greens, and rice; three things, which if I could get dry bread and water, I never would touch." And again, "when dinner was brought to us to-day, there was an unusually small quantity of pork, half-boiled cabbage and cheese made from beans. I was awfully hungry, but none of this could I touch, so I kicked up a row and hove it into the yard." Again, "when breakfast came, there was so little fish that we all refused to eat any, except the gunner, who eat his rice and Tow Chin. The fat jailer came after a long time and gave us some sweet potatoes and promised to speak to the Mandarin and ask for more. This seems to be the mangoe season at this island." So it was, as Mr. Gully soon found to his cost, for he ate so many that he gave himself a dysentery, which he found very difficult to shake off. "Flush of cash," he says in one place, "consequently the mangoes, which are superb, suffer. They certainly assist in passing away the time." Poor man! he suffered more than the mangoes. Mr. Gully, it would seem, whenever his food was bad or insufficient, revenged himself upon his gaolers by breaking the dish in which it was served. "No better, or more food," he writes, "so in the morning I commenced operations by heaving my basin and hash into the yard, and then smashing my bucket and sending it to look after the basin.....In the evening food the same; eat it and asked for more, but was refused, so smashed the dish." Captain Denham acted in a similar manner—"very little for dinner. On sending for more, it was refused, in return for which I broke all the basins and plates and smashed the rice kid."—We cannot be very much surprised, after such displays as these, to learn that the Captain was severely bastinadoed.

The Chinese prisoners appear to have suffered greatly from

the cupidity of their immediate gaolers, who defrauded them of a large portion of what the superior officers allowed. This is a very common trick. The Affghan prisoners were sometimes dealt with after a similar fashion. Lieutenant Eyre, speaking of the prisoners left at Buddiabad says, "Mahommed Akbar's order arriving for their removal to Kabul rescued them from the hands of the brutal nazir, who, it was now discovered, had been defrauding the prisoners of the greater part of the provisions for which he had all the time been charging exorbitantly on their account." And again, under date August 11, "We were thrown into no slight dismay this morning by the sudden stoppage of our supplies. No time was lost in sending information to Akbar, when it was discovered that the nazir, or steward, employed to supply us, being desirous to obtain payment for past expenses, had adopted this method of reminding Akbar of his claims. The matter was soon settled, and our minds, as well as bodies, relieved." Other passages of a similar tendency might be quoted from the different published narratives of the Kabul captivity, as well as from almost every Oriental prison history that has been given to the world. But this sort of fraudulent barbarity is, by no means, peculiar to the East. European gaolers are not much better than their Asiatic brethren. They also know how to cheat. Meincewicz tells us, speaking of his Russian captors, that "The Empress, who was liberal even in her cruelties, had said that as our expenses were defrayed by her, she wished that we should be provided for sumptuously. This was an excellent opportunity for the officers, who were concerned, to defraud the treasury in a most scandalous manner; every month the bills they made up amounted to I know not how many thousand roubles. We should have lived like princes; we did *not*, however; but I must confess that we fared as gentlemen who were very well off." A much worse story than this is told, if we mistake not, of a Russian gaoler in that delightful volume, *Letters from the Baltic*.

During the residence of the prisoners at Buddiabad, not only were no efforts taken to prevent them communicating with their friends and receiving in return letters and parcels, but the Sirdar himself did his best to supply the wants of the captives. On the 24th of January, Lady Sale records in her Journal—"A day or two ago the Sirdar sent some chintz to be divided amongst us. A second quantity was today given out; and we are working hard that we may enjoy the luxury of getting on a clean suit of clothes. There are very few of us that are not covered with crawlers, and although my daughter and I have as

yet escaped, we are in fear and trembling."* And again, on the 25th—"The Sirdar sent eight pieces of long cloth to be divided amongst us!" To this the journalist somewhat ungraciously adds, "I fancy he is generous at little cost; and that it is all a part of the plunder of our camp." Two days later, however, we find this entry—"I heard from him (Sale) to-day; he has sent me my chest of drawers, with clothes, &c. *they were all permitted to come to me unexamined.*" On the 5th of the following month she writes again, "My note to Sale was sent today. I got another from him dated the 29th, and replied to it;" and again on the 10th, "I received boxes from Sale with many useful things, and also books which are a great treat to us." And on the 14th, "The 13th sent a quantity of clothes for distribution amongst the gentlemen. I received a large packet of letters, both from my family in the provinces, and also from England, but no note from Sale; so the Sirdar is still angry about the private correspondence."† Other entries of a similar character might be quoted. It was surely a great thing that the prisoners were permitted to hear from their friends and to receive supplies from them. Think what in comparison with their condition, is the lot of the solitary prisoner, cut off from all communication with the outer world. Captivity when shared loses half its terrors. A band of

* The plague of lice was the greatest evil to which the prisoners were exposed. This, however, is very lightly regarded in Afghanistan. In Central Asia crawlers are almost as abundant as in continental Europe. In China they swarm most overpoweringly, and the British prisoners at Formosa were dreadfully afflicted by them. Mr. Gully says—"On our first arrival we found we were all more or less infested with vermin—for two months we were annoyed by myriads of fleas, bugs, lice, ants, mosquitoes and centipedes, without a possibility of getting rid of them except by death or a miracle. And Captain, Denham enters in his journal, I may here state, that the old trowsers I had, had become like all the rest so covered with vermin, that I was glad to take them off and wear the bag around my middle. The prison was full of lice, fleas, bugs, rats, cockroaches, and centipedes; our situation was most wretched; the natives think nothing of vermin. I don't think there is a native on the island, who is not covered with them, men, women and children". At Bokhara, the most miserable of all captives—Col Stoddart and Captain Conolly—were almost literally eaten up by vermin. The French prisoners in Algeria were in the same condition. One of them died, and his dress, a single scanty garment descended as a legacy to one of the survivors. "The vermin which were attached to it," says the narrator, "were so numerous and so thick, that when placed against the wall, it stood upright like a board. However, misery and suffering had destroyed by degrees all sensibility, both moral and physical, I took the clothing and wrapped myself in it and became much warmer. Some of Abd-el-Kader's prisoners were women. We are told in one place, "on their arrival at Mescara these prisoners were in a state of filth and misery impossible to describe. Madame Laurent's hair was very long and covered with vermin. Fleury cut it close; and with the money, the Sultan had given her, she bought a comb."

† Akbar Khan had discovered that Major Pottinger and Capt. Macgregor, the Political Agent at Jullalabad, were carrying on a clandestine correspondence—"a very foolish attempt," as Lady Sale declares it to have been.

prisoners are indeed a merry crew compared with the single captives, beyond the reach of all humanity save the specimen presented in the persons of their gaolers, sinking under the weight of solitude and silence, and the eternal sameness of their bare prison walls. This is it, indeed, to suffer. In a crowd we can bear much; we can console each other; the "sweet music of speech" is not denied to us; we can look upon familiar faces; exchange our free thoughts and take sweet counsel together—but in solitude, what can the mind do, but prey, for want of other ailment, on itself? The solitary captive is indeed a captive. "He never hears of wife or children; house or friends; the life or death of any single creature. He sees the prison officers, but with that exception he never looks upon a human countenance or hears a human voice. He is a man buried alive; to be dug out in the slow round of years, and in the mean time dead to everything but torturing anxiety and horrible despair." "The weary days pass on with solemn pace like mourners at a funeral; and slowly he begins to feel that the white walls of the cell have something dreadful in them: that their color is horrible; that their smooth surface chills his blood; that there is one hateful corner which torments him. Every morning, when he wakes he hides his head beneath the coverlet, and shudders to see the ghastly ceiling looking down upon him. The blessed light of day itself peeps in, an ugly phantom face, through the unchangeable crevice, which is his prison window. By slow but sure degrees, the terrors of that hateful corner swell until they beset him at all times; invade his rest, make his dreams hideous and his nights dreadful."* And yet even in that dreadful corner there is a soothing influence. We have read of a barbarian, who having discovered that his unhappy prisoner found employment for his mind in contemplating the angles of his prison walls, and the damp stains on their surface, confined him in a small circular dungeon, newly painted, on which the eye found nothing to rest. The wretched captive went mad.

Imagination may draw frightful pictures of the terrors of solitary confinement. They cannot exceed that reality. The mind must stagger under the oppressive load of solitude which burthens it. The narrative of Silvio Pellico, the Italian poet, who was imprisoned beneath the "leads" of Venice and in the dungeons of Speilberg, because the Austrian Government suspected him of being an honest man, may be familiar to most of our

* *Dicken's American Notes*—a book which has not been suffered to take its proper place among the works of that eminent writer.

readers. In it are detailed with terrible fidelity the agonies endured throughout long days and nights of haunted solitude, when the mind, conscious of its own aberrations, wrestled against the delusions which were overwhelming it; and fully alive to its own condition was yet powerless to dispel the malady. He had found companions in spiders and ants, and these too he had lost. "Seeing human creatures so rarely," he says, "I turned my attention to some ants, which came upon my window and I fed them, so sumptuously, that they brought a whole army of their companions, and my window was soon filled. I occupied myself likewise with a spider, which spun its web on one of the walls; I gave it gnats and flies, and it became so familiar as to come upon my head and into my hand to seize its prey." And soon afterwards he writes, "Although I had suffered much in this chamber I was sorry to quit it, not only because it would be comfortable in cold weather, but for many other reasons. I first of all had those ants, which I loved and nourished with a solicitude which might be called paternal, if the expression were not ridiculous. A few days previously my spider had departed, I know not for what reason, but who knows thought I, but it will remember me and return? And now that I am going away, if it return, it will find the prison empty, or if it meet with a new host, he will be, perchance an enemy to spiders, who will sweep away with his slipper this goodly web and crush the poor animal." Who can wonder that soon after this, the weary prisoner records the throng of terrible hallucinations which preyed upon his introverted mind.*

The Kabul prisoners we have seen, were permitted to correspond with their friends. Lady Sale, in one of the passages quoted by us in a preceding page, records with pleasure, the receipt of divers letters from her family in India and in England, and from her husband at Jullalabad. She was seldom, for any length of time, ignorant of the fate of those who were dearest to her. Pellico was debarred, for many years, all communication with his friends. He knew not whether his parents—his brothers and sisters were alive or dead. He believed that the grave had closed over them. A portion of an *Augsburg Gazette* reached him in his prison, and in it he read that one of his sisters had retired to a convent. From this he drew the dreadful inference that she was the last of that ill-fated household. "I never," he says, "obtained the slightest

* The powerful picture, which Dickens has drawn, in the chapter from which we have too briefly quoted, of the mental agonies attendant on a lengthened period of solitary confinement, has a close counterpart drawn from actual life in Pellico's *Prison Thoughts*.

intelligence of those, who were so far removed from me, with the exception of those few words relative to my sister." This is but one, of some scores of illustrative examples to which we might readily refer; the difficulty is to find examples of prisoners, who have been freely permitted to communicate with their friends in the outer world.

Lady Sale and her companions were not doomed to taste the dreariness of solitude. There was abundance of occupation for their minds; and, generally, sufficient exercise for their bodies. The principal hardships which they underwent were of an active character; the prisoners were carried about from one place to another, and sometimes, it must be admitted, over very indifferent roads. The *jolting* was, by no means, pleasant—but Lady Sale tells us that, "the wives of all these Ghilzie chiefs go wherever we do," so we conclude that, although the Affghan ladies, had "the best and largest Kujavahs," there was nothing very intolerable in the locomotion. Anything, however, must have been better than that utter stagnation, which has broken for ever the spirit of many a strong captive. Four blank walls—nothing visible beyond them—no companions, no books, no writing materials—here are the genuine horrors of captivity. Lady Sale gives a very different account of the nature of her sufferings. In one place, she says, "We all got "excellent quarters. In addition to the two rooms apportioned "to our party, we have permission to sit in the day time, in a "room in a bourj, a small octagon with oorsees or open-work "lattices. There are two flights of steep steps to mount to it "from our apartments, which are upstairs; but the view from "it is so refreshing, looking over all the forts and highly cultivated grounds; it has the advantage of being always cool, "which compensates for the trouble in getting there;"—and again, "the garden or rather vineyard and orchard I consider "a great luxury, we walk in it every evening for an hour or "two. A strong guard is placed there; but except when it "has been lately changed the men do not annoy us. At such "times, they dodge about after us, but otherwise do not. Last "evening, for instance, sixteen men armed at all points, sat "down in a row in the centre walk and laughed and joked together; five or six men sitting, eating grapes on the top of the "summer house; and a few were posted, seated on the walls; "whilst we walked, here and there, where we pleased." Compare with these accounts any narrative of European captivity; and see if the comparison be not in favour of the Asiatic. Visit, with Silvio Pellico and his companions, the dungeons of Speilberg—taste with them the horrors of the *carcere duro*—a dark cell in a

subterranean corridor—a “naked plank for a bed and an enormous chair fixed to the wall;” and each “alone in his horrible cavern;” take your exercise with them, “twice a-week an hour’s walking, between two guards with muskets on their shoulders,” each going separately to the promenade. Then take a glance at Meincewicz and his brave comrades, in their Petersburg prison. “After dinner,” writes the Pole, “they left us long “ in darkness and I employed this time in taking a walk. I had “ chosen the diagonal line across my room as the longest, being “ about eight small paces. I walked absorbed in melancholy “ thought. I often intended to walk so many thousand paces. “ I counted them, but nearly always erred in my calculation, and “ fell again into my reveries. By dint of walking in the same “ diagonal line, I impressed on it, in the course of two years, a “ path which was nearly a quarter of an inch below the level “ of the floor. The sight of this must I think have caused “ my successor to tremble.” Think, we say, of these notable examples of the tender mercies of Austrian and Russian Governments; and learn to appreciate such freedom in captivity as was granted to the prisoners in Affghanistan.

Air, exercise, companionship, a free view of the outer world, were allowed to the Affghan captives. They appear not to have lacked occupation. They read newspapers and books, they wrote letters and journals, they conversed and played with each other, they drew pictures, they naturalized, and altogether do not appear to have wanted the means of occupying their time. The Chinese prisoners were, in this respect, much more wretchedly situated. The first entry, which we find in Mr. Gully’s “regular log during imprisonment at Ty-wan-foo” contains these words, “Very wretched; “one miserable day following another. *No books; in fact no “ amusement at all to relieve the dreadful monotony of the prison; “ and worse than all, no exercise.*” And again, in a subsequent entry, “the days are awfully tedious, and I am sadly at a loss for something to pass away the time, and *feel the want of books.*” Other passages might be quoted from this and similar works illustrative of captivity in the East. The records of Western captivity are no less rife with examples of the cruelty, which denies to the prisoner the means of mental occupation—no less rife with examples of the ingenious artifices to which prisoners resort, hoping in some small measure, to lessen the mind-annihilating dreariness of prison-life. In Dickens’ *American Notes* some curious examples of this ingenuity are recorded. The memoirs of Silvio Pellico, from which we have already made several quotations, present many touching pictures, illustrative

of this fertility of artifice developed by adverse circumstances. Even, when in the comparative enjoyment of the mildest form of imprisonment to which he was subjected, he had the means neither of reading nor of writing, and therefore, to use his own language, "To supply the want of paper I had," he says, "recourse to the innocent artifice of polishing with a piece of glass, a rough table that I had, and there I recorded every day my lengthy meditations upon the duties of mankind, and especially on my own. When all the disposable surface of the table was covered with writing, I read and re-read, I meditated upon my own meditations ; and at last I resolved (often with regret) to scratch out with the glass what I had written, so as to render the surface fit to receive the fresh impress of my thoughts. Thus I continued my history often interrupted by digressions of all sorts, by an analysis of some point in metaphysics, morals, politics, or religion ; and when all was full I commenced reading, re-reading and then effacing." Of what followed—the fellowship with spiders and ants—and then the terrible confusion of brain—the haunting delusions which rendered life so terrible—our readers have some knowledge ; but we must quote one more passage, illustrative of the results of this dreary solitude and long want of occupation :—

"Seated at my table it sometimes seemed to me that I was pulled by the coat, sometimes that a hidden hand pushed away my book, until I saw it falling on the ground, sometimes that some one came behind me to blow out my candle. Then I started to my feet with precipitation, I looked around me, I trod with apprehension, and I asked myself if I were mad or in my proper senses. Of all the things, which I looked upon or felt, I knew not which was real, or which was illusory."

He then gave utterance to the fulness of his heart in expressions indicative of excruciating agony.

We have drawn our illustrations so exclusively from authentic history, that we hesitate to present our readers even with *one*, derived from a fiction based upon fact, though the passage which we are about to give, may be as authentic as any we have quoted. Indeed M. de Saintin's little narrative of the *Picciola* bears, in almost every chapter, internal evidence—so truthful, so touching is it in its details, that even without the author's protestations on the subject, we should set it down at once as a work of anything but mere fiction. After describing the wretched prison in which Charney was confined, the narrative goes on to describe the nature of the prisoner's pursuits :—

"Determining at length to overcome his sickly thoughts and weary idleness, he tried to accustom himself to frivolous and puerile occupations ; he

voluntarily anticipated that abasement which is the consequence of a long residence in prison; he plunged into it; he threw himself on it with transport. The *savan* made trimmings of linen and silk. (The philosopher manufactured pipes of straw and play-vessels of walnut-shells.) The man of genius constructed whistles and carved little boxes and open work baskets of fruit stones! He wore chains and made musical instruments with the elastic wire of his suspenders and admired himself in his works. Then soon after disgust seized him and he trampled them under his feet. To vary his occupation he carved on his table a thousand fantastic designs. Never did a school-boy, so cut his desk, or cover it with arabesques, in relief or intaglio, with more pretence or skill....yet still ennui, formidable ennui surprised him in the midst of these grave occupations....In these puerilities, in this weariness of spirit, a whole winter passed. Happily for him a new subject of interest was coming to his aid."

This was the Picciola—the little flower—the heroine of the touching tale.

In respect of positive ill-treatment—the cruelty of chains and stripes and other modes of torture—the Kabul captives appear to have enjoyed an immunity almost perfect. The Chinese prisoners were chained, beaten and finally massacred. The Burmese prisoners were subjected to personal indignity and cruelty of the foulest kind; and neither Hyder nor Tippoo, as we have sufficiently shown, ever hesitated to torture and destroy their victims after the most approved oriental fashion. In civilised European countries the discipline of chains and of stripes is, by no means, unknown to prisoners of war; and enlightened monarchs, if they do not often decapitate their captives, are not disinclined to put them to death by degrees—starving, freezing, or otherwise destroying them painfully by slow inches. Nay, even in Affghanistan the British cannot be said to be wholly guiltless of shedding the blood of prisoners—they have done, or participated in the doing of, *such things*, as scores of witnesses can declare; but Akbar Khan neither insulted, nor tortured his prisoners. The modesty of our women was never outraged; the persons of all were held sacred. His prisoners were neither chained, nor beaten, nor subjected to unnecessary restraint. When an Affgan chanced to call Captain Lawrence a *dog*, Akbar Khan, as soon as the circumstance was made known to him, caused the man to be severely chastised, and told Captain L. that if he were not satisfied, he (the Sirdar) would order the man's ears to pay for the offence.

We must here remark, as briefly as possible, on what we conceive to be demonstrative of a certain want of generosity—that generosity, which can appreciate what is good even in those at whose hands we have suffered—on the part of Lady Sale and Mr. Eyre, as evidenced in their respective journals. We are

not unmindful of the fact that these journals were hastily written, and, in many places, record mere transitory feelings and impressions. It is more than probable that writing even at this distance from the date of their captivity, they would see reason to modify much which they have published regarding the character and conduct of Akbar Khan and other Affghan Sirdars. Indeed, Lady Sale, when she takes a more leisurely review (as she does at page 404 *et seq.*) of all the circumstances of her captivity, has the candour to acknowledge that the prisoners on the whole were well treated by their Affghan captors. One point, however, of very great importance—one which it is necessary to bear constantly in mind, when we attempt to estimate at their proper value the merits and demerits of Mahommed Akbar, in this particular relation of captor to captive—has been so generally overlooked, that we must here bring it prominently forward. We refer to the great provocations to harshness and cruelty, in the way of *retaliation*, which might naturally, at such a time, have been supposed to operate cogently on the mind, and to shape the conduct of the Affghan Sirdar. These provocations, it must be admitted, were more imaginary than real. They rose out of generally credited reports of the acts and intentions of the British Government and the British army, and were not less operative because, in some instances, they were unfounded. We often find Lady Sale entering in her Journal such passage, as the following:—

"They say that Sultan Jan is really gone with 3,000 men to the Chotah Khylber; that our *force coming up gives no quarter*"—(Page 314.)

"The Sirdar fears if he is taken by us we shall *either hang him or blow him from a gun*. Mahommed Shah Khan is in a great fright also."—(Page 327.)

"He (Mahommed Akbar) insists that he has a letter from Hindustan, in which it is asserted that his father has twenty sentries over him."—(Page 329.)

"Nott is said to have returned to Kandahar; after *putting to death all his Affghan captives* and blowing up Khelat-i-Ghilzie"—(Page 373.)

"Two men have come in who repeat the old story; that there has been a great battle at Pesh-Bolak, *where every man, woman and child was killed*."—(Page 382.)

"We hear that General Nott has arrived at Ghuzni, has blown up the new bourj in the city, and has *put to death nearly every man, woman and child in the city*."—(Page 415.)

And on this Lady Sale remarks, "We cannot be surprised at the men taking signal vengeance, but we fear the news is *too good to be true!*"

We need not quote further; for this, verily, is a climax.

Perhaps, however, in spite of the untoward position of the concluding words, Lady Sale means to apply the expression of "good news" to the reported arrival of Gen. Nott at Ghuzni, and not to the reported massacre. If not, well, indeed, may she tell us that "a woman's vengeance is fearful."

Now, these are the provocations of which we speak, and yet we do not find that even under such provocations, the Affghans ill-treated *our* "women and children." Not one was killed—not one was injured. We know some at least, who quitted the provinces of India, pale and sickly, and returned to them rubicund and robust. Lady Sale herself informs us, that two of the English children were lost in the confusion of the retreat, and restored by the Affghans to their parents. Of the treatment of Captain Anderson's little girl, whilst severed from her parents, she writes, "nothing could exceed the kindness of Zeman Shah Khan to the little girl; who became much attached to her new friends." Indeed, our children were treated as kindly, as our women were respectfully by the Affghans; and yet both Lady Sale and Lieutenant Eyre repeatedly tell us that Akbar Khan was capable of any atrocity. "There is nothing," says Lady Sale, "too brutal or savage for Akbar to accomplish;" and Lieut. Eyre assures us, that the Sirdar is "notorious for stopping at no atrocity." There appear to have been many brutal and savage things left unaccomplished by Akbar Khan, and many atrocities, at which he did stop short—or Lady Sale and Lieut. Eyre would not have returned to India to bear witness against him.

But Lady Sale and Lieut. Eyre are, we doubt not, ready with a rejoinder. It is part of their creed that every act of forbearance—every act not to be designated as an absolute atrocity—committed by the Affghan Sirdars was the result of selfish calculation—that they did not insult and torture their prisoners, because they thought it would be more to their interest to spare them. Thus the Affghans are not permitted to escape. Do they ill or do they well, some black, bad motive must be at the bottom of it. Several instances of this unwillingness to give the Affghans any credit for humane and kindly intentions may be found scattered through the pages both of Lady Sale's and Lieut. Eyre's journals. Take the following as samples:—"He (Akbar Khan) has carefully kept all "our notes to him asking him for or thanking him for things "received; no doubt to produce at the last, as a further "proof of his kindness to his captives."—(*Sale*.) "It is strange "he (Skinner) should have placed the faith he did in him

"(Akbar Khan) unless, indeed, he saw further into Akbar's policy than others, and believed that we should be treated with honor and kept by him as a *dernier resort*. What will now be our fate seems very uncertain; but I still think he will not cut our throats;—not out of love to us, but because the other chiefs would resent it; as having possession of us, they could at least obtain a handsome sum as our ransom."—(*Sale*.) —"Mahommed Shah Khan was as good as his word and actually brought back the (Lady Macnaghten's) jewels. We had good reason to believe that he had several times tried, without success, to raise money by them in the city; but finding no body to appreciate their value, and hoping to establish a claim to the favorable consideration of our Government, he made a merit of their restoration to the right owner."—(*Eyre*.) —"To show however his determination to leave the General no handle against him, he released Mohun Lall, and restored to him 18,000 rupees that had been taken from him." These will suffice. Now it would clearly be impossible for any amount of human virtue to make head successfully against the prejudices of those who sit in judgment on their fellows, after such a fashion as this. It is said that the Affghan chiefs were capable of any atrocity—that they stopped short of nothing; and when it appears that they did stop short of almost every atrocity (*quoad* the prisoners) which they might have committed, it is said that they only forebore because forbearance was to their own advantage—because they hoped to gain something by treating their prisoners well. If Akbar Khan carried one of the captives across the river on his own horse, or gave up his palanquin to another, or bound up the wounds of a third with his own hand; or was careful when moving his prisoners not to separate the physician from the sick;* it was only because a live prisoner is of more value than a dead one—a sound prisoner of more value than a cripple. And this is the style in which an enemy is treated—an enemy, who, whatever he may have done towards others, acted towards his prisoners with uniform kindness and respect. We must, however, state our conviction that the greater number of the Affghan prisoners regard, with very different feelings, the conduct of their captor; and many of them, we know, are wont, much to their honor, to speak in terms of commendation

* When the prisoners were moved from Kabul, "Mrs. Anderson, her husband and children remained at the Fort. Akbar ordered every attention to be paid to them—Mr. Campbell being left with the party to afford medical aid."

and gratitude of the kindness which they experienced whilst in his hands.

There are some facts, so at variance with Lady Sale's and Lieut. Eyre's estimates of the character and conduct of Akbar Khan, and other Affghan sirdars, that we doubt whether all their ingenuity in discovering inwardly bad motives for outwardly good actions can account for them on the old hypothesis of self-interest. Thus, if Lady Macnaghten's jewels were restored, because they were of no use to the possessor; and the money extorted from Mohun Loll given back to soften the resentment of General Pollock, we should like to know, for which of these two reason, Akbar Khan sent Captain Troup's favorite horse back to its owner, after our army had returned to India, and he had nothing to expect from our favor or our displeasure (if an act of private generosity *could* have affected the one or the other); and if he only spared the prisoners in his hands, only treated them kindly in the hope of being able to make good terms for himself and sell the captives at a high price to the British Government,—if he was capable of any atrocity, "notorious for stopping at nothing, when his angry passions are once aroused," how did it happen that when he had nothing to look for from negotiation, when matters had been brought to the arbitrament of war, and all his bad passions had been aroused by the defeat of his forces, and the entrance of the British troops into the capital of Affghanistan—how came it that, when thus baffled and defeated, his army broken up, his strongholds levelled with the ground, and himself a fugitive, he restored the last remaining prisoner, in safety, to his friends?

We had penned this last question before we were aware that Lieut. Eyre had answered it. This is the answer:—

"He (Akbar Khan) had the good sense to perceive that the further detention of his sole remaining prisoner could serve no good purpose, whilst by restoring him to liberty he *might found a claim to credit for magnanimity, and, perhaps, in some degree conciliate the British Government.* Nor is the act altogether devoid of grace, when we consider that clemency to an unbelieving foe is neither a principle of the Mahommedan creed nor a characteristic of the Affghan people."

In other words, although a woman's vengeance is always fearful, Akbar Khan's, in this case, was *not*.

Before we bring the present article to a close, although it has already extended far beyond the proper limits, we desire to make one or two observations, upon which it is a privilege and a pleasure to dwell. And firstly, it must have occurred to all,

who, like ourselves, have perused volume upon volume of prison-history—sad records of captivity in foreign climes—that, in almost every instance, where an opportunity has presented itself, female sympathy and kindness have done much to lighten the burthens which have been imposed upon the captive—that the women even of the most barbarous countries have seldom been wanting in womanly tenderness, whilst their conduct has often stood out in beautiful relief from the dark picture of virile cruelty set before us. It is not our purpose to sentimentalise; but to state, in simple language, a simple fact. Lady Sale bears willing testimony to the kindness of the women of Affghanistan. Mrs. Judson derived most important benefits from the kindly interference of the women of Burmah—the wives of men high in authority; but for such interference it is probable that all the white prisoners would have perished. They often evinced the liveliest sympathy, and manifested, in their actions, the true charity of the Samaritan. We can afford room but for one illustrative extract:—"The curiosity of the Lamine Woon's wife," writes Mrs. Judson, referring to the time when the prisoners were removed to Oung-pen-la, "induced her to make a visit to the prisoners, whose wretchedness considerably excited her compassion, and she ordered some fruit, sugar, and tamarinds, for their refreshment; and the next morning rice was prepared for them, and poor as it was, it was refreshing to the prisoners, who had been almost destitute of food the day before. Carts were also provided for their conveyance, as none of them were able to walk." Both Mr. Gully and Captain Denham give their evidence in favor of the comparative kindness of the Chinese women. Mr. Gully, describing his journey to the place of his captivity, says, "we suffered all sorts of abuse and indignities in passing through these (towns) as well as all the others throughout the whole journey; *but the women did not join in this*, although they showed the usual curiosity of their sex." The italics in this are the writer's own, as they are also in the annexed passage from Captain Denham's Journal:—"In passing through these places we were abused and called all manner of names; and our hair occasionally pulled by way of amusement, they also threw all sorts of filth at us, and the children, and often full grown men spat at us, as we were carried along; *the women were better behaved and a few looked on us with much apparent sympathy.*" Mon. DeFrance in his narrative of his captivity among the Arabs, gives a still more pleasing account of the kindness of the women of Barbary. He says, in one place, "the women of the village displayed

great kindness and pity towards me. I had eight Yataghan wounds on my body. These excellent women never left me a moment ; and they passed the whole time in rubbing my wounds with honey and butter. They also gave me, as well as my companions, white bread and fruit. They overwhelmed the little cabin boy with caresses. On seeing all the care, all the attentions by which I was surrounded, I fancied myself at Genoa, rather than on the coasts of Barbary : I shall always remember the women of Tenez, and the kindness they showered upon me with so much zeal and disinterestedness." And again, in the same narrative, we read—"The Bey has two charming daughters, whose kindness of heart equals the grace and beauty of their countenances. These two young girls rose in the middle of the night and brought food to Madame Laurent and Benedicto. They gave them silk kerchiefs, which were of great use to them during the journey, and which they wrapped round their heads.....These excellent women then sent us dishes of couscousson, but the negroes, who were directed to bring them to us, eat them with our guards." Another illustration of what we have written above relating to the manner in which prisoners are cheated by fraudulent subordinates.

Lady Sale often speaks of the kindness and civility, which, when opportunity offered, she experienced at the hands of the Affghan women. One woman, it is true, cuts a very poor figure in her narrative, and that of Lieut. Eyre ;—one woman, it appears, exerted herself not to mitigate, but to increase the sufferings of the prisoners—and that was one of our own women, a Mrs. Wade, a Serjeant's wife, who unblushingly, of her own act, went into a Mahommedan harem, and became the bitter enemy, among others, of her own husband. In Scurry's narrative there are frequent references to one of the English prisoners—not a woman—who to ingratiate himself with his captors, used to take every opportunity of informing against the other prisoners, and became a sort of spy and counsellor, whose tender mercies very much enhanced the bitterness of the captivity endured by his brethren ; and, if we mistake not, Mrs. Fay complains of similar kind offices having been performed by one of her fellow-prisoners, when she had the misfortune to fall into the hands of one of Hyder's *employés*.

But we willingly break off from so unpleasant a digression. We are anxious, at the close of our article, rather to dwell upon the virtues of our countrymen. There is nothing more remarkable in all the narratives of captivity, which lie before us, than the unflinching patience, fortitude, and courage of Eng-

lish prisoners. Under every depressing circumstance we find their strong spirits unbroken to the last. Captive in body, they are never captive in soul; but often in every respect, except as to their bonds, they are the lords of their gaolers. Accustomed to supremacy in the East, they often wholly forget their relative position of captive to captor, and are, in spirit at least, as dominant in a dungeon, as when breathing the air of freedom.

Thus we find Mr. Gully, in his Chinese prison, exclaiming, "Wont I take the first opportunity of paying our gaolers for this;" and again, "our gaoler, short of cash and trying to be very civil; but, by the——, and I find him tripping." And Captain Denham tells us, that when on his way to prison, a Chinaman insulted him, and called him a woman. Upon which, said the Captain, "I gave him a blow that astonished him a little, and proved, pretty plainly, that I was not, at all events of the weaker sex, being handcuffed he got the weight of both hands and the benefit of the irons, which cut his lips very much." And every where, in these journals we have indications of the extremely unruly conduct of the prisoners, who, as we have already shown, delighted in breaking the crockery, whenever they had a bad dinner. The prisoners in Affghanistan were not much more afraid of their gaolers. We have heard more than one anecdote illustrative of the little ceremony with which they were sometimes wont to treat the Affghans by whom they were surrounded. The more passive courage of Lady Sale and her female associates—for we by no means regard the lady whom we have named as the only heroine—is worthy of high admiration; there was in it much disinterested patriotism, much noble self-devotion—self-devotion, which we seldom find wanting in Englishmen and Englishwomen, when they find that they have the reputation of their country to uphold. Of such self-devotion it is probable that we have, in the conduct of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly at Khiva, the most illustrious examples on record, as we certainly have, in their most pitiable histories, instances of unexampled sufferings. To their fate, and to the efforts made to ascertain the circumstances connected with it, we may, perhaps, on some future occasion, make more ample references. At the close of so extended an article as the present, we can only name the "Bokhara victims."

We now, leaving much unsaid which we had purposed to say on this occasion, bring our article, already greatly overgrown, to an end. It has been our object, by copiousness of illustration,

to show, as far as our limits would allow, in what manner different nations, civilized and uncivilized, are wont to treat prisoners of state. The inquiry, though imperfectly conducted, is not without interest. It is too much the custom to exaggerate the vices of our neighbours, when those vices have been exercised to our own detriment. We are too prone, for lack of sufficient information, to regard as peculiar to certain people, in a certain state of civilization, characteristics which are peculiar to no people and to no age. We have confined ourselves to this one matter—the treatment of prisoners; and we think we have sufficiently shown, that whatever may have been the general conduct of the Affghans in their dealings with the British (and this is a question which we may take some future opportunity to discuss) they have not, in the particular relation of captor to captive, displayed any very uncommon amount of harshness and inhumanity. We believe that we have tested their conduct in this respect by the true standard. We have compared it not only with the conduct, in like circumstances, of other Asiatic states, but with the conduct of civilized European Governments; and the comparison has, in no instance, been to the disadvantage of the Affghan sirdars. Taking into consideration all circumstances of national character, religious faith, political excitement—all provocations from within and without—there is abundant cause for thankfulness in the now-established fact that our British prisoners, men and women, who were surrendered on the retreat from Kabul, escaped from imprisonment uninjured, unpolluted, ungraded. Privations, in varying degrees, they doubtless had to endure; and we can easily fancy the distressing anxiety of mind which must have been felt, as often as they reflected on the perplexing uncertainties of the future. But, notwithstanding the inevitable pressure of pain from many past proceedings, as well as of ominous forebodings for the future, some, perhaps, can now look back upon the time of their captivity—we may almost hazard the conjecture,—as not the most miserable period of their lives.

THE FIRST SERIES OF GOVERNMENT MEASURES FOR THE ABOLITION OF HUMAN SACRIFICES AMONG THE KHONDS.

BY REV. ALEXANDER DUFF, D. D., LL. D.

1. *Lieutenant Macpherson's Report upon the Khonds of the Districts of Gangam and Cuttack. Calcutta, 1841.*
2. *Various Official Documents (hitherto unpublished.)*

THE recent efforts made by the British Government, with a view to the abolition of the horrid practices of human sacrifice and infanticide among the Khonds, and the introducing of these wild and barbarous tribes within the pale of civilization generally, are amongst the most remarkable and praiseworthy in which that, or any other Government, ever engaged. Justice, therefore, to the British Government and its honoured agents seems to call for an authentic history of these efforts, while as yet the means for the effectual execution of such a task exist in abundant and accessible stores. The subject is one which ought to elicit and command a general interest. It is one which deeply involves the cause of our common humanity, and the hidden springs that affect or influence its varied destinies. It is one which furnishes fresh materials for the speculation and remarks of the philosophic inquirer into the causes that accelerate or retard the amelioration or degeneracy of different and widely scattered sections of the family of man. It is one, moreover, which cannot fail to touch a chord of sympathy in the breasts of all who aspire to the credit of being endowed with so noble an attribute as that of philanthropy.

Such being the diversified interest and importance of the subject, we feel warranted in devoting to its full and detailed elucidation a more than ordinary amount of space in our pages—more especially as it possesses many of the characteristics of an original theme, which, in some of its more marked and striking features, has never yet, in any shape or form, been presented to the public at all. As far as we can learn, the Honorable Mr. Russel, in his report of August 1836, was the first who introduced the subject of the Khonds and their peculiarities to the notice of the Madras Government. Still, he does not appear, at that time, to have known much concerning them beyond a few general traits and obvious features which must soon have obtruded themselves on the attention of every British officer, and indeed of every intelligent man who traversed the country;—such as, that the women were very plain, and the men remarkably well made, active, of average height, and on the whole good-looking—that not only every tribe but every village had its chief, chosen not from any hereditary claim, but because he was the best soldier or the

best spokesman of the day—that, like other nations, they had their feuds, and frequently warred with their neighbours, head for head, being the universal law—that their love of liquor and tobacco was excessive, the fruit of the Ippa tree affording them a very strong spirit, and a palm peculiar to their country, yielding a toddy, which, though pleasant when fresh, is extremely intoxicating in a fermented state—that they drew no milk from any description of cattle, yet had none of the ordinary prejudices of caste, and ate anything except the dog, domestic cat, beasts of prey, vulture, kite and snake. To these generalities, which lay on the very surface of the constitution of Khond society, Mr. Russel was also enabled, authoritatively to add two other important and even appalling facts, viz., *first*, that among the tribes to the westward of Souradah, not in the Maliahs subject to Goomsur, the destruction of female children was common, or rather general—that the expense attending the marriage rites was said to be the motive of this cruel custom, and that they purchased their women from other parts of the country, without reference to their parentage;—*second*, that the barbarous ceremony of human sacrifice did exist in the Maliahs subject to Goomsur, and among many of the neighbouring tribes, and was of annual occurrence—in some places, the victims being of both sexes, and in others, males only.

It does not appear, however, that Mr. Russel knew any thing beyond the bare existence of such atrocious practices. At least we can discover no evidence of any such additional knowledge—no insight into their real nature or extent—no apprehension of the real foundation on which they rested—no clue to their intrinsic importance and relative bearings in the prevalent systems, social and religious—no detection of their root and origin and perpetuating causes in the hereditary sentiments, ethnographic peculiarities, or mythological traditions of the people.

Neither does it appear that Mr. Russel, in his first report, was led to propose any measures whatever, with a view to the extirpation of such horrid practices—nor that such an object was in any way directly or specifically contemplated by him. His more immediate and paramount duty was of totally a different kind; and so were all the functions that belonged to it. The whole country was in a state of insurrection and rebellion; and he was invested with a special commission, backed by the necessary military force, to quell the rebellion, and re-establish peace and security of life and property, where hitherto all had been disorder and violence. This task he undertook with promptitude and prosecuted throughout

with untiring vigor and determined energy—sparing no pains, or trouble or personal fatigue—freely exposing himself to the unhealthiness of the climate in all its unmitigated forms—running all the risks and hazards of a galling and all but universal guerilla warfare—accompanying the troops in their various expeditions through the thorns and thickets of an interminable wilderness—following them along rugged defiles and steep and almost precipitous mountain passes, never before trodden by the foot of civilized man—and tracking the rebel fugitives in their devious wanderings from one jungly or craggy fastness to another, over the length and the breadth of an almost impassable territory. All this and much more Mr. Russel achieved. And having, in this way, restored the low country to something like order and allegiance—inflicted terrible retribution on the hill tribes who had screened the enemy or risen in arms against us, or proved treacherous to their own engagements—and captured and judicially condemned the majority of the rebel-chiefs with their more guilty accomplices,—he was led to recommend, as the only means of keeping the country in peace and establishing the authority of the paramount power, that the forfeiture of the Zemindary, already declared, should be confirmed, and the lands resumed on account of Government, absolutely and for ever.

On the supposition that this recommendation was acceded to, Mr. Russel could not but contemplate some of the prospective results and requirements consequent on the proposed resumption. Or the restoration of peace and order, the settlement of the revenue, or public assessment, on a satisfactory footing, was one of the objects which would claim the earliest and most strenuous attention. Still, it was not the revenue of the district which ought solely or chiefly to be looked to, but the character of our Government, and the moral influence which the establishment of our power there on a firm basis would exert on all the surrounding districts. To this important view of the case, a man of Mr. Russel's sagacity and good sense could not be wholly blind. Accordingly, we believe, that without adverting to the abolition of any of the barbarous customs of the Khonds, he did declare, in a general way, the civilization of these wild tribes, with whom the British had then for the first time become acquainted, to be an object not less interesting than important. To attain this object, however, the only practical measure which he appears to have proposed was the following :—

Having learnt that the Khonds were excessively fond of salt, salt-fish, brass utensils, scarlet woollen, red blankets,

and all but the coarsest kinds of cotton manufacture, and that for the obtaining of these they depended solely on their lowland neighbours, either in the way of rapine or exchange,—Mr. Russel very naturally and properly concluded, that they would view with satisfaction any change which had the effect of placing these and other coveted articles fairly within their reach. And one of the ways of accomplishing this desirable end was to revive the fairs formerly held in different localities, and to establish similar marts in other places favourable to the purpose, where they would have opportunities of seeing articles from all parts of the world. This would tend greatly to promote their intercourse with us, and, by giving them new tastes and new wants, would, in time, afford us the best hold we could have on their fidelity as subjects, by rendering them dependent upon us for what might, one day, become necessities of life. Considering how desirable it was to improve our connection with these tribes, by removing all checks to the free transit of what they might give or receive in their dealings, and by encouraging the importation of goods likely to suit them, Mr. Russel very judiciously suggested the abolition of all duties* within the Zemindaries of Goomsur and Souradah, or, if that were thought objectionable, their suspension for a period of years.

Whether the Madras Government was led to give any deliverance on that part of Mr Russel's Report, which referred to the general subject of the civilization of the Khonds, is a point which we have not been able to ascertain. The probability is, that it did not. The war had not yet been brought to a close, the territory had not yet been finally resumed; and until both these matters were conclusively determined, the decision of Government would, in all likelihood, be kept in abeyance. The case was very different, when, on the 11th May of the year following (1837), Mr. Russel was enabled to give in his *second* report. The war was then finished, the territory resumed, and plenary power given to the Madras Government to adopt such mode of administration concerning it, as might be best suited to the special exigencies of the case.

Encouragement was thus afforded to all parties to collect information and offer suggestions. Accordingly, Mr. Russel endeavoured to glean a few more particulars relative to the

* The average revenue from this source during the ten years preceding 1836, would appear to have amounted only to Rupees 3,027-11-9; a sum not to be put in competition with the object proposed to be gained.

physical and social characteristics of the Khonds. His attention was specially drawn to the horrid rite of human sacrifice, so prevalent amongst them—a rite, respecting which, in his first report, he was able to furnish no details beyond the naked fact of its existence. From the Collector, Mr. Stevenson, however, he had now obtained that statement, which was subsequently published in the Madras Journal for July 1837. This account of the Meria sacrifice Mr. Russel embodied in his report, and made it the ground-work of a short but very able disquisition on the subject of its abolition.

The sentiments then recorded by this talented functionary are of more than ordinary importance and claim more than ordinary attention, inasmuch as it can scarcely be doubted that they really did constitute the guiding pole star of the after-policy of the Madras Government—imparting their peculiar tone, character and complexion to the views which predominated in most of its subsequent proceedings and the practical measures which resulted therefrom. The following, we have reason to believe, constitutes the main part of Mr. Russel's remarks :—

“The best mode of effecting the abolishing of this barbarous practice is a question of much difficulty. There is perhaps no subject on which we need to be more on our guard lest our feelings carry us beyond the bounds of sound discretion. To form a just opinion of its importance, and of the line of policy which it is proper for the Government to adopt, it is necessary to keep in mind that, besides the Khond districts of Cuttack and those under this presidency, commencing southward with Jeypore and extending beyond the Mahanadi, it embraces also many parts of the Nagpore provinces and a large belt of territory hitherto independent.

No one is more anxious for the discontinuance of the barbarous custom than myself, but I am strongly impressed with the belief that it can be accomplished only by slow and gradual means. We must not allow the cruelty of the practice to blind us to the consequences of too rash a zeal in our endeavours to suppress it. The superstition of ages cannot be eradicated in a day. The people with whom we have to deal have become known to us only within the last few months, and our intercourse has been confined to a very small portion of a vast population, among the greater part of whom the same rites prevail, and of whose country and language we may be said to know almost nothing. We must not shut our eyes to the fact, that although we may desire to limit our interference to the territory owing subjection to us, any measure of coercion would arouse the jealousy of a whole race professing the strongest feelings of clanship, and, whatever may be their dissensions in ordinary life, likely to make common cause in support of their common religion.

But supposing even that the consequences of our interference could be restricted within our own territory, in what way is it to be enforced? Let us take for example the Upper Maliahs of Goomsur—a very inconsiderable, and now the best known portion of the whole. We have no troops within that range, and the Bisayes, the only people who could possibly be expected to second our views, have only a few peons on whom they could rely on such an occasion. The great mass of their subjects are Khonds. Their

influence is the moral effect of habit, not of physical power. Men thus situated cannot be expected to aid in the compulsory abolition of a custom which all the surrounding tribes hold sacred. The victims rescued by our parties were taken at the close of the last campaign when our arms were triumphant, and our troops were still on the spot ; but even then the Bisaves were afraid to appear openly to assist us. The state of things is now entirely changed. The withdrawal of our force has left them to their other resources, and it would be little short of madness in them to take an active part without the support of Government, pledged for the future as well as for the present. The same observation applies to the Zemindars on both sides the border. Are the Government prepared to give this pledge and to engage in an undertaking, which, to be effectual to the end in view, must lead to permanent occupation of an immense territory, and involve us in a war with people with whom we have now no connexion and no cause for quarrel, in a climate inimical to the constitutions of strangers, and at an expense which no human foresight can calculate.

It is not possible that the Maliahs generally could ever be brought to yield a revenue worth having, and it should be remembered that any revenue, derived from those under Zemindars, belongs of right to them not to the Government.

But setting aside all considerations of policy and expediency, and regarding the question as one of humanity only, would it be consistent with that principle to pursue a course towards a wild race, ignorant of our manners and character, and unable to appreciate our motives, which would leave them no choice, but the immediate abandonment of ceremonies interwoven with their religion, or an appeal to arms against our authority? Of the result of reducing them to such an alternative, or of the fearful sacrifice of life from sword and sickness which would thence ensue, there can be no doubt ; but it is, I think, more than doubtful whether the desired object could ever be attained by such measures. From all I have seen of them and know of their country, I feel convinced that no system of coercion can succeed ; but on the contrary, that the attempt would greatly increase the difficulties of the undertaking, by engendering fear and distrust, where it should be our endeavour to inspire confidence and good-will. It is too much to expect them to believe that our interference, if quietly permitted, will be restricted to this point alone.

I have already remarked, in another place, that the prejudices of caste have little influence among them. There is therefore less drawback to a free intercourse with them than with any other people on this side of India ; and there seems every reason to hope that this peculiarity in their national character, and their taste for foreign productions, by leading to more frequent and unreserved communication with the officers of Government and the inhabitants of the low country, and thus extending their knowledge, will gradually wean them from their barbarous superstition,—more especially, as even among their own caste, the rite though very general, is not an universal practice. It has no existence in Degí Gúldaze, Borí, the Maliahs of Bodoghoró, Koradah or Souradah. It is true that this is a very confined tract compared with the great extent of territory wherein it prevails, but the exception, small as it is, is a fortunate circumstance, and seems to offer a better ground-work for exertion than remonstrances to be enforced by the sword.

Hitherto it has been the policy of the British Government to avoid taking any part in the internal broils of the Hill Zemindars and their subjects, who have been left to settle their differences in their own way ; and hence the struggle, which has long been going on, and still continues between the

Rajahs of Duspalla and Boad, and some of the Khond tribes in their respective districts. If it be now determined to require these tributaries and others similarly situated, to interfere with the religious observances of the Khonds, I do not see how the Government could refuse to support them at whatever risk, and whatever the other causes of difference which may exist between them. Generally speaking they possess no real authority in the Maliah and their own means are totally unequal to their subjugation.

In cases where it may be possible to effect the deliverance of victims intended for sacrifice without the use of violence, the opportunity should, of course, be taken advantage of. In Chokapad and perhaps parts of Duspalla, for instance, it may be hoped that the establishment of our power in Goomsur and the ready support which can be afforded to those chieftains will give them confidence to second the efforts of the public officers ; but I cannot believe that anything short of the complete conquest of the country could accomplish the sudden suppression of the practice above the Ghats or in the Maliahs generally. The annual movement of detachments of troops with a view to the capture and punishment of the perpetrators of the crime can never be effectual even in the most open parts. Still less could it be so among the mountains of Chinna Kimedý ; and with the whole population against them, their means of acquiring information would be very circumscribed, and their influence would extend little beyond the lines of their encampment. In the late service in Goomsur, the names, connexions and haunts of all the Khond leaders were known to us before operations commenced, and the bordering people of Buddadesh, who have for years been at war with the insurgent Mútahs, willingly gave us any intelligence in their power, and shut them out from a retreat in that direction. If, with these advantages, we found it difficult to discover their hiding places, and, when at length successful, owed our success, in most instances, to the submission of the *people*, who unable to continue the contest longer, sued for peace and forgiveness by delivering them up,—how much greater would be the difficulty where there could be no previous knowledge of the individuals to be sought, and the criminals, even if known, would find friends and shelter everywhere? The difficulty of subsisting troops in such a country is another consideration which should not be lost sight of.

It has always been my study in the exercise of the power confided to me during the insurrections to the Northward, to avoid committing the Government by any order which it might not have the means to enforce. I sincerely believe that a law, denouncing human sacrifices and providing for the punishment of persons engaged therein would, as a general measure, prove abortive, and involve a compromise of character which should not be hazarded. In my judgment, our aim should be to improve to the utmost our intercourse with the tribes nearest to us with the view to civilize and enlighten them, and so reclaim them from the savage practice, using our moral influence rather than our power. The position we now hold in Goomsur is favorable to the purpose. It probably is so in some places beyond the frontier also. On our side, the present chiefs have been appointed by us and know our strength, and it can hardly be too much to hope that the influence of Sam Bisaye, and the exertions of the local officers discreetly directed, will induce them to follow the example of their neighbours in Degí, and eventually render them the means of reclaiming others. But to this end it will be necessary to go amongst them as *friends*, to preserve our good faith by carefully guarding against any misunderstanding on other points, and above all, by providing ourselves with all the necessary supplies, so as to be independent of their assistance in every respect, and strictly interdicting the

sepoys and camp followers from entering their villages or meddling in any way with them or their fowls, goats, &c.

They will always bring what they are willing to barter, and anything taken in any other way, however trifling in point of real value, may be productive of the worst consequences."*

The subject of the Meria sacrifice, in some of its principal bearings, having been thus distinctly brought to the notice of the Madras Government, no time was lost in giving it that consideration which its appalling importance merited. Accordingly, on the 21st November (1837), that Government recorded its deliverance on the subject,—giving expression to the feelings of intense and painful interest with which the account of the human sacrifices had been perused,—declaring how its regret was enhanced at finding there was no possibility of adopting measures for putting down the barbarous practice at once—the impracticability of using force for that purpose being so clearly and forcibly pointed out by Mr. Russel as to generate the conviction that the attempt would only induce the people to cling the closer to their superstitions, and to make them seek every opportunity in secret to perform these barbarous rites.

Adopting the views of Mr. Russel in all their extent, the Government, while admitting that the evil was a crying one, and deeply deploring the continuance of such an execrable superstition, could not but feel persuaded that the remedy must necessarily be of slow operation, and that the extinction of the practice must be gradual and voluntary. It therefore simply issued instructions to the Collector, or officer in charge of the district, enjoining him to collect further information on the subject—to endeavour to obtain as great an insight as he could into the feelings and opinions of the different classes of the population respecting it—to cultivate as much as possible a personal intercourse with the chiefs—to exert his influence in convincing them of the heinousness and folly of the practice—to hold out every inducement, consistent with the efficiency

* This is a long extract; but it must be borne in mind that, apart from its own intrinsic value, it consists of *entirely original* matter, never before published. In recording the views of other labourers in the same field, it is our intention to do so chiefly by means of ample quotations from their own hitherto unpublished reports. Such a plan is no doubt liable to the objection of presenting an occasional repetition of the same ideas, an occasional propounding of somewhat identical measures, and an occasional recurrence of equivalent forms of speech. Our anxiety, however, to do complete justice to all the disinterested parties concerned as well as to the subject itself, leads us to prefer their own statements of their respective view and proceedings, to any abbreviated summaries of our own, however accurate. Besides, the irksomeness of occasional repetition from such a cause, will be far more than counterbalanced by the important mass of coincident yet independent testimony thereby supplied.

of the Public Service, to the Khonds to enter it, either as peons, or in whatever capacity might be found useful—to encourage by every means in his power, the cultivating of a closer connection with the European functionaries and the comparatively civilized inhabitants of the low country, and thus gradually pave the way for the humanizing progress of civilization.

On the 24th November (1837), Mr. Arbuthnot, the acting collector in the Vizagapatam district, in responding to the call of Government, in its July proceedings, stated that the result of his inquiries left no doubt on his mind that the revolting practice of offering human sacrifices did “prevail in the most inaccessible parts of the whole range of hills that divide the Company’s territories from those of Nagpore and Hydrabad.” As to the means for putting a stop to it, the only thing he could suggest was to “urge the Zemindars to use their influence within their own territories to prevent it”—that its suppression “must be a work of difficulty and of time”—that “if roads were made through the hills from the Company’s into the Nagpore and Hydrabad territories, the inhabitants of these hills might be brought within the influence of civilization, and then this practice would soon be discontinued.”

The next reference to the subject, on the part of the Madras Government, was on the 11th December (1837), on the occasion of a victim being rescued, and two persons being apprehended, as concerned in his sale and purchase.

The case was simply this : One Yenuty Bímú, was charged with having, under false pretences, enticed from his home, another, named Letchena, an inhabitant of Purlah Kimedy at the southern end of the Ganjam district, and sold him for forty-five rupees to Mujji, a Khond Chief, belonging to a village in the Maliahs of Chinna Kimedy, lying considerably farther north,—with the view of being sacrificed at the annual festival called Tanki. Through a train of circumstances, the captive who had been closely confined, bound in fetters, was eventually released.

The chief question which here arose for consideration was who, among the parties concerned in his seizure and confinement, were fit subjects for punishment ? In disposing of this point, the Government desired to bear in mind that the practice, however barbarous in its eyes, was considered by the Khonds to be a religious act, and was sanctioned by the superstitions of ages—that they were yet ignorant of its being regarded by the State as a crime—and that, until lately, they knew nothing of the Government, or the Government of them. In this view

of the matter, Nujji, the purchaser of the victim, as a Khond, must be acquitted of any criminal intention. The case of Yenuty, the kidnapper, was totally different. Not being a Khond himself, and being, at the same time, an inhabitant of a district, where the barbarous rite to which he was a pander, was not practised, his act admitted of no palliation, and rendered him a fit subject for punishment. The decision of Government generally, therefore, was, that "the inhabitants of the low countries who provided the means of carrying on the horrible practice, from the most sordid motives, and not the Khonds, in their present state of ignorance and barbarism, were the proper objects of judicial pursuit."

The Government availed itself of this occasion for renewing its injunctions to the Collector to communicate to the several Zemindars, and, as far as possible, either through them or others, to the Hill chiefs, its determination to put down the revolting practice, and to urge them to use their influence to that end. Nature had not been less bountiful to the Khonds than to others; and they were by no means deficient in understanding. The Collector might, therefore, in personal conference with them, endeavour to point out that their brethren in *Degé*, perhaps as fertile a valley as any in India, enjoyed as good crops and equal freedom from pestilence and famine as they did, although they did not practise the same barbarous rite. Small presents, of an appropriate nature, might at the same time be conferred, in the name of Government, on any or all who would lend their services in the cause of humanity. Finally, the Government reiterated its own assurance that "by the observance of conciliatory conduct towards them on all occasions, more would be gained than by threats or violence."

The case of Yenuty tended, in the opinion of Government, to illustrate various points. The circumstances attending the captive's release proved that the Rajahs had no *real authority* over the Hill chiefs, nor the chiefs any *real power* over their Khond subjects. The Rajahs themselves and many of the Hill chiefs did not observe the cruel rite; and they might give the aid of their influence, if we were careful not to embroil them with their subjects by too rash a zeal, or too great severity towards those whom they might be the means of putting into our hands. As they had no power to *coerce* their Khond subjects, and they would assuredly lose their heads if they were to interfere with their religious observances otherwise than by persuasion and remonstrance, a lesson was thereby taught which we would do well to imitate, viz. that, in all cases, persuasion and management would do no more than force.

Yenuty Bímú was, on being tried before the Northern Court, acquitted, on the score of insufficient evidence.* His trial, however, had the effect of eliciting new horrors. He proved to be "one of those miscreants who made a traffic of providing Meria victims to the Khonds," Letchena, whose blood he sold, was a near relation of his own. Nor was this all. It appeared that, on a previous occasion, he had made an agreement with the Khond chief Mujji, to procure a victim for sacrifice at the Tanki festival, and received from him some articles as part payment of the price in advance. Meanwhile, he had placed a daughter of his own in the hands of Mujji as security for the fulfilment of his engagement. Having failed at that time to procure a victim as agreed upon, he was so inhuman as to sell to Mujji, for the purpose of being sacrificed, the daughter he had previously pledged to him! Subsequently he enticed Letchena to the hills, and sold him, as already related. It now further appeared, on the concurrent testimony of a Khond chief and his people, that the release of Letchena was only obtained by Yenuty's delivering over to the Khonds his second daughter in lieu of that person, and that he thus left both his daughters in their hands, for the express purpose of being slaughtered. Every endeavour had been made through the Rajah's officers to procure the liberation of these two girls, but in vain. The Khonds positively refused to give them up, on the ground that the elder one was sold to them by her father, and the other given in exchange for Letchena, who also had been fairly purchased from him. They even proceeded to acts of violence against the Rajah's people, who had been sent to demand them; and it was only by the bestowment of sundry presents that these were eventually allowed to return in safety to their own country.

In these circumstances, the Government called upon the Board of Revenue "to instruct the Collector of Vizagapatam unremittingly to continue his endeavours for the liberation of these children." Meanwhile, it cordially approved of the suggestion of the Northern Court of Circuit to take immediate steps for bringing Yenuty Bímú to a new trial, with

* The acquittal of this man clearly proved the inapplicability of the formalities of our Law Courts to such cases, and their total inefficacy in securing the ends of justice. In his case the evidence of two of the witnesses was set aside as inadmissible, because they were the "apprehenders." The prisoner's own declaration and confession before the police was declared to be vitiated, and therefore set aside as inadmissible, because "it was delivered in the Uria language, but taken down in Telugu; and he could not be supposed to verify by his mark, the contents which were thoroughly foreign to him, except as interpreted by the attesting witnesses." His wife confessed that she was a witness of the kidnapping, but her testimony was rejected; because under "the general rule of evidence, husband and wife cannot be witnesses against each other!"

special reference to the fact of his having placed two of his daughters in the hands of the hill people for the purpose of being sacrificed. The necessary instructions were consequently issued to Mr. Bannerman, the Magistrate of Ganjam, to "use his best exertions to procure all available evidence."

Mr. Bannerman, in his reply, stated that the deposition *before the Magistrate of the person who detailed the circumstances connected with the transaction*, although "deserving of full credit," was "not of such a nature as would ensure conviction before the Court of Circuit." He then proceeds to point out in the plainest manner, the difficulties that interposed in the way of obtaining satisfactory evidence. And as his remarks are well calculated to open up generally the difficulties attendant on any attempts to suppress the horrid rite, we feel pleasure in furnishing the following clear and decisive extract:—

"It is only by the Khonds of Mulleguddah, therefore, that the facts of the case could be proved against the prisoner, but they have not only positively refused to deliver up the two females in question, but used violence against the party sent by my directions to endeavour to obtain their release. The part of Súvernagherry Maliahs, where these unfortunate persons are said to be detained, is the most remote and inaccessible of the whole of the hill tract, and the Khond tribes who inhabit it remain in a state of savage independence. The Zemindar's officers had never before the present occasion penetrated into their country, or attempted to exercise the slightest control over them; neither does there nominal chief, the Pater of Súvernagherry, possess any authority whatever over them: he can do nothing without the consent of the elders of the different tribes, and dare not attempt to coerce them. I consider it therefore to be utterly impossible, under existing circumstances, to bring these uncivilized and barbarous men before the Court of Circuit as witnesses, more particularly as those best acquainted with the facts, are themselves deeply implicated in the criminal transaction.

Bahadur Patrídú, the chief of Súvernagherry, could possibly give some account of the affair, though his evidence would probably not be direct and conclusive: but there would, I apprehended, be the greatest possible reluctance on his part to appear as a witness in our courts of justice. I have not yet seen this chief, as when requested to visit me at Púdamari in Chinna Kimedy, he excused himself on the plea of sickness and sent Danobandú in his stead. It is of the highest importance, as regards the future success of our endeavours to put a stop to the practice of sacrificing human victims throughout the Maliahs, that the hill chiefs should be conciliated by every possible means, and induced to enter cordially into the views of the Government on this subject, and in prosecution of the desired object every thing should be avoided calculated to harass or annoy them. To proud and suspicious men like them, totally ignorant of every thing relating to our Courts and judicial forms of proceeding, a summons to appear as a witness before the Court of Circuit would not fail to excite much alarm and disgust; and I think would be calculated to have the worst effect in preventing the other chiefs from affording their assistance on similar occasions. For these reasons I am of opinion that it would be extremely

inexpedient to require the attendance of the Hill chief of Sévernagherr before the Court of Circuit, and I trust I shall be considered to exercise justifiable discretion in suspending any steps for summoning him as a witness in the case.

From the mode in which the system of kidnapping Meria victims from the plains is carried on, there must necessarily be the greatest difficulty in obtaining legal conviction on a charge of this nature before the regular Courts, for the whole of the transaction usually takes place in remote and inaccessible parts of the Maliahs, of which we have no knowledge, and where even the hill chiefs possess no authority. I shall of course use my best endeavours to carry into effect the orders of the Court of Fouzdari Adalat in the present instance, but from the peculiar circumstances connected with the case, there is, I fear, not much prospect of their being successful."

In the propriety of these sentiments, and of the course pursued by Mr. Bannerman, the Government fully concurred—any resort to violent measures to compel the restoration of the captives, and the abolition of the practice of human sacrifices, being strongly deprecated.

The next occasion on which the attention of Government was directed to the subject, happened about a month later, when taking up some suggestions proffered by different officers.

In his return of the 23d December (1837), to the Precept of the Northern Provincial Court, Mr. Inglis, Joint Magistrate of Ganjam, supplied some particulars relative to the customs of the Khonds, and the extent of country over which the rite of human sacrifice may be supposed to prevail, reaching from the Godavery northward,* but could suggest no immediate or practicable remedy. The Zemindar-Rajah of Chinna Kimeddy he found willing enough to give his aid, in whatever way required; but he had "no power and little influence over the savage hill tribes." These were in reality "independent, and had never paid tribute or acknowledged subjection to any power." To attempt "the apprehension of any of their chiefs by force would require a considerable force, and then, perhaps, could not be effected amid such interminable and unexplored jungles."

There was nothing here to call for a special deliverance. But widely different was the case with the communications of the

* Mr. Inglis considers the Sourahs of the south, the Khonds of the middle region, and the Koles of the north, as only "different tribes of the same race," and similar in their general habits and practices. He also thinks there "can be no doubt that all of them are in the habit, more or less, of propitiating their Deities (the Earth and the Sun) by human sacrifices."

other two officers, Captains Millar and Campbell, who gave in reports, much about the same time—that of the former being dated 13th December (1837), and that of the latter the 16th of the same month. It is due to Captain Millar to say, that, as far as we can ascertain, he was *the first* who succeeded in rescuing Meria victims from the Khonds. This appears from a portion of Mr Russel's second report, dated 11th May (1837), which was published in the Madras Journal, already referred to. The extract bearing on this point is the following:—

“Captain Millar, (43rd Regiment, N. I.) when at Kúpautf managed with much discretion to rescue no less than twelve victims; seventeen more have fallen into my hands, making in all twenty-nine. The first who made her escape to my camp, although closely fettered, disappeared after a few days, and I could never learn more of her. She was an elderly woman; of the remainder, ten were restored to their friends, and eighteen children from three to ten years of age, remain with Captain Millar and myself. These were all sold by their parents, or I have been unable to discover their history and origin.”

The following extract from his own report or letter of the 13th December will perhaps serve to explain the sort of “discretion” with which the gallant Captain “managed to rescue” the victims:—

“Were the custom of offering human sacrifices to be completely discontinued in any considerable district for one or two years, the people of that district, and also of those bordering upon it, would then have ocular demonstration that the continuance of the practice was not essential to their welfare; and were they once perfectly convinced of this fact, these sacrifices, which are attended with a great expense, would soon cease to be offered, for the people admit the criminality of the act, but attempt to justify it upon the grounds of expediency. It is pure selfishness that influences them, and they are merely fearful to omit the sacrifices, lest their crops should fail or some other temporal calamity befall them.

Force and intimidation were the means that I employed, and I do not apprehend any danger from the exhibition of a military force, provided the party employed be of such strength, as to render any attempt at opposition utterly hopeless. It was on this principal that I acted. I never sent out any small parties, but always went in person with the main body of my detachment, and thereby prevented any collision between the soldiers and the inhabitants of the country.

The circumstance of these sacrifices being only offered once in the year, *viz.*, in the month of January, when the climate is by no means unhealthy, would remove one of the obstacles to the employment of a military force for their suppression.”

Very different, in its general strain, was the letter of Captain Campbell, of nearly the same date. As the assistant of Mr. Russel, during the recent military operations, he had acquired considerable knowledge, alike of the Khonds and their country. He was personally acquainted with most of the Múlikas and Digáls, and the neighbouring petty chiefs, several of whom he

knew to be averse to the sacrifice, and would, he hoped, cordially lend their aid and influence to put an end to it, were they sure of being countenanced and supported. His proposal, therefore, was as follows :—

“The time when the Khonds are in the practice of sacrificing human victims being near at hand, I do myself the honor to lay before you the following proposal, the object of which is to induce the perpetrators by fair means to abandon the horrible custom handed down to them by their ancestors, convinced as I am that every means in our power ought to be used for its suppression before force is attempted,—which last, in my humble opinion, would make their conviction of the virtue of the rite still stronger, besides having other prominent objections.

I purpose with your sanction to ascend the Ghats with a considerable portion of the armed peons under my command, accompanied by a party of fifty men of the 17th Regiment, and call together the most influential men among the Khonds,—endeavouring to convince them of the barbarity and inutility of the sacrifice, explaining to them our abhorrence and utter detestation of the practice, at the same time ordering them to bring to me all the victims in their possession. And if I cannot otherwise obtain them, I request permission to *purchase* them at the prices they cost the Khonds, generally from rupees fifteen to twenty-five, and at the same time to use such threats as I may consider advisable to gain the object in view, both for the present and for the future. If my efforts for the present prove successful, I shall be able to discover the parties engaged in the barbarous traffic of providing victims, who, from all the information I can gather, are for the most part inhabitants of the low country, and thus gain the power of striking effectually at one source of the evil by immediately securing the parties concerned.

To gain over the Janis or sacrificing priests would be a desired object, and I think a little money secretly and judiciously employed among them would have a good effect.

I also request your sanction to my employing twenty-four bullocks or other carriage to carry provisions for the peons and other persons whom I may find it necessary to employ on this duty in the Goomsur Maliahs.”

On the 15th January 1838, the letters of these gentlemen were severally taken into consideration by the Madras Government. From the view so often expressed by Government on the subject, we may readily anticipate the general character of its verdict on these communications respectively.

The opinion so strongly expressed by Captain Millar could only refer exclusively to the low country; and was so far in accordance with the observations recorded by the Hon'ble Mr. Russel in his second report. It was on all hands admitted that if “force and intimidation” were to be the means employed, for the suppression of these sacrifices, such a display of Military force must be exhibited, as would render any attempt at opposition utterly hopeless. But, it had been distinctly shewn that, whatever might be the result of pursuing such a course in the lower country—and even there its propriety and expedi-

ency might be questioned—in the wilder and less accessible tracts of the Khond country, it would be attended with a fearful loss of life to the troops employed, and almost without a chance of ultimate and complete success. The remark of Captain Millar, that, if human sacrifices were actually discontinued for some time in any considerable district, the Khonds could have ocular demonstration of their inutility had not escaped the attention of Government. But experience had shewn, as in the case of Degl, that the example of a district flourishing without the practice of sacrifice was not *alone* sufficient to induce the neighbouring Mútahs to discontinue it; and that it would require much conciliatory explanation and the utmost exertion of his influence on the part of the Collector, to bring this fact home to the understanding of the Khonds. This salutary influence could only be expected to arise from confidence, which must be entirely destroyed if measures of coercion and intimidation were resorted to.

The Government, as might be expected, approved of the proposal of Captain Campbell, then assistant Collector in charge of Goomsur, and cheerfully granted all the requisite equipment. The Military escort, however, must be regarded as exclusively designed for the protection of his person, and for guarding his followers, and not to be used for any purposes whatever of compulsion or violence. He must be careful, at all times, to observe the most conciliatory deportment towards the Khonds—to go amongst them only as a friend, anxious to preserve the good faith of Government, by studiously guarding against any misunderstanding on any point—and systematically to eschew the employment of threats, or the issuing of orders which might be calculated to produce irritation and provoke opposition. With respect to the permission solicited *to pay* to those who had destined victims in their possession, the *price* they might have given for them, the Government was not inclined to sanction such a measure, as it was impossible to say to what the interference of its accredited officers as *purchasers* might lead. It was plainly objectionable, not only from its being so liable to abuse, but because the money given would furnish the sellers with the means of purchasing new victims. The functionaries of Government ought carefully to avoid anything which might possibly tend to encourage the odious traffic; and should confine their pecuniary interference, as heretofore, to rewarding those who might afford useful information or assistance in its suppression.

Agreeably to his proposal, Captain Campbell, early in January (1838), proceeded into the Khond Maliahs of Goomsur. Having

called together the Múlikas or heads of the different Mútahs, he explained to them what he supposed to be the intentions of Government, viz. "that the sacrifice of human victims would no longer be suffered among them." He then "peremptorily ordered them to bring all persons whom they might have purchased as Merias to him." The Múlikas at first stoutly "denied having any such in their possession." Captain Campbell, however, having "previously taken the precaution to ascertain the names of different Chiefs who had Merias, and the persons from whom they had been purchased, they were led to make a partial disclosure." He then sent them away for the children ; and to expedite the business despatched two of his peons to each of the head Mútahs.

Most of the Múlikas soon attended ; and a *hundred* Meria children were delivered up. Captain Campbell next "demanded a declaration that the Meria Pujah should henceforth be at an end among them, and that any one performing it should subject himself to severe retribution." This, after a certain form, was repeated by all. In certain Mútahs, which had taken a prominent part in the late rebellion, no Merias were found ; though it was ascertained that from them several had been sold to their more flourishing neighbours. It could not be discovered that more than four or five victims were sacrificed annually in the Goomsur Maliahs ; though the number of Merias purchased during the past year was distinctly allowed to exceed that of former years—this admitted fact being accounted for by the distress which had lately prevailed. On the whole, Captain Campbell felt himself warranted to sum up in these emphatic terms :—" *I have every reason to believe that the public performance of the Meria Pujah in the Goomsur Maliahs is at an end ;* but if measures are not taken in the neighbouring Khond Mútahs for its suppression, it will be hard to maintain the ground we have now gained."

One point of considerable importance had now been conclusively determined by the inquiries of Captain Campbell. It had been originally believed, and repeatedly asserted, that Khonds were never sacrificed. It was now rendered indisputable that the Khonds themselves formed no exception—that all classes and all castes, whether Hindus, Mussalmans, or Khonds, whether old or young, male or female, might indiscriminately become the subjects of sacrifice. When, however, they could readily be had, preference would naturally be given to strangers obtained by purchase from the plains. This led Captain Campbell to recommend that "of the professed kidnappers and Meria providers a severe example should be made,"

and that "punishment also should be inflicted on all concerned in the sale of children to the Khonds according to the nature of the case." This, he was satisfied, would have a salutary effect.

Another subject which now called for special attention was the question, as to how the Meria children, after being rescued, were to be provided for. In his second report, Mr. Russel at once viewed the matter with the eyes of a generous and enlightened statesman. His words are these:—"In respect to the rescued children now in our hands, I would recommend to the liberal consideration of Government, that the Collector be authorized *to bring them up and educate them at the public expense.* It is true that the benevolence of individuals has provided for their present wants; but accident may deprive them of this support, and they seem to be fit objects for the protection of Government." Respecting the hundred children delivered up to Captain Campbell, that officer thus writes:—"Several of them have been claimed by their parents or rather mothers; but these women are for the most part in such a state of destitution that they have scarcely the means of supporting themselves. There are in Goomsur several Muttums, with extensive lands attached for charitable purposes, but most shamefully misapplied. I would recommend that some of the younger children be distributed among the Muttums or Pagodas to be fed and clothed until they attain a certain age, and to be then employed on field or other labour becoming their years. Several, I have no doubt, will find service with respectable ryots and others; indeed I have already had applications to that effect, and some may be restored to their parents. In the meantime I have ordered a building to be prepared for their reception, and three cubits of coarse thick cloth to be given to each child to defend it from the piercing cold of this season." The probable annual expense for maintaining the 100 Meria children Captain Campbell estimated at little more than 700 Rupees; though even this moderate amount he thought might be "reduced one-fourth or more by employing them on light work, for which a small hire might be charged, and providing their own fire wood, as well as making the elder cook for the younger children."

In a return, dated 15th June (1838), Mr. Bannerman, the Magistrate of Ganjam, reported that, through the exertions of the Maliah Sirdar under the Zemindar, five individuals had lately been rescued from the neighbourhood of Gúdapúr, and that these had been restored to their friends—adding; that "there was too much reason to believe that these were not solitary instances,"—that there were "many other unfortunate

creatures destined as victims to this detestable superstition confined in different places in the Chinna Kimedya Maliah"—and that there was "no doubt but in Jeypore and the adjoining tracts, the Meria was still more commonly practised."

This latter observation of Mr. Bannerman was soon after strikingly confirmed, by a very able report dated 2nd July, drawn up by Lieut. Hill of the Survey department. The importance of his remarks—not merely as expounding the remedy which his enlarged experience had suggested to him, but as throwing more light on the subject of the *extensive prevalence* of the revolting rite than had yet appeared,—will amply justify us for making the following lengthened quotation :—

"The information I obtained regarding human sacrifices leads me to suppose that the practice of that barbarous rite obtains to a far greater extent than is generally supposed ; and I much fear that the Khond Maliahs of Goomsur form but a very small portion of the country over which the custom prevails. Of the Khond districts north of the Mahanadi I have no accurate intelligence ; but there can be little doubt the practice will be found to exist, as it certainly does, in the adjoining hilly parts of Duspalla, Boad and Sohnpore : from the Goomsur Maliahs southwards, Chinna Kimedya, Peddah Kimedya, and Jeypore complete the chain to Bustar, in which latter place the practice is prevalent to an enormous extent. One grand sacrifice, said to have taken place twelve years since on the Bustar Rajah setting out to visit His Highness the Rajah of Nagpore, is spoken of as the "*great sacrifice*," and I am informed that on that occasion twenty-five or twenty-seven full-grown men were immolated. I have strong reasons for supposing the practice to be known to the Ghonds of Konkein and the adjoining Mocassars, north of Bustar, and moreover, that in some of the wilder jungles bordering on Chattisghur, the Ghonds add cannibalism to this horrid deed, and eat the flesh they sacrifice.

Information derived from sources, I have no reason to doubt, lead me to suppose that there are not less than two hundred children kept for Meria in the Bulligudda Mútah of Chinna Kimedya alone. Upwards of one hundred (as is well known to Government) have this year been delivered up in Goomsur, but many more still remain there. With these data to calculate from, it is fearful to contemplate the possible number of intended victims now in captivity among the Khonds.

In Patna and Kalahundy the *Woodiahs (Urriyas)* deny the existence of the custom, but there is little doubt of its being practised in the Hilly tracts, and the same may be said of Kariall and Nowagudda. The Khonds and Ghonds are said not to be the only people who sacrifice human beings. At Bissumcuttack, the Jeypore Rajah's Karkún pointed out a child of about eight years of age in a large Brinjarri camp, who, he stated, had been purchased near the coast, and was to be sacrificed on crossing the boundary of Bissa (the Jung river). The Brinjarries were questioned regarding the child, and claimed it as one of their own tribe, but Kúnchi Singh (a son of the late Zemindar of Souradah, who accompanied me) pronounced the child to be a Woodiah, of the same caste as my bearers—hence I fear that the Brinjarries, who travel these roads are in the habit of performing this ceremony. Great caution is necessary in believing any Khond Mútah to be freed from this stain, as on several occasions where

the practice has been stoutly denied, I have afterwards obtained undoubted proof of its existence. It is not the custom in Sarungudda, though it is suspected that some of the Sarungudda Khonds attend the sacrifice in the other districts.

If I venture to offer some unsolicited suggestions which arise in my mind on this subject, I must plead in excuse the length of time I have been employed in Ganjam and the adjacent hilly country, the opportunities that I have had of forming a judgment of the disposition of the Khonds, and the earnest solicitude every man of Christian education must feel for the suppression of a practice so horrid and unnatural.

If we reflect on the extent of country over which this custom prevails, and what is of more importance, the nature of that country, the dense forests, the vast chain of mountains in the strongholds of which this superstitious rite is most firmly seated, the doubtful climate at the best season, and the decided insalubrity of the air for the remainder of the year, the general poverty of the country, which will not support any large additional body above the number of its inhabitants, and the ill success that usually attends the persecution of a people on account of religious tenets, however falsely grounded they may be,—it will be evident to any but one blindly prepossessed, that military force, in this case, would not avail, but would rather be the means of sanctioning an enormous slaughter, at a great expense on the part of the State, without the prospect of an entire and final abandonment of the custom by the Khonds under any less rigorous measure than the almost total extirpation of the race. But it does not appear to me therefore to follow that no authority is to be exerted for the suppression of the Meria, or that persuasion *alone* is likely to produce better results than the employment of military force. It must be borne in mind that the race, if not entitled to the name of savage, is on the very lowest verge of civilization, and is not prepared to receive rules and ordinances adapted to a people of more cultivated understanding. The disposition of the Khond partakes much of *animal* suspicion and cunning, and it is to be recollected that the varying ideas of his mind are more nearly allied to *instinct* than to the powers of reasoning and perception between right and wrong, which are the result of education and civilization.

Attempt to reason with a Khond, and he refers to the customs handed down from his ancestors; try to persuade him that his ancestors were very wrong, he looks on you with dread and supposes you are endeavouring to entrap him into compromising himself in some fancied manner; but let him know that it is positively ordered to do a thing, and let him see before his eyes power sufficient to carry that order into effect, and he will obey. For the suppression of Thuggi, a strong and almost arbitrary power has been exerted by local authorities most beneficially for the public good, and it cannot easily be imagined that any thing short of that power, so exerted, could have produced like results: but if murderers by trade cannot be *persuaded* to abandon their calling, can we hope that *persuasion* will have more effect on men who murder solely on the principle of making a *necessary* offering to their god.

Local knowledge and a personal acquaintance with individuals, their manners and habits, form the first and indispensable qualification for asserting the power of Government in a Khond district. When we possess these, their military strength is a mere trifle comparatively, and one effective Company of Regulars would be found force sufficient to back any order in any single Mútah or District. Much must depend on, and be left entirely to, the direction of the Local Authorities, but I am sanguine that if the system be tried, it will not be in vain that I have penned these observations.'

The foregoing notes apply more particularly to the hills of Ganjam, but a single glance at the map which accompanies this, will at once shew that the Khond Mútahs of that district form but a small portion of the tract of country over which the observance of this rite obtains. It is much to be doubted whether any thing less than an organized system, conducted with great temper and patience, and followed up with unremitting perseverance, will be found sufficient effectually to eradicate this barbarous custom. The Zemindars of Duspalla, Boad and Sohnpore, are not sufficiently powerful to agitate a reform on so tender a point among their Khond subjects without the support of European authority, and a great risk would be hazarded by embroiling them with their own subjects by seeking their co-operation. This objection does not exist in Patna and Kalahundy, where the Khonds and Ghonds are kept in complete restraint by the Woodiahs, and the chiefs are well disposed towards Europeans."

On the 18th October following, Mr. Bannerman officially announced his intention to proceed above the Ghats, previous to the period at which the Tonki festival is annually celebrated, on which occasion the horrid rite was usually practised, with "the view of endeavouring to induce the rude tribes to abandon the detestable superstition, and to deliver up their unfortunate victims." He was satisfied from what he had seen, that it was necessary a European officer should go among the Khonds of the Chinna Kimedý Maliahs, and personally explain to them the views and determination of the Government on the subject, in order to convince them that the Sirkar actually interested itself in the matter; as he had reason to apprehend that hitherto they regarded the interference of the Zemindar's officers and hill chiefs as not originating with the Company's Government. And while he himself proceeded in one direction, his assistant, Captain Campbell would proceed in another.

The Government entirely approved of this determination and authorised the proper officer, through the Military Departments, to place four elephants, a Subadar's guard, and all the other needful appliances in the way of travelling facilities, without delay at their disposal.

Of his tour on this occasion, Mr. Bannerman was enabled to supply a long and able report, bearing date 2nd January 1839. Of this report the more material portions will be found in the following copious extracts :—

"It was my intention if I could have been supplied with the necessary carriages to have entered the Khond Maliahs from the south and attempted to traverse the unexplored tract situated between Purlah Kimedý and Goomsur; while my assistant Captain Campbell would have a progress through the northern Mútahs with the view of preventing by his presence any attempt to renew the practice, and to improve the influence resulting from the measures adopted by him last year in that quarter. It being found impracticable however to furnish the elephants applied for, I was obliged

to abandon that design, and to confine my efforts to the more southern parts of Womunniah Maliahs bordering on the Kimedý and Jeypore Zemindaries.

The period at which the Tonki festival, at which human victims are sacrificed, is annually celebrated, is regulated by the moon; and I was led to expect that the feast would have fallen this year in the second week of January. Having obtained information, however, that the Meria was appointed to take place at the Khond villages of Sikaraguddah and Gúnderaguddah on Sunday the 30th ultimo, my arrangements were somewhat precipitated. It seemed to me that interfering at the very moment to prevent the consummation of the horrid ceremony would have the effect of promulgating, in the most unequivocal and public manner, the determination of the British Government to put a stop to the barbarous custom, and that a strong impression would be produced, by the whole of the Khonds of the neighbourhood, assembled from all quarters, having ocular proof that their hitherto inaccessible fastnesses cannot longer screen their sinful proceedings. There appeared, however, to be a risk of these men being excited to violent acts, and I deemed it necessary to assemble a strong party, altogether about three hundred of the Doratanum and peons of the Hill Forts dependent on Purlah Kimedý; with whom, and an escort of 60 Sepoys from the posts of Woranasí and Kimedý, under their native officers, I proceeded to the appointed place—a small Khond village on the borders of Vizianagur, Purlah Kimedý and Gúdary, a dependency of the Jeypore Zemindary, and situated from eight to ten coss to the east of the Cusbah village of Gúdary, which is on the bank of the River Wamshadarah, about sixty miles to the north of the town of Kimedý.

After passing through a dense forest, chiefly of the Damer tree, by a most difficult and narrow track, leading over several steep and awkward Ghats, we came upon the village of Sikaraguddah soon after daylight. Fortunately the Khonds had no notice of our approach, and were taken completely by surprise. The preparations for the ceremony appeared to have been completed. The entrance to the hamlet, which was in the form of a square, had been newly fitted up with wicker works, and in the centre close to the rude village idol, had been erected a bambú pole about forty feet high, on the top of which was an effigy in the shape of a bird with peacock's feathers, such as is described in the late Commissioner's report. Having luckily secured the person of the Mujjí,—for the whole of the Khonds taking alarm, fled to the hills in the immediate rear of the village,—the victim, a young woman from the plains of the Chinna Kimedý Zemindary, was, after some demur, given up to me, and some of the elders and chiefs were induced to approach and communicate with me.

To the arguments used by me, as to the heinous nature of the crime of putting a fellow creature to a cruel death, and the folly of supposing that any advantage could possibly result from so sinful an act, the Khonds replied that they paid no tribute and owed no allegiance to us; that the Meria had always been practised from time immemorial; that if the usual ceremonies were omitted, their fields would be unproductive; that the victims had been fairly purchased for a price; and finally that they had a right to do what seemed to them fit in the matter. To reason further with these rude and ignorant men would have been altogether unavailing, especially as many of them appeared to be under the influence of the potatoes, in which they are in the habit of indulging on such occasions. The Khonds from the neighbouring villages, in the mean time, kept arriving in multitudes to attend the feast; and as the immediate object in view, the rescue of the victim, had been attained, I deemed it expedient, after the men had

refreshed themselves a little, to retrace our steps—bringing along with us several of the elders of the tribes as hostages that the Khonds would not obstruct our return, and with the view of availing myself of their influence in obtaining the release of the Merias detained in other parts of the Mútah, as well as more fully impressing on them the arguments which they did not appear to be then in a state of mind duly to appreciate.

It was my intention to have encamped and proceeded further into the Maliahs had circumstances admitted, but it would have been altogether imprudent to have remained for the night where we were, Sskaraguddah being situated in a little circular valley about three hundred yards in diameter, surrounded by steep rocky hills covered with heavy jungle. There was moreover a deficiency of water, and we had no knowledge of the country in advance. It is difficult to form any estimate of the number of Khonds assembled on the occasion. They showed themselves in the hills in all directions, armed with bows and arrows and the battle-axe, and appeared disposed to oppose our return, but fortunately no collision actually took place. The country through which we passed is even more difficult and impracticable than any thing I have seen in the Goomsur side, and elephants would not, I think, have passed by the track. We followed without the aid of pioneers. With the exception of one small valley, we did not meet with any open space or table-land, and the elevation, I do not suppose to be great above the bed of the Wamshadarah river.

To Gúnderaguddah which is not quite so inaccessible, I sent the day previously a small party of peons with a written notification, threatening summary punishment to the inhabitants if the sacrifice should take place, and requiring the Merias to be delivered up; which requisition they thought it prudent to comply with, and subsequently seven other victims, detained in different villages, have similarly been given up to me, making altogether nine individuals belonging to various parts of the country, who have been rescued on the present occasion. I am sanguine that these measures will have a favourable effect throughout the southern parts of the Womunniah Maliah, but there is unfortunately a very large tract of Khond country lying between these parts and the Goomsur Mútahs, to which it is not to be expected that their influence can extend.

“I have been able to gain but scanty information in respect to a portion of the southern part of the Womunniah Maliahs. From the accounts of the Khonds, there does not appear to be in that direction, any elevated table-land free from jungle, such as is found in the Goomsur Maliahs. The cultivated spots are described as narrow vallies of very limited extent, separated from each other by ridges of hills covered with dense forest of the same character as in the neighbourhood of Sskaraguddah. How far south the more open table-land extends is not known.”

I am sensible of the anxiety felt by the Government to put a stop to the barbarous custom of sacrificing human victims, which, as far as I am aware, is not systematically followed in any other part of the world—but I feel difficulty in proposing any practical measures with the view of carrying its humane wishes into effect. Presuming that such aid of the Commissariat Department as would be required to enable troops to move through a country such as has been described, independent in every respect of other supplies, could be offered, the most eligible plan, in my opinion, would be to allow a detachment to move from the northward, entering the Maliahs from the Goomsur side, and traversing the more open part of the country; being guided by circumstances as to the precise direction to be taken. The detachment should enter Khondistan at the most favourable season, and its object should be simply to march through the country without molesting

or interfering in any way with the inhabitants : and as has already been expressly enjoined by the Government, conciliatory means only should be used for obtaining the release of the Merias. The presence of the detachment in those parts, would, I am convinced, be quite sufficient to prevent the sacrifices taking place any where in the neighbourhood, and the influence of such a visitation, it is to be hoped, would also have a more lasting effect. The circumstance of the sacrifices taking place annually within a certain specified period, it will be observed, is favourable to our efforts for their suppression.

If the Government see fit to resolve that some such measures as I have suggested should be adopted previous to the celebration of the Tonki festival next year, I shall be prepared, if required, to state the strength of the detachment that would in my opinion be requisite, and to submit the subsidiary arrangements that would be necessary : the most essential of which would be the supply of a sufficient number of elephants.

It is fearful to contemplate the extent of human misery resulting from the practice of this execrable rite ; for, independent of the number of Merias annually—and which there is too much reason to believe is far larger than could readily be credited—it gives rise, with all its attendant evils, to the system of kidnapping unfortunate inhabitants of the plains, who are decoyed into the hills by a set of infamous wretches who carry on a profitable traffic in the blood of their fellow men. The agents engaged in these odious dealings are for the most part of the Panwa, or Dombango, and other base tribes, through whom the intercourse with the low country is chiefly carried on, and who without remorse barter their unhappy captives in common with salt, and some few necessary articles—for saffron, wax and other products of the hills. These heartless miscreants, whose guilt seems to be even of a deeper die than that of the African slave-traders, are actuated by the basest and most sordid motives in supplying the victims, and their infamous conduct does not admit of any palliation. The barbarous and ignorant Khonds on the other hand, are conscious of no sin in performing what they regard as a sacred duty in celebrating the Tonki festival. The perversion of the human intellect that can regard the cruel death of a fellow creature as a sacrifice acceptable in the sight of the deity is indeed strange.

The agents through whose means the Merias are supplied to the Khonds, as has been most justly observed in the minutes of consultation under date the 11th December 1837, are the proper objects for condign punishment, but from the circumstances under which the abduction and sale of the unfortunate captives usually take place, it is almost impossible, I have already had occasion to represent, to obtain such proof as would be sufficient to convict the accused before the ordinary judicial tribunals, where all the niceties of Mahomedan law, are required to be conformed to. And, I think it is deserving of the consideration of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council whether it might not be expedient to invest the officer to whom may ultimately be entrusted the Superintendence of the Hill tracts with power to try summarily persons charged with this offence, in the same manner as cases of Thuggi are, I believe, disposed of by the General Superintendent, which arise in Native States not within the jurisdiction of Company's Courts.

The best mode of providing for the Meria children who have fallen into our hands on the present occasion, as well as those delivered up to Captain Campbell last year, is a question of some difficulty, particularly as regards those of more tender years. The grown-up persons, and those who are of an age to maintain themselves, have been sent back to their houses with some little assistance to supply their immediate wants ; and the children belonging to

the low country, whose parents could be discovered, and who are able to support them, have been restored to their friends. Some of the bigger boys have also been entrusted to the care of respectable persons in the low country, who are willing to bring them up in such a manner as to enable them hereafter to maintain themselves by their labour. But there are still a considerable number of Khond children, principally little girls, who are maintained at the expense of the Government, and who must continue dependent on its bounty, until they attain such an age as to enable them to do something for their livelihood. Perhaps eventually the Government would not object to assigning some waste land, on favourable terms, to persons so circumstanced. There are many situations in this district where the grant might be made without any sacrifice of revenue, and where a little colony might be established of victims, destined as sacrifices to this detestable superstition, who have been rescued from cruel death by the humane interference of the Company's Government."

On the foregoing letter the Government of Madras, on the 11th February (1839), recorded its resolution. Mr. Bannerman's proceedings were approved of; and the timely rescue of even *nine* Meria victims from a cruel and premature death, without any collision whatever with the Khonds, was declared to be "a result alike creditable to his foresight, prudence and resolution, as to his humanity." There was no objection to the adoption of the measures proposed by Mr. Bannerman; but instead of a detachment of sepoys, a body of select and armed peons would be preferred, as it was not only most inadvisable to allow sepoys to come in contract with the rude and savage inhabitants of those regions, but it was essentially necessary that they should be reserved for great occasions only, such as quelling disturbance when it has unhappily broken out and restoring order and tranquillity. Some of Mr. Bannerman's remarks tended forcibly to shew the absolute necessity which existed for concentrating all power both in the hill countries and in the lowlands in the Ganjam districts in one and the same functionary. This was a subject which ought without delay to be referred to the Government of India. The question of providing for the support of the rescued Meria children had already been submitted to the Board of Revenue for an expression of their sentiments thereon, and the attention of that body must be called anew to the subject. Of the presents bestowed by Mr. Bannerman on certain chiefs for their assistance and co-operation, the Government cordially approved.

Of the proceedings of Captain Campbell, who, contemporaneously with Mr. Bannerman, had visited another portion of the Hill Territories, he himself furnished a report, dated 15th January 1839. Of this report the following are the leading parts:—

"I have the honour to report, that having visited all the Goomsur hill

Mútahs, including Bodadesh from Deggi to Boluskupa in Boad (excepting such as from my inefficient carriage I could not reach, although their chief men waited on me when sent for, along with the other Múlikas in the neighbourhood of my encampment), I have great satisfaction in stating that the sacrifice of human victims has greatly diminished in comparison with former times, owing to the proceedings of last year, partly from the want of subjects, and partly from a fear of the consequences of infringing the order I had issued.

The only instances of the Meria sacrifice having taken place last year that I could positively ascertain were three; two in Sam Bisaye's country and one at Mundagam of Tentilguddah, but these were performed, as stated to me, on the bodies of Merias who had died a natural death, and by stealth, though the Bisayes had often knowledge of the fact. All the other Múlikas declared that no Meria was sacrificed within their territories, but in the same breath begged permission to offer one victim yearly in each Mútah. The refusal did not seem to disappoint them much, and they all went away promising, as last year, to refrain from the rite.

In former times the great sacrifices were performed at the full moon of the months Púshein and Magham, and the minor ones during the following eight days of either moon, though to avert any dreaded misfortune they were performed at any season. By your directions I this season undertook to enquire into a dispute between the Rajah of Boad and Bahadur Bukshi regarding the Mútah of Boragatsa in which the Bisayes of Chokapád, Possera, Tentilguddah, and the Sirdar of Gullery were witnesses. I took this opportunity of ascertaining the sentiments of these influential men on the sacrifice of human victims, of which they unanimously expressed their horror. The language held by their Khonds is, "The land is ours, we give you a share of its produce, and we attend on you when you call on us to fight or for other purposes, and now when Government wants to deprive us of our juttia, you sit quiet and will not speak for us; the juttia is performed in Boad and other places, and why are we prevented? Are we to starve while they have plenty."

I requested the opinion of the Bisayes as to the best mode of suppressing the Meria Pújah; they replied, "though we have been brought up among Khonds, we are not of them; we abhor the Meria as we do the slaughter of a cow. You must shew our Khonds that we are enforced, by issuing a general proclamation denouncing punishment on all who disobey, and by placing Government officers in our forts. Our Khonds, seeing that we have no alternative, will obey and come into the new order of things, we must be of one mind, and let the same proclamation be issued to the countries beyond Goomsur, and Meria will soon cease." In explanation of the above statement, and requested by the Bisayes to whom the wishes and intentions of Government regarding the cruel rite have been repeatedly and most strongly expressed by me in public and private, and perfectly understood by them, I beg to observe that they are wholly unable to coerce their Khonds who are ever ready to transfer their allegiance when provided, and that it is only by conciliation and enlisting their feelings that they can manage them to their purposes. One instance, of many which occurred when the Honorable Mr. Russell was in Goomsur, will suffice to shew this, as well as elucidate the meaning of the request made by the Bisayes (already well acquainted with the wish of Government) for a general Government proclamation forbidding the Meria on pain of severe punishment. In November 1836 when the troops took the field, Sam Bisaye accompanied them in irons when above the Ghats he performed some service which induced Mr. Russell to order his irons to be removed; the Bisaye

begged that they might be allowed to remain, for that the Khonds seeing him in this predicament would readily obey his wishes, the event proved that his request was not without reason. In the first campaign he was at large and could do nothing, in the second, he continued in fetters at his own request, and performed good service.

The more I see of the Khonds, the more is my opinion confirmed that, unless we address ourselves to their fears as well as to their better feelings, our steps for the suppression of the Meria Pújah will be slow indeed, and further, perhaps wholly nugatory, unless the same system is followed wherever the sacrifice is known to exist. I could not learn that any children had been purchased by the Khonds of Goomsur since I was last above the Ghats, nor were any claimed by their relations. I have been fortunate in seizing two notorious traders in children to the Khonds who eluded my search last year, and whose conviction and punishment will, I trust, have a good effect on others who may have followed the same traffic. Considering the protracted duration of the sacrificing season in Goomsur, I think it would be a great advantage to have a thatched house, barrack for sixty peons, and a small storehouse with other shelter at Udiagerri, which place does not belong to the Khonds. The health of those employed above the Ghats would not be so much exposed to the bad effects of the extremes of cold and heat ; provisions could be obtained without the delay of sending for them to the plains, besides affording shelter to small parties passing and repassing ; and it would also shew to the Khonds our determination to persevere in putting an end to the Meria Pújah."

For *nearly two years* nothing further of a decisive nature transpired. In the Goomsur and Souradah Maliahs, peace and perfect order continued to prevail ; and feelings of confidence and satisfaction seemed to be gradually extending among the inhabitants of those districts with whom the European officers of Government had the greatest intercourse. This was shewn by their constantly resorting to them for the purpose of obtaining a settlement of any disputes that might arise among them ; as well as from the circumstance of their having begun to bring down the various products of the hills for sale or barter to the different fairs that had been established, and to which the Khonds were now in the habit of coming freely in great numbers, from very remote parts of the Maliahs. Every encouragement had been given to this description of petty traffic which was progressively increasing ; and the general results appeared to be most favourable and satisfactory. At the same time, it is painful to learn, that, as regarded the primary object of desire—the suppression of the Meria sacrifice—matters appeared rather to assume a retrogressive aspect. On the 4th January 1841, Major Campbell ascended into the Goomsur Maliahs for the purpose of endeavouring, by his presence and influence among the people, to check any attempt to perform the Meria sacrifice at the full moon, which would occur on the 7th ; and also to procure the release of any victims that might have been sold to the Khonds since his

last visit. The following extracts from his report on that occasion will best set forth his own experience and impression of the unsatisfactory state of things —

“I could not discover that any sacrifice had been performed in the Goomsur Maliahs, but I have reason to believe that some of the inhabitants provided victims and sacrificed them in the neighbouring Mútahs of Chinna Kimedey, Marsing, &c.

I regret also to have to report that 24 victims have been sold to Khonds of Goomsur as Merias, the greater number within the last 12 months. Six of them have been delivered up to me, and I have taken measures for the recovery of the remainder through the agency of the Chief Bisaye Bahadur Bukshi, Uton Sing, Dalabera, and others of minor influence among the Khonds, and also for apprehending the persons by whom the children had been sold. To these ends, the chiefs have promised to use their utmost endeavours, and I shall not cease to watch their proceedings in the hope and expectation that the children will be recovered, though I fear there will be considerable difficulty in finding the parties, chiefly Maliah Panwas, who sold them, and procuring evidence sufficient to convict them. Three I have already secured who are now in confinement at Nowgaum awaiting the arrival of witnesses.

The number of victims purchased within the last year would lead to the conclusion that the intention to continue the sacrifice of human victims exists with undiminished force, and that persuasion and remonstrance has not had the effect anticipated.

Children are sometimes sold as Merias by their parents and other relations for as small a sum as three and four rupees, to Khonds as well as Panwas, but the former more rarely, and to punish those who sell (frequently of late years driven to do so by distress) and to suffer the purchasers, the actual perpetrators of the sacrifices, to escape, appears unequal measure towards men inhabiting the same villages with the Khonds,—equally ignorant and equally with them believing in the efficacy of the revolting rite.

The situation of the Goomsur Maliahs has now become very different from that of the Maliahs under the neighbouring zemindaries, where our troops have never penetrated, and where the power and authority of Government is neither known nor recognised. Since the close of the disturbances Captain Hill has during four seasons passed as many times through the Goomsur Maliahs, with an imposing force, and I have each year, at the usual time of sacrifice, visited every part accessible with bullock carriage, encouraging and with considerable success, a close and frequent intercourse with the Khonds; and I still continue of opinion that unless more decided measures are adopted the Meria sacrifice will not cease, though it may not be performed openly.”

Shortly before this time, it would appear that Lieutenant Hill had brought to the notice of Government the fact, that great excitement prevailed in the Maliah Mútahs of Goomsur occasioned by the interference of Mr. Bannerman and his assistant with the Meria sacrifices. Indeed, to such an extent was this excitement said to prevail, that Lieutenant Hill, in the prosecution of his own more peculiar duties in the Survey Department, did not deem it safe even to allude to the subject. The communication of Lieutenant Hill was transmitted to Mr. Bannerman for his official report thereupon; and the

following are the more material parts of his reply, bearing date 6th February 1841 :—

"Although the Maliahs of Goomsur have been mentioned in the minutes of consultation, I have little doubt that Lieutenant Hill, in the 2nd para of his letter to your address of the 5th August, intended to refer to the unexplored Womunniah Maliahs, and not to those parts of the hills which are dependent on Goomsur.

The more southern part of the mountainous range lying between the Jey-pore and the Kimedý Zemindaries, inhabited by the Womunniah Khonds who are almost in a savage state, and have always maintained their independence, had never been penetrated by any officer of the Government till I visited these parts in the beginning of the year 1839. The appearance of an European officer in the heart of these unexplored Maliahs necessarily created a sensation among the Khonds, and the mere intimation of the wish that the sacrifices should be discontinued must unavoidably have excited some degree of suspicion and dissatisfaction in the minds of these tribes. There is indeed, no doubt, from the spirit in which they received the communications made to them, that the Khonds were displeased at my entering their country at all ; they declared boldly that they were independent, paying tribute or owing obedience to none, and notwithstanding the large party I had with me, they shewed a disposition to oppose our return ; and it has since appeared that, within three or four days after my departure, they sacrificed another victim at the same place in lieu of the young woman who was delivered up to me.

Being impressed from what I saw of the temper of the Khonds of the southern portion of these Maliahs, with a conviction of the necessity for exercising great discretion in my communications with them, in furtherance of the wishes of Government, I have been particularly careful to avoid again prematurely agitating the matter, and, in fact, have had no direct communication with the Womunniah Khonds since the time of the visit in January 1839. I have, however, as has been expressly directed, taken every fitting opportunity to urge the hill chiefs, who from local position are most likely to hold communication with them, to use their influence in a prudent manner, to persuade them to discountenance these rites, at the same time, not failing to caution them to avoid any thing like threats or intimidation in reference to the subject. I have seen most of the hill chiefs whose possessions border on the Womunniah Maliahs, who all evince a disposition to do what lies in their power to meet the wishes of the Government on this head ; but for the most part, they had no friendly intercourse with these Khonds, and dread drawing down on themselves their enmity, by attempting to open a communication on the subject. With a zealous desire to press on the accomplishment of the end in view, I can safely say that I have neglected no fit opportunity to forward, in a prudent manner, the wishes of the Government, but the whole subject is one of much practical difficulty ; and I was not without apprehension that the cautious measures which have hitherto been pursued might possibly be thought to wear the appearance of want of energy in the cause ; it now, however, seems to be supposed that injudicious interference on my part has produced a state of feeling among these tribes, such as to cause deep concern to the Government.

If excitement and suspicion have thereby been raised in the minds of the Khonds to the extent that seems to be supposed, the result would be greatly to be lamented ; but I have never heard through any channel, and no circumstances have come to my knowledge, that would lead to the belief, that any irritation or ill-feeling has been excited, or that any particular impression had

actually been made by any communication which may have reached the independent Khonds regarding the wish of Government for the discontinuance of the sacrifices. Lieutenant Hill has had more ample opportunities of acquiring accurate information in respect to the entire range of the Maliahs tracts, and acquaintance with the disposition and feelings of the Khonds and other hill tribes, than perhaps any other European officer under the Government; and he having particularly directed his attention to the subject of the Meria sacrifices, no person is better qualified to give a sound opinion on all points connected with it. I should be inclined to doubt if the expression which may have been used by Lieutenant Hill was intended by him to convey the meaning which has been attached to it, but if, as is stated in the minutes of consultation, that officer deemed it unsafe even to allude to the subject of the sacrifices in his communications with the Khonds, their extreme jealousy of their independence and sensitiveness at the most remote degree of interference with their superstitious rites, would be apparent, and the possible hazard of exciting among these savages a spirit hostile to all civilized authority will be obvious. If, however, the Government desire to see the early accomplishment of the object which they have in view, in my humble opinion, they must be prepared to authorize such measures as may become necessary for bringing these tribes under subjection to their authority. Unfortunately no Khond chiefs, possessing any power or influence with whom to "negotiate," are to be found throughout the entire range. Each Khond hamlet is separate and independent, and the circumstance of there being no authority amongst them, which could be held responsible or be employed to influence or control the acts of the rest, adds much to the difficulty of the task.

The Government are aware, that the independent Maliahs adjoining the Ganjam district, although equal perhaps in area to the rest of the Ganjam district, form but a small portion of the tract in which the practice of sacrificing human victims is known to prevail; and to effect any thing towards the general eradication of the evil, will obviously require an organized system of operations to be carried on, on an extensive scale, for a considerable length of time. The suggestions that have been offered by Lieutenant Hill in his report, dated the 2nd July 1838, appear to me to be generally judicious, and I concur in thinking that the opening of lines of communication through the Maliahs will be one of the best means that could be adopted with a view to the introduction of the authority of Government among these tribes. From the nature of the country, however, this will be a very difficult operation, and attended with vast expense, and it will, I conceive, be indispensably necessary to establish Military posts at different points in the hills, for the purpose of keeping open the communication and protecting the Brinjarri and other merchants who may travel there, from being plundered by the Khonds. The line of communication indicated in the minutes of consultation of the 10th September 1839, is perhaps the most eligible that could be selected, if it be found practicable. It would possess the advantage of being the most direct communication from this part of the coast to Nagpore, and would pass through a part of the Maliahs, which it is very desirable to render of more easy access. From Aska to Bodaguddah a common country road for Bandies already exists, but beyond that, there are said to be a succession of ridges of mountains covered with dense jungle, and separated by deep ravines, without any tableland or open spaces intervening between them; and from all the information I have received it seems to be very doubtful, whether the natural obstacles are not such as to render the task of opening a direct communication through this part of the hills almost impracticable. The insalubrity of the whole of this range of hills, I should fear, would also be very

unfavourable to the success of the undertaking, and will not allow of posts being maintained in the hills throughout the year, but at the risk of a great sacrifice of human life from disease."

Shortly before the receipt of the report from which these extracts have been supplied, the Madras Government,—considering that much good might result from the deputation of an officer to the Hill Maliahs for the purpose of entering into negotiations with the Khond chiefs, and of endeavouring by persuasion, the offer of favourable conditions, and the promise of future advantages and rewards, to induce them to enter into agreements to abandon the Meria sacrifice,—resolved to appoint Captain Hall for this arduous and responsible duty, *to act under the immediate orders of Government* on an increased allowance,* and with the benefit of an escort for his own personal protection. The design was obvious. Hitherto the business had been entrusted exclusively to the Collector, Commissioner, or Governor's Agent and his Assistant. The ordinary routine duties which the former had to discharge were of an exceedingly onerous and multifarious character—leaving little time or strength for the peculiarities of Khond affairs,—affairs, too, whose singular delicacy and intricacy might well demand the undivided time and undistracted attention of any man. The same remark is applicable, in proportionate measure, to his Assistant, on whom more especially devolved, in practice, the management of the Khond question—a question which seemed likely to baffle all the skill of the most astute diplomacy. Moreover, the Assistant lay under the additional fettering, and most chafing disadvantage, of being privileged to hold no communication with Government, except through the sole channel of his own immediate principal, the Commissioner. For these, doubtless, and other reasons equally potent, the Madras Government was disposed to try the experiment of a direct and unencumbered embassy to the Khond country.

The Supreme Government of India,† however, it would

* The sum proposed was, we believe, Rs 1,166-10-8 per month.

† The Government of India, we presume, was all along made cognizant of all the steps taken or proposed in reference to the Khonds. As early as the beginning of 1838, we find Mr. Ross Donnelly Mangles, Officiating Secretary to the Indian Government, calling for papers "relative to the practice of offering human sacrifices in Ganjam," and Mr. Chamier, Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, responding to the call, by forwarding copies of all the papers in his possession. The subject also appears to have been brought regularly to the notice of the Court of Directors, who heartily approved of what had been proposed, and partially executed. The importance, in particular, of promoting intercourse between the Hill Tribes and the people of the low country, seemed to impress itself upon the conviction of the Hon'ble Court, who most liberally sanctioned the opening or formation of routes and passes through the wild and difficult tracts of Khondistan.

appear, doubted the expediency and good results of the proposed mission, and did not see that such a mission would have any clear duties imposed upon it which the present Commissioner, if properly qualified, could not perfectly perform with some moderate assistance. It did not think that much could now be done beyond the direct repression and punishment of notorious and violent acts ; and it was disposed to look with better hope to improving the internal communications and the local police of the country, and thus facilitating the progress of commerce, and the consequent gradual civilization of the people. In other words, all confidence in the efficacy of purely conciliatory measures in securing the *immediate* or *early* abolition of the Meria sacrifice was fairly repudiated, and all intention of resorting to forcible or coercive measures, either as inapplicable or impracticable, finally abandoned.

Shortly after the receipt of Mr. Bannerman's last report, on the 16th March 1841, Lord Elphinstone, the Governor of Madras, recorded his views on the subject in the form of a Minute, which all, who have had the opportunity of perusing it, have united in pronouncing a luminous, masterly, and statesman-like document. In it his Lordship was led first to review the past proceedings of Government and its accredited agents, and then to suggest an outline of operation for the future. And certainly it is but justice to his Lordship to say that, from the beginning, he bestowed on the subject an unwearied attention, and watched every moment, and the effect of every project, with an unslumbering interest.

Respecting the contents of his Minute, it is not of course competent for us to do more than simply to indicate, in a general way, what we understand to be its main drift, scope and purport.

From his Lordship's intimate acquaintance with the various reports of the different Government Agents, directly or indirectly employed in connection with Khond affairs, he could not but perceive how little *real* progress had been made towards the realization of the main object—the suppression of the Meria sacrifice.

Experience seemed to prove the insufficiency of violent measures, which from their very nature, must be partial ones. When, through the fear which his presence inspired, Mr. Bannerman once succeeded in rescuing a destined victim, the inhabitants, within three or four days after his visit, sacrificed another instead ! And when, on another occasion, a victim was released, through the violent interposition of a police force, it was found that the kidnapper had to supply a substitute in the person of his own daughter !

Such examples seemed to prove that force alone was unsuitable to the object in view. And then, as to the efficacy of conciliatory means in ensuring its attainment, there was much to abate the ardency of hope. The delusiveness of partial success, even when obtained by conciliation, was strikingly demonstrated in Major Campbell's last report. In the Goomsur Maliahs, which differed essentially from the neighbouring ones, inasmuch as British power was there acknowledged, and intercourse prevailed to a great extent between the Khonds and their neighbours of the low country, the Múlikas or priests faithfully and repeatedly promised Major Campbell that they would refrain from human sacrifice *for ever*. But it soon appeared that the inhabitants had been in the habit of sacrificing victims in the neighbouring Mútahs ; and that since this promise was last reiterated, not less than 24 victims had been purchased in Goomsur ! Besides, as late as the 18th December 1840, Lieutenant Hill, from data in his possession, roughly estimated the number of victims who were to be put to death in the forty Mútahs of Ganjam alone, at the new moon feast on the 8th January 1841, at *two hundred and forty* ! These, and such like facts, tended at last powerfully to shake the confidence even of Mr. Bannerman and Major Campbell in the efficacy of conciliatory means only ; though, of such means only, were they at first the strenuous advocates. Mr Bannerman in his last report was constrained to remark, that "if the Government desired to see the early accomplishment of the object which they had in view, they must be prepared to authorize such measures (of force ?) as may become necessary for bringing these tribes under subjection to their authority." Major Campbell still more explicitly declared, that during his last visit he was led to conclude that the "intention to continue the sacrifice of human victims existed with *undiminished force*,"—that "*persuasion and remonstrance had not had the anticipated effect*,"—and that "*unless more decided measures were adopted, the Meria sacrifice would not cease, though it might not be performed openly*."

This very conclusion, at which, after the painfully abortive experience of three or four years, these gentlemen were compelled to arrive, is none other than that, which it may be remembered, Captain Millar had, by a short soldier-like process, arrived at from the first. "Intimidation and force," said he, with plain, blunt honesty, were the *only* means which he himself had employed, and the *only* means which he could deem either applicable or adequate. But, supposing this conclusion, as to the necessity and sole sufficiency of coercive measures, to be adopted, how is it to be made practically available ? The

measures must be either of limited or of universal operation. If the former, they could be of little or no avail; since, on all hands, it must be admitted that all partial and isolated attempts of a violent character must end in signal failure. If the latter, how was it to be compassed? The forty Mútahs of Ganjam were but a small part of the wide region which the atrocious practice prevailed—a region of wild inaccessible mountains and jungles, extending in length and breadth over hundreds of miles, and peopled by diverse races outstripping each other in savage barbarism. When all this was borne in mind, the impossibility of applying force in any degree commensurate with the vastness of the undertaking, must be abundantly evident to every reflecting mind. And when, in addition to all this, the condition of the rude tribes who were under the dominant influence of so execrable a superstition was distinctly kept in view, as well as the nature of that influence itself, above all others the most difficult to counteract,—the conclusion seemed inevitable, that it was on other means of a more general and progressive character, that reliance must be placed for the attainment of the great object contemplated.

Fully persuaded, therefore, of the futility of partial efforts for the suppression of the abhorred enormity, and of the inexpediency and hopelessness of violent ones, his Lordship, as we understand, went on at great length, in accordance with this general persuasion, to propound an outline of the plan on which alone, in the first instance at least, the efforts of Government should be directed. The plan itself, we believe, contained nothing whatsoever that was new, either as regarded principle or mode of operation. It only repudiated certain measures that had been causally or deliberately proposed, while it discriminatingly singled out and firmly grasped certain others, on whose development and application it was argued, the energies of Government ought to be exclusively concentrated. The measures thus finally advocated by the Governor of Madras were fully approved of by the Government of India. What the measures themselves were, we find from the following communication, which on the 3rd May 1841, was addressed by the Secretary of the Supreme Government to the Chief Secretary of the Government of Fort St. George:—

“The Governor-General in Council entirely participates in the strong anxiety evinced by Lord Elphinstone and the Government of Fort St. George, to put an end to the savage practice of human sacrifice unfortunately so

prevalent among the wild tribes of Ganjam and the neighbouring districts of Orissa and Berar, and believes with his Lordship that the best hope of success is in cautious and gradual measures, by which, without any direct attack upon national customs or religious prejudices, the natural march of civilization may be securely facilitated.

The plan which Lord Elphinstone has conceived, in order to bring about, in the course of time, the conclusion so much to be desired, is, I am directed to state, thoroughly approved. It embraces the following measures.—

First.—The opening of Routes and Passes through the wild tracts, more particularly between Aska and Gúndaguddah.*

Second.—The encouraging of the commercial intercourse between the hills and the plains by all available means, and the establishing of fairs or marts for that purpose.†

Third.—The raising of a semi-military Police force from among the Hill men, upon a footing similar to that of the Paik Company of Cuttack. ‡

As to the mode in which these measures may be accomplished, the Governor-General in Council concurs with the Governor of Fort St. George that an officer, subordinate in all respects to the present Commissioner, may with a reasonable prospect of success be sent, suitably accompanied and escorted, to negotiate for the assistance of the Rajah of Gúndaguddah, towards the opening of the communication above adverted to. He should, as suggested, communicate with the Governor-General's Agent at Sumbulpore and with the Resident at Nagpore, and it need scarcely be observed that he should cautiously approach any inquisition into human sacrifices, and confine himself very closely to the immediate purposes of his mission. §

* This route was proposed, because a road carried between these places would open a direct communication between Nagpore and Ganjam, passing through the heart of the Khond country. The Khonds did not appear, at that time, to be averse to the opening of roads through their country, and it was desirable that this favorable disposition should be improved and made subservient to the objects of Government.

† Such a measure was originally suggested by Mr. Russel. Its importance was obvious. With the extension of commerce the wants of the Khonds would be increased; new ideas would be introduced among them, and alarm and suspicion would give way to feelings of confidence.

‡ Mr. Bannerman supposed it would be found necessary to establish posts for the security of our communication, when they should have been opened; and it was suggested that, instead of employing our regular sepoys upon this duty, a corps might be formed among the Hill tribes themselves. In Cuttack, there was a Paik Company which was a force of this description. And one of the means employed by Mr. Cleveland, in Rajmahal, to encourage his mountaineers, and at the same time keep them in order, was 'to raise a corps of sepoys from among them.'

§ Though not expressly stated here, one of these purposes, as expounded in Lord Elphinstone's Minute, seems to have been the improvement of the political relations between the Hill chiefs and the British Government. It has repeatedly appeared from the Reports and Letters of the Government Agents, already largely quoted, that these Chiefs asserted an absolute independence. They said, that they paid no tribute and owed no allegiance to any earthly power. It was, therefore, thought desirable to take every proper opportunity of removing this impression, and of accustoming the Hill tribes to look to the British Government as the Ruling Power to whom obedience was due. To attempt to effect such an end was felt to be at once a delicate and a difficult task. It was a clear and recognized principle of sound policy, to avoid committing the Government by any order which it might not have the means to enforce. But occasions, it was supposed, might arise when its interference might be exercised without risk of compromising itself. And it was well to keep stedfastly in view the policy of improving the influence of the

Yet it does not seem to his Lordship in Council that it would be otherwise than prudent, if opportunities should occur to him of discussing the subject with friendly Chiefs of influence, that he should declare the extreme abhorrence with which this custom is regarded by the British Government and its right and determination unrelentingly to punish every attempt to entrap, or to steal British subjects for purposes of immolation.

The ulterior measures contemplated by Lord Elphinstone's Minute, though altogether in accordance with the judicious propositions suggested for more immediate adoption, and such as it in all probability will become eventually necessary to carry into execution, are yet far distant, and need not now be commented on.* For the present, all that is done should be tentative and gradual, and for this as well as other reasons, it seems proper that the Government of Fort St. George should superintend the proceedings, and that their more immediate control should be in the hands of the Local Agent to that Government. This Agent may be authorised to enter into communication with the Commissioner of Cuttack, who will be furnished with a copy of this correspondence, and upon whose cordial co-operation he may entirely depend."

This may seem rather a lame and impotent conclusion after the indulgence of once such ardent hopes, and the lavish expenditure of such anxious toil and trouble for a period of years. But the truth is, that the more attentively the subject was considered, the more arduous and intricate did it present itself. To all parties concerned, the difficulties that beset it, only appeared in a vastly stronger light than that in which they were originally seen. Consequently, the views of all may be said to have gradually undergone modification to a very considerable degree. The unexpected fact so recently revealed by Major Campbell, *viz.*, that, in districts the most favorably circumstanced—districts,

Paramount Power among the people, and at the same time strengthening its hold over the chiefs. If the relations of Government were placed on an improved footing with these chiefs, their influence might be usefully employed among the Khonds, not for their subjugation, but in many ways which were not those of coercion, nor of violence. There could be little doubt that their co-operation, if only obtained, would be invaluable to the British Government in opening communications through their country, in establishing mails or fairs, in fixing upon Military posts for the protection of the roads, in supplying the garrisons with provisions and necessaries, and in inducing their dependents, or people of the neighbouring hill tribes to enlist in the British service. To secure, therefore, if practicable, this political influence over the chiefs, would be to accelerate and render certain the success of other measures

* What these ulterior measures were, at which Lord Elphinstone appeared to aim, we have no means of knowing. Rather, perhaps, it would be nearer the mark to hazard the conjecture that his Lordship did not know very well himself what they might or ought to be. That ulterior measures of some kind, over and above the tentative and auxiliary ones then proposed, would be needed to consummate the object in view, was what his Lordship seemed to foresee with sufficient clearness. But in the existing state of his information on the subject, he probably deemed it altogether premature to discuss in detail what these measures should be. The only one to which he seems to have adverted at all—one which had already suggested itself to the Court of Directors—was, whether, as in the case of Thuggi, special tribunals should not be constituted for the trial of the wretches who supplied the victims, and lived by kidnapping and selling for slaughter their fellow-creatures?

under the direct and immediate control of Government itself—districts, the Múlikas and Elders of which had repeatedly and solemnly promised to abstain from human sacrifices,—that, even in such districts, the Khonds had relapsed into the practice, if indeed they ever discontinued it! Such a fact, so recently and unexpectedly disclosed, was well calculated to confirm the doubting, stagger and astound the most sanguine, and shake the confidence of the most hopeful.

From the sanctioning Resolution of the Supreme Government of the 3rd May 1841, it will be seen, that all expectation of immediate success was unequivocally relinquished. The chief, if not sole reliance, in subsequent attempts to eradicate the bloody rites of iniquitous superstition,—which, though so clearly an outrage against the laws both of God and man, had been handed down to their present perpetrators by the traditions of unnumbered generations,—was thereby placed on the gradual and progressive influence of general civilization. And this, too, was the final and settled scheme proposed and adopted, while it was yet unconditionally admitted, that the progress of civilization is necessarily slow even under the most favourable circumstances,—and how much more so must it be expected to be, among the jungles and mountain fastnesses of Orissa! What was this, but virtually to adjourn for an indefinite period, the final extinction of the sanguinary rite?

Even as regarded the special Agent to be deputed to the Hill chiefs, it cannot escape notice, how guardedly and cautiously, under what restrictions and limitations, and within what a circumscribed sphere, he was commissioned to act. It could not but be foreseen and distinctly acknowledged, that ultimately the efforts of such an officer, if expected to prove successful, must not be limited either in kind, or in the sphere of their operation. In the course of time, when some progress was made in the undertaking, and the authority of the British Government was better established and its intentions better understood, it might be advisable to allow a wide discretion and an ample jurisdiction. Instead of being confined to one district, his authority might require to be extended over the whole tract of country where the practice of human sacrifice prevailed—in Cuttack, in the dominions of the Nagpore Rajah and the adjoining Zemindaries, in the Hill districts of Vizagapatam and Ganjam. In the first instance, however, it was deemed expedient to assign to him the particular limits, and to prescribe to him the exact course which he was to follow. Accordingly, it will be seen that the European officer, whoever he should be that was first

to be despatched into the Hill country, was not to be sent *directly* to the *Khonds themselves*—either to plead, or remonstrate, or discuss, or threaten, on the subject of their hateful superstitions. To do so, in the excited and exasperated state of feeling understood to prevail throughout the country, might, it was supposed, be productive of harm rather than of good. He was *therefore* to be sent merely as a sort of ambassador to the Rajah of Gúndaguddah *ostensibly* for the purpose of securing his assistance to the opening of the proposed communication. With this view, he was to be accompanied by an officer of the survey department, draftsmen, and a detachment of sappers, as well as an escort of infantry, merely for personal protection among the wild tribes, through whose country he would have to pass. He was to be strictly enjoined to “confine himself” to these, the avowed and more “immediate purposes of his mission,” and only “cautiously to approach any inquisition into human sacrifices.” It was only indirectly, incidentally, and in a very subordinate manner, that the distressing subject was to be alluded to at all. And even then, it was only when “opportunities occurred to him of discussing it with friendly chiefs of influence,” that the Supreme Government “thought it would be prudent to declare the extreme abhorrence with which the custom was regarded by the British Government, and its right and determination unrelentingly to punish every attempt to *entrap* or to *steal British subjects* for the purpose of immolation.”

Under the authority thus given by the Government of India,—and clogged and fettered by the foresaid registry of cautions and warnings, restrictions and limitations, injunctions and prohibitions,—Lieut. McPherson was appointed an Assistant to the Commissioner or Governor’s Agent in Ganjam, for the special object of carrying into effect the preliminary measures, of which an outline has now been given. On the 15th December 1841, he proceeded on his journey to the Khond country. Thither, for the present, we shall not follow him. His labours in the Khond cause, we consider of far too great importance to admit of being dismissed with a slight or superficial sketch. From the great and unexpected success which attended them, as well as from certain *marked* and *original* features by which they were distinguished, alike in principle and mode of operation, we have no hesitation in declaring that they constitute a *new* and *distinctive* epoch of their own, in the history of Government measures for the abolition of the Meria sacrifice. With Lieut. McPherson’s appointment, we consider that the *first era* of comparative ignorance,

twilight groping, abortive but well meant experiments, and really philanthropic but somewhat disheartening conclusions terminated ; and with his appointment we, in like manner, consider that the *second era* of maturer knowledge, fuller and more steady light, more skilful and successful experiments, and equally philanthropic but more cheering conclusions, commenced. The narrative, therefore, of this *second* and more hopeful epoch we purposely reserve for a separate place in a future number.

Meanwhile, we may turn aside to contemplate another field of labour, and a distinct set of operations conducted under the auspices of a different Government. It has already incidentally appeared, that considerable tracts of Khondistan, such as the Hill districts of Boad and Duspalla, lie within the limits of the Bengal presidency. At an early period, as we shall see immediately, something was done in connection with the Government of that presidency, towards the suppression of the Meria sacrifice. It can scarcely, however, be said to have set itself in earnest to the task till a period somewhat later than that with which the *first* epoch of the proceedings of the Madras Government had closed. Still, overlooking the mere element of time, and directing exclusive attention to the *predominant spirit* and *distinguishing character* of the different proceedings themselves, we cannot hesitate to pronounce them as belonging to essentially the *same genus*. Disregarding therefore, altogether the mere *anachronism*, with respect to time, as practically and comparatively of little consequence, we must at once assign the narrative of the proceedings of the Bengal Government to the *first* epoch or era of Government measures.

In the beginning of 1837, Mr. Ricketts, the Commissioner of Cuttack, marched through the Duspalla and Boad districts, for the purpose of co-operating with Mr. Russel on this side of the frontier, and preventing the rebels from finding an asylum in the Tributaries under his superintendency.* He met Mr. Russell in Boad. From the latter, he heard for the first time, of the extensive system of human sacrifice which had been discovered in Goomsur. Inquiry soon led him to find that it was not limited to that district alone—that it equally prevailed in Duspalla and Boad.

At that time he had no jurisdiction in Boad, as it was attached to the South West frontier Superintendency. Accordingly, he proceeded to Duspalla, and called on the Khonds to give up the victims they had in keeping. They agreed to

* See the Khond Article, No. IX., p. 17.

do so; and Mr. Ricketts was left under the impression that "all were brought to him." The Rajah, he perceived, had little real power of control over the Khonds; and during his stay he did all in his power to strengthen the Rajah's authority:—

"I made," he writes, "all the chiefs sign a document, acknowledging themselves the subject of his Raj, and bound to regard and obey the Rajah as their immediate Chief, and in agreeing, in token of their dependence, to attend each year at the Dole Jattrā, and pay the tribute at the rate of four and six gūns of rice per house. They were also made to understand that the Rajah would be assisted by the Government, in maintaining a proper control over them. I passed hours and days in talking and reasoning with them, and before I came away, induced them to sign a paper—engaging to give up human sacrifices, allowing that they were without effect and wicked, and that any instance of it in future should be followed up by the destruction of the perpetrators and all assisting. Were the Rajah strong enough to attack the village, in which the next sacrifice may be made, and kill the Chief, it is my belief there would be no more in Duspalla, but I fear he dare not. I gave him a *perwanah* authorizing him to stop any person sacrificing a human victim."

Though, from his want of jurisdiction, he could not introduce the same arrangement into Boad, he proceeded into the country of Mahadeb Khonro and Nowbhun Khonro, who held all the Boad Khond forests and hills. The former of these Sirdars or chiefs waited upon him, and though he declined to assist in the liberation of victims, yet he did not seem openly at least to thwart any of his proceedings. "They allowed me," says Mr. Ricketts, "to seize the victims where I could find them, and made no attempt to induce others not to give them up." In this manner he succeeded in bringing away altogether twenty-four: eight girls and sixteen boys.

Mr. Ricketts' report on the subject is dated 23rd February (1837). In the Government Resolution thereon, dated 14th March, occurs the following strong paragraph:—

"His Lordship has perused the detail given by you of the system of human sacrifice prevalent among the Khonds with feelings no less of horror than surprise. He is well aware of the difficulty of dealing with a description of crime, which, however unnatural and revolting, has been sanctioned by long usage as a national rite and confirmed by the gross delusions of

* On that occasion, in a discussion with some Khond chiefs, he is said to have told them to, "sacrifice buffaloes, sheep and other animals only," they replied, "It is our custom; if we don't, we shall not be able to exist; the Deity will eat us all;—how can we escape?" The Commissioner remarked, "If you cannot exist, then come to me, and I will manage your business." They professed to assent. But it was an assent extorted through fear, and never intended to be implemented, except under the pressure of urgent necessity,—the dread of certain detection, and summary punishment. The shew of submission was only designed as a cloak to allay suspicion, and lead to a relaxation of energy in the adoption and prosecution of active measures for the extirpation of the obnoxious practice. This will fully appear from subsequent events and proceedings.

the darkest ignorance and superstition. The working of a moral change among the people by the progress of general instruction and consequent civilization, can alone eradicate from among them the inclination to indulge in rites so horrible. But though the entire suppression of the practice of human sacrifice among this wild and barbarous race must be the work of time, yet much may be done even now, and no proper exertion should be omitted towards checking the frequency of the crime by the terror of just punishment. His Lordship is fully prepared to sanction the use of judicious measures in aid of the power of the Rajah of Duspallah, whenever that chieftain shall have discovered the commission of this crime in any of his villages. Immediate injunctions should be issued, not to him only, but all other Tributary Rajahs having nominal authority over Khond population, expressive of the views of the British Government and of its determination to do all in its power for the effectual repression of this atrocious practice. You will be pleased to report upon every instance in which, in your opinion, the British power, in support of that of the Rajahs themselves, may be exerted, without the hazard of serious embarrassment and disturbance."

In conformity with the tenor of these remarks, worthy of the benevolent character of Lord Auckland, strict injunctions were issued on the 16th July (1837,) to the Rajah of Duspalla, and the Rajahs of Boad and Atmullik,—which territories had, at Mr. Ricketts' recommendation, been transferred to the Cuttack jurisdiction,—expressive of the views of the British Government, and calling on them to adopt every means in their power for putting a stop to the practice.

If the Rajah of Duspalla had little power, it was soon found that the Rajah of Boad had practically no real power at all over his nominal Khond subjects. However, about *three* years afterwards, in April 1840, the Rajah of Boad gave intelligence of some of his Khond subjects having purchased *Merias*, and a little boy and girl were on that occasion rescued. In July 1842, two more children were seized in the Duspalla Zemindary. Again, in January 1843, the Rajah of Boad sent in two children whom he had recovered from a Khond Sirdar, who had intended them as victims for sacrifice.

Such, as far as we can learn, were the *entire* proceedings of Government in the Bengal presidency for *six* years, in the matter of the suppression of the Meria sacrifice within its borders. Mr. Ricketts having, in 1837, issued most stringent orders on the subject, these orders appear to have been left, in a great measure, to execute themselves. But it is a mere truism to say, that no orders however stringent, no laws however peremptory, are endowed with self-acting, self-operative energies. Accordingly, the signal failure of the Commissioner's orders in securing the object contemplated, at length became manifest.

In June 1843, Mr. Mills, the Superintendent of Tributary Mehals, Cuttack, and immediate successor to Mr. Ricketts, submitted for the consideration and orders of His Honor the

Deputy Governor of Bengal, a report of his proceedings regarding the rescue of some Meria children from the Khonds of Boad and Duspalla. As this report very clearly represents the views of the principal functionary of the Bengal Government to whom was entrusted the adoption of measures for the suppression of Meria sacrifices within the Bengal territories—including an explicit avowal of his principles of action, his mode of operation, and despair of success from conciliatory measures alone—we deem it proper to supply the following lengthened extract :—

“ Having heard that Capt. McPherson, Assistant to the Governor-General's Agent, has recovered a large number of victim children in Goomsur, and having been told that that officer had stated, that the Khonds of Duspalla and Boad had many Merias in their keeping, I deputed a trustworthy native officer with two Chapprassis into the Khond Mútah for the purpose of effecting their liberation. I enjoined him to impress upon the Khond chiefs, the abhorrence with which Government viewed the rite, to remind them that it had directed its abolition, and that a recurrence of the practice would bring down on its perpetrators the serious displeasure of Government. I especially interdicted the use of force, and desired the Rajahs of the territories above mentioned to co-operate with the Tehsildar in the accomplishment of the above object.

I am happy to have it in my power to state that the mission has been attended with some success. The Khond Chiefs gave up 8 children, of the names and ages as per margin, and have promised to restore 17 others. Sickness having compelled the Tehsildar to quit the country, he left a Chapprassi to receive the latter when surrendered.

The Tehsildar first proceeded to Duspalla, and found that the Rajahs had seized and confined Ragu Maji (the Khond Sirdar of Nowsagur) and his son, having, in defiance of the orders of Government, sacrificed a Meria, a female child, 8 years of age. The Tehsildar accompanied by the Rajah's Dewan or Minister then went into the Khond country of Boad. The Khond Sirdars attended and delivered up the Meria children. They admitted that Ragu Maji had sacrificed privately one victim in order to propitiate the Deity, but affirmed that this was the only sacrifice that had been committed, since the practice had been discontinued by order of Government, and all promised never to perform Meria again. They further alleged, that the children were brought in the famine, and that they were bringing them up as adopted members of their families.

The Tehsildar reports that the Khonds of Duspalla are under the Rajah's control, but the Khonds in Duspalla are comparatively few : and though the Rajah has shewn, by his liberation of Meria children at different times, and by his seizure of the Sirdar abovementioned, that he does, and is able to exercise some authority over them, yet it is clear from his *urzi*, that he holds the Khonds in just fear, and is unable of his own authority to suppress the practice.

The Tehsildar proceeded from Duspalla to Boad. The Khond country in this Killah is very extensive. The influential Sirdars, Nowbhun Khonro and Mahadeb Khonro have, I may say, raised the standard of independence. The Rajah complains of their personal hostility to him and their lawless usurpation : though they have thrown off their allegiance to the Rajah, yet it is satisfactory to know that they are inspired with a wholesome dread of the ruling power.

Nowbhun and Mahadeb, with many other of the Sirdars, obeyed the Tehsildar's summons, and waited on him. The former, my Chaprassi informs me, assumed regal state : he came attended by a large body of matchlock men, preceded by musicians ; but he shewed so much deference to the Rajah, as to pay his respect to him, and to present a Nuzzur of one Rupee.

The Sirdars surrendered to the Tehsildar two Meria children, and admitted that there were 17 others in the country, whom they promised to give up as above noticed.

There can, I fear, be little doubt that the practice of sacrificing children is still prevalent in the Khond Mútahs of Boad and Duspalla ; the Khonds are afraid to speak openly about it, but the Sirdars of Boad tacitly admitted the fact.

Conciliatory measures alone will not effect the suppression of the rite ; force must precede conciliation, and it is hopeless to expect to put it down even with the application of force, unless a special agent is appointed to use force when necessary, and systematic measures are adopted for carrying out simultaneously the orders of Government, both in the Madras and Bengal territories.

The Khond Sirdar, alluded to in a former paragraph, is in custody. He acknowledges that he killed the child, and that he wilfully disobeyed the orders of Government, but pleads in extenuation of his guilt, that the Deity appeared to him in a vision, and commanded him to make this expiation, and so avert his justly provoked wrath.

If the Government were prepared to adopt coercive means for suppressing the practice, it would be politic—as likely to produce in the commencement of a new system a salutary impression on the Khonds—to sentence this offender to imprisonment for a period of two or three years ; under existing circumstances, I would only admonish and discharge him.

The Rajah of Duspalla's meritorious conduct is deserving, I think, of some special mark of approbation by Government. He rescued and sent in, in March last, two children, one of whom made its escape : and I would suggest that we be permitted to bestow on him, as well as on the Rajah of Boad, who rescued the two children mentioned in my letter of 1st February last, and who cordially co-operated with the Tehsildar on the occasion, a present of a pair of shawls and a piece of kinkob each.

I shall deliver over the children to their relations if they can be found, and if found, they are willing to receive them ; but in the meantime I solicit the payment of three rupees per mensem for the boarding, clothing and education of those whom I make over to Mr. Sutton.

If the Sirdars shall fail to fulfil their promise of giving up the seventeen children above mentioned, I shall again depute the Tehsildar to Boad with a view to effect their release. I shall also continue to send occasionally officers into the country on similar errands, in order to show the Khonds how unceasing is the desire and determination of Government to put a stop to the practice, but the presence of an European officer would be attended with far more good. And if it be determined to adhere to the present system of inducing the Khonds to give up the rite, I would suggest that an officer of experience, and qualified by disposition and character for the duty, be appointed to the command of the Khúrdah Paik Company, and be made ex-officio assistant to the Superintendent of Tributary Mehals, on a suitably increased salary. I would require him to make a tour through the Khond Mehals every year, and to act in unison with Captain Macpherson, under identical instructions, in bringing over the Khonds to our views."

The Hon'ble Mr. Bird, who was then Deputy Governor, expressed much gratification at the deliverance of the Merias—would be glad to learn that the remaining seventeen had been recovered—approved of the suggestion for bestowing a present of a pair of shawls and a piece of kinkob each on the two Rajahs for their co-operation in the rescue of the victims, and for the allowance of 3 Rs. each per mensem on account of the boarding, clothing and education of the children made over to Mr. Sutton,—but declined coming to any determination on the other proposed measures, which involved the application of force, and the appointment of a special Agent to exercise it, pending the result of a general investigation into the whole subject then in progress. In this conclusion of the Deputy Governor, the Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, fully concurred.

Here, then, are some very instructive points which it is well to pause and consider. Mr. Ricketts having, in 1837, expressed in unequivocal terms the disapprobation of the British Government, and having issued stringent prohibitory orders for the abolition of the Meria sacrifices, accompanied with threats of punishment in case of disobedience, it seemed to be concluded that the business was definitively settled—and that the sanguinary superstition was consigned for ever to the number of “things that were.” In 1843, or about ~~six~~ years afterwards, the new Commissioner, Mr. Mills, is suddenly awakened as from a dream. A report reaches him, not from any of his own people, but from an Agent of the Madras Government carrying on operations in the Madras territory, that the Khonds of Boad and Duspalla, within his own jurisdiction, had many Meria children in their keeping. And, as if it had been a report of the abduction of children by a common gang of dakoits, he deems it quite enough to despatch a Tehsildar with Chaprassis for their rescue. The clear and ample returns of the Tehsildar, detailing the whole of his proceedings, soon satisfied the Commissioner that the business which he had undertaken was altogether of a different kind from what he had been led to anticipate. The Khond chiefs of Boad gloried in a turbulent independence. The Tehsildar described them as “a set of rascals who did not mind the orders of the authorities.” The “stringent orders” of Mr. Commissioner Ricketts were, he said, in his possession, but he could not venture to enforce them. The Chiefs did not pretend to deny the still continued prevalence of the Meria sacrifice. When asked whether they were aware that orders had been sent from Government six years before to the Rajah, to put a stop to the practice;—they hesitatingly replied, that they were quite aware of the fact. And, when challenged to explain, why,

persisted in the celebration of the cruel rite ;—they deemed it a conclusive answer, to say, "Because the village Deity had told them that otherwise the people would die." The impression left on the Tehsildar's mind, from all he had seen and heard, was, "that, unless some Amlah, or if possible, the Commissioner himself went through the country once a year, the practice never could be put a stop to." Aroused at length to something like a just sense of the real difficulties of the undertaking, the Commissioner is constrained to give vent to his own impression of the apparently insuperable difficulties, by putting on record this memorable deliverance, *viz*: "CONCILIATORY MEASURES ALONE WILL NOT EFFECT THE SUPPRESSION OF THE RITE. FORCE MUST PRECEDE CONCILIATION; and it is hopeless to expect to put it down even with the application of force, unless a special agent is appointed to use force, when necessary and systematic measures are adopted for carrying out simultaneously the orders of Government, both in the Madras and Bengal territories!"

The subsequent steps taken by Mr. Mills only tended still farther to corroborate his previous convictions.

The Chapprassi who had been left to receive the promised seventeen Merias formerly mentioned, having reported that the Khond Sirdars had declined to give them up, Mr. Mills directed the Tehsildar to revisit the Killah, and to proceed himself into the Khond fastnesses, for the purpose of effectuating their deliverance. A short extract will exhibit the result—

"They (the Tehsildar and his party) proceeded across a high range of hills to the high tableland of Borogotsa Des, where many Khond villages are planted: they found all deserted, and for two days not a soul made his appearance. On the third day, two persons came as ambassadors from the chiefs, and delivered a message to the following effect:—"His Honor the Commissioner, (Mr. Ricketts) came and gave Mahadeb Khonro a horse, a gold khurrú and other ornaments, and taking the Meria children, desired him to discontinue the practice. He, in disobedience of these orders, bought himself one Meria and his people three, in all four, whom they sacrificed in the month of Pous of the present year. The Rajah, hearing of this, called Khonro and said—His Honor has forbidden you to sacrifice Merias,—swear now to me, and his Honor, that you will not do so, and be careful in future. The Khonro promised accordingly and went away, but in four days he sacrificed four more Merias—we are but his inferiors. His Honor never admonished *us* but *him*, and he has now sacrificed, and we, following his example, purchased and sacrificed too. Forgive us, and we will come."

The Tehsildar exhorted them to bring in the Khonds, but they stipulated for permission to come armed, as the Khonds were afraid of Mahadeb Khonro and the Rajah. They accordingly attended the following day, in number from 4 to 500, armed with swords and matchlocks, and beating

drums. The Tehsildar explained to them the nature of the message which they had sent to him ; they adhered to the same ; but despite of his remonstrance, declined to give up the children to any one but myself. The Tehsildar states that he observed on his return, that they had constructed stone defences, and collected stones and other missiles in the passes."

From the Tehsildar's own written statement on the subject, it would appear that the Khond chiefs and their adherents were singularly obstinate, contumacious, insubordinate, and menacing in the attitude which they had assumed—and that he considered himself as having very narrowly escaped with his life. In these circumstances, Mr. Mills deemed it unadvisable to adopt any farther measures for securing the liberation of the children, until he himself could go to Boad. He was sanguine in his expectation that the Khonds would not, in this particular instance, finally refuse compliance with the orders of Government, though acknowledged to be "extremely loath to abandon a practice which they regarded with feelings so holy, and which they believed could alone expiate the wrath of the great spirit." Still, as regarded the general subject of the abolition of the rite, his views, so far from being modified, were only confirmed. It was his belief, in common with that of all the natives with whom he had conversed, that we "could never establish our authority amongst the Khonds by conciliation alone"—that we "must impress them with the wholesome dread of our power (since the Goomsur war they had learnt to respect the paramount authority of Government), and be prepared to adopt coercive, if conciliatory measures should fail, for the suppression of the practice, taking care to shew that it was a matter of necessity, not of choice." "The force of conversation would not alienate men from practices so firmly embedded in their affections" He would have it made known throughout the districts, that "the Government had resolved to put a stop to the inhuman practice of sacrificing children, and he would call upon the heads of each village and Mútah to come forward and give a distinct and unconditional pledge to relinquish the rite." A combined system of "rewards and punishments alone would effectually repress it. Various marks of regard might be shewn to those who observed their engagements, while cases of delinquency should in every event be punished, at first slightly, and when the law had been for sometime observed, with severity." The precise period of issuing a general prohibitory notice, by public proclamation, would depend on circumstances ; but when once "our plans were matured, the authority of Government must be maintained." Finally, Mr. Mills strongly reiterated his former recommendation that "the

Khond Mútahs of Cuttack and Ganjam should be placed under the immediate control of an officer appointed for the special purpose of suppressing human sacrifices," and that for this end he should be "invested with the ample powers which are now exercised by the Superintendent of Tributary Estates."*

Such were the confirmed sentiments of Mr. Mills on the subject; though it is but justice to him to add, that he offered them "with much deference to those of Captain MacPherson," who "eschewed the use of force," and who "spoke from local knowledge and experience," whereas he (Mr. Mills) candidly confesses that he had "no personal intercourse with the Khonds."

About this time a new actor suddenly appeared in the anti-Meria cause, in the person of Col. Ouseley, Agent to the Governor-General, South West Frontier. Acting with promptitude on information received early in January† 1844, he succeeded in rescuing two Meria lads, and restored them to their friends. From the investigations which these cases involved, it fully appeared that numbers of Merias were in possession of the Khonds in the Zemindaries of Sohnpore, Patika, Khurriar, Bindranawagurh and Bamra—that those, who could not procure Merias otherwise, gave up their old and helpless fathers and mothers to be sacrificed—and that, in certain cases, from fear of the Government, in order to escape detection, they at once killed and buried the Merias.‡ Ample details were also furnished of the mode in which the cruel rite was usually performed.

Filled with indignation and loathing at "the most dreadful horrors perpetrated in sacrificing human beings," the Colonel with the promptitude and decision of a gallant soldier, resolved to proceed to action. Without a day's delay he issued a notice to the Rajahs within the circle of his jurisdiction, to this effect: "that they should send a list of the Sirdar Khonds§ of their estates

* These powers may be thus summarily expressed, viz., "to sentence offenders, in certain cases, to seven years' imprisonment,—to report for confirmation to the Government any severer punishment which he may propose to inflict,—to confine his interference to the suppression of feuds and animosities prevailing amongst the Khonds and the neighbouring Rajahs,—to the correction of systematical oppression and violence,—to putting a stop to human sacrifices, and to the sale and purchase of victims,—to the punishment of kidnappers, and finally, to the cognizance of all important points, which, if not attended to, might lead to outrage and confusion."

† His report to Government is dated 9th January.

‡ One of the cases deposed to, was that of a poor girl. When a report was brought that a "sahib" was coming from Cuttack, she was buried up to her neck in the earth, when she said, "on the sahib's coming I shall cry and make a noise, so let me go." On this they at once killed her.

§ "From what I can learn," says the Colonel "there may be from forty to fifty thousand men capable of bearing arms who are addicted to these practices, but not above a twentieth part within this agency. The rest are in the Berar Rajah's country, Karond, Bustar, and in the Madras Presidency, with the exception of Boud, and Cuttack.

and make every enquiry whether any Merias were in their country—that, whenever these were found to exist, they should be instantly forwarded to him—that, if any still remained, and were not reported on, or were in any way secreted, the persons who aided and abetted in the matter would be liable to have their zemindaries confiscated—that a copy of the notice should be sent in Uriya to all the Khond zemindars, to warn them to desist from such practices as human sacrifices, and to send in the kidnapped Merias then in their possession—and that, henceforward, should any Khond zemindar allow of sacrifices, his zemindary would be liable to resumption, and the person sacrificing subject to capital punishment.”

The Colonel himself, however, adds that he “much feared that this plain order would have but little attention paid to it.” But did such unfavourable anticipation disconcert him? No. Foreboding the worst, he is quite prepared for it. Idle dallying, vacillating delays, irresolute half measures are not in accordance with the determined spirit of the gallant soldier. Accordingly, the Colonel, though with “much diffidence,” at once submits it to Government, as his decided “opinion,” that should no attention be paid to the orders which he had issued before the cold season next ensuing, he “should be empowered to proceed with all the Ramgur Light Infantry and Irregular Horse available, with the guns, and make such an example of those who persisted in thus treacherously kidnapping and destroying their neighbours, as would compel them ever after to become obedient subjects under their respective Rajahs.” Aware of the tactics of the Khonds, the Colonel, in no way discomposed, goes on to say, that, “it would be useless to pursue them into their jungles and fastnesses ;” but, “by keeping detachments in the cultivated districts, seizing their cattle and grain, and otherwise inflicting punishment on them,” he feels assured they would eventually comply with his demands. “It was by such, a course alone,” continues he, “that the Lurka Koles of Singbhúm were convinced of their errors ; and among a barbarous people like the Khonds, who are infinitely below the Koles in every way, the *only argument that they could understand is that supported by force.*”

In a subsequent report of the 9th March, the Colonel furnishes additional evidence, corroborative of his former statements, respecting the frequency of the sacrifices. He names a chief who would be happy to enter the country, and “soon point out *hundreds* of these poor Merias.” That “these dreadful sacrificial acts were common,” he also knew “from personally conversing with the people on the borders—not only the chiefs, but the poorer classes.” He was fully aware that “many

obstacles would be placed in the way of all inquiries," and that "opposition would be shewn to every step taken to put down such proceedings by the zemindars, who profit by the continuance of the ceremonies, and all the chiefs of the human sacrifice sect." Nevertheless, he did "not hesitate to state that he would, in one season be able to subdue those who might refuse to give up such a line of conduct, either by conciliation or force." Nothing, however, but the application, or at least the display of force would suffice. In the way of such application or effective display of force, he was aware of the physical difficulties that interposed. The climate, he admitted, to be "very insalubrious"—the country "dreadfully unhealthy." He had himself already experienced its sad effects, even when not exposed to the risks and hazards of a campaign in an unexplored region—having been repeatedly attacked with fever. Like a brave soldier, with a spirit as generous as it was undaunted, he adds, "I would not, however, advise the measure, and not share the dangers; nor would I require any officers or men to go where I would not. There is little honor and glory to be gained in such jungles; but to suppress these horrors, openly enacted within 300 or 350 miles of the seat of Government, is, I with the utmost deference beg to state, imperative."

Zeal so honest, so warm, so laudable in the sacred cause of humanity, it is impossible not to admire. But, while greatly admiring the zeal, both as to its source and its object, one may be permitted to doubt the wisdom or the efficacy of the summary measures proposed.

The Colonel distinctly admits that the Khonds constantly "quarrelled among themselves, and had pitched battles, in which the Rajahs could not, and, indeed, never attempted to interfere, nor could they prevent the exercise of this dreadful rite." The second most influential Khond chief within his own agency, he describes as "a most outrageous barbarian, who paid no attention to any order of the Rajah of Patna or any one else." Now, in such circumstances, the expediency of issuing such admonitory notices as those already mentioned, seems more than doubtful. With the present deficiency of information as to localities, and the degree of obedience which the Khonds pay to the superior Rajahs and their own immediate chiefs, it seems clear that no certain knowledge of the effect which the admonitory notices might have produced, could be obtained before the season for operations had come round. The surrender of a few Merias would be no proof that *hundreds* more were not *reserved* for immolation; and thus the Government would be left in a state of distressing suspense, as to

whether its orders had, or had not been carried into effect. To remain quiet in such circumstances might encourage the destruction of numerous victims, and lead the Khonds to treat with contempt, orders which were not enforced. And then, as to a hostile incursion into the country, the harassing nature of the warfare, carried on at a great expense, in an unexplored territory, and in a deadly climate, was not the only objection. On this subject, it affords us much pleasure to be able to quote the plain and forcible remarks of Lieutenant Hicks—the Assistant Superintendent of the Tributary Mehals, Cuttack—more especially as he himself seems fully persuaded, that, sooner or later, conciliatory measures must be supported by the direct application of force :—

“ Our intercourse with many of the Khond tribe has been very limited. I believe we only came into direct contact with them, but a short time ago, in the Goomsur country, the inhabitants of which were subjected to all the calamitous effects of a protracted and desultory warfare ; and although our troops had instilled a terror in the minds of the people, the Meria rite still continues to some extent in that district,—Captain MacPherson having only this last cold weather brought away a considerable number of victims.

It is difficult to conceive that the mere act of marching a Regiment into the country, and then marching it out again, will have the desired effect. It would not. A line of posts must be established, and troops detained in the country for a length of time, or at all events, until objects aimed at have been effectually gained , and should a collision ever take place, a general rise would most likely happen, and no human calculation can define the limits and expenses of a desultory warfare, as it inevitably must be, in a country, too, abounding in natural and almost insurmountable difficulties.

The destitution and poverty of the Khonds is very great ; they are possessed of little or no property, and would, on the approach of our troops, fly to their fastnesses, where it would be useless, and, indeed, impracticable to pursue them, and I am perfectly assured that from sheer ignorance of our motives, three-fourths of the inhabitants of Khondistan would offer a mad and blind resistance to our demands, under the idea that they were merely fighting in defence of their country, independence, and tribe. I say from ignorance of our real motives, because from the naturally wild shyness and timidity of these people, it would be vain inviting them to an understanding in the front of an armed force, and it would also be impossible to make known to them the true reason of the advance of our troops.

It therefore seems probable that a coercive undertaking, to be effective, must be a protracted one, and this is the strong objection to the application of force, until all other measures have failed ; for troops would require to be detained in the country, so as to worry and harass the people into submission, by not permitting them to cultivate their lands, and by keeping them confined to the fastnesses, where they may take refuge. The climate of Khondistan is so notorious for its insalubrity, and the baneful effects it has on the health and constitution of strangers, that little else may be said in regard to it, except that it will prove more destructive than either the fire or sword of the enemy.

There is, from the rocky and sterile nature of the country, a great drought of about four months' duration, which would oblige troops to seek the banks

of the Mahanadi river, in the months of March, April, May and June ; they would be dependent on Sumbulpore, Nagpore and Cuttack for supplies, the country being too poor to maintain even a very small number of troops.

Should, however, Government be in possession of sufficient evidence to convince it, that nothing but an appeal to arms, will compel the Khonds to abandon the practice, an overwhelming force should be poured into the country, from all sides simultaneously, viz, from Nagpore, Ramghur, Cuttack, Russelconda and Aska, to enforce instant submission and prevent the slightest inducement to the neighbouring Khonds, in making a common cause with those of Sohnpore."

To these we may add one or two other considerations of our own. All agree that on the first appearance of a superior force, the Khonds would at once forsake the vallies and betake themselves to the jungles and the hills, where they could not be pursued. It is usually presumed, however, that after a time, they would be constrained to give way and in the end make an unconditional surrender. But is this so certain an issue? Even supposing the difficulty of a permanent occupation of these deadly vallies, on the part of our troops, to be overcome,—an event in itself highly problematical—is it so clear that it must terminate in concession or total submission on the part of the Khonds? We think not. Wholly incapable of appreciating our motives or our ends, and burning with a consciousness of injury and of wrong, might they not drop all hope of mercy or justice at our hands, and grasping despair, give themselves up to the infuriate pursuit of an implacable, unrelenting revenge? It is always easier to sink than to rise—to degenerate than to advance in a career of progressive improvement ; it is easier for a civilized man to glide into the savage than for the savage to be transformed into the civilized man. The civilized man, as has been well remarked, "has only to divest himself of certain tastes, and to forbear the exercise of certain faculties, in order to fit himself for enjoying a life of adventure ; the savage has the double task of laying aside acquired habits, and rousing into action faculties which have lain dormant from his cradle, and become all but extinct from desuetude." Accordingly we find, in point of fact, that there is so much in the pleasures and privations, the risks and the hazards of savage existence, to gratify that love of excitement and wild independence so congenial to the heart of unregenerate man, that, whereas there are many authentic instances of civilized men voluntarily assuming the form and the habits of savage life, there is no instance of a savage spontaneously assuming the form and the habits of civilized life. Now the Khonds are already a half nomade, half hunting race of barbarians.

They depend but in part on agriculture. For them, therefore, the transition from a partly agricultural, to a wholly nomade or a wholly hunting life, would be neither a violent nor an improbable one. History abounds with examples of tribes that have been compelled to "exchange the care of fields and flocks and herds for the more precarious labours of the chase." And having once, whether from choice or necessity, adopted a roving, wandering life, there has always been manifested an extreme aversion to settled abodes and stationary pursuits. Washington Irving gives us the details of the progressive downfall of a once powerful Indian tribe, that inhabited a branch of the Red river—deriving their subsistence mainly from the produce of well cultivated fields. From these they were driven by a more powerful foe across the Missouri. They again took root near the Warricane creek, and established themselves in a fortified village. Their implacable foes "still followed them with deadly animosity, dislodged them from their village, and compelled them to take refuge in the Black hills near the upper end of the Cheyenne river. Here they lost even their name, and became known among the French colonists by that of the river they frequented. The heart of the tribe was now broken, its numbers were greatly thinned by these harassing wars. They no longer attempted to establish themselves in *any permanent abode* that might be an object of attack to their cruel foes. *They gave up the cultivation of the fruits of the earth, and became a wandering tribe, subsisting by the chase, and following the buffaloe in its migrations.*" And might not this, or something similar to this, be the fate of the unhappy Khonds, were we by mere force and violence to drive them to despair? Already, there is reason to believe, that their ancestors were scourged by oppression from the larger and more productive plains below the Ghats to seek for refuge among the upper plains and less fertile valleys of the mountain. For the sake of suppressing one of their most cruel and sanguinary rites, and thereby so far humanizing them, we might now, by an overpowering force, drive them from the upper plains and valleys to seek for refuge in the wilder jungles and more inaccessible fastnesses of the everlasting hills. We might compel them to exchange their present frail, but settled wooden habitations for the dens and caves of the rock—the labours of partial tillage for the more exclusive toils of the chase—the nutriment of grain and vegetables for the roots and wild fruits of the forest. In realizing such a transition, thousands would inevitably perish; while the remainder would necessarily lapse into a condition far more de-naturalized and

demoralized than before. And thus, without in any way accomplishing the grand object of our solicitude, the only effect of our well-meant but injudicious mode of interference might be to constrain these uncultured children of nature to relinquish a comparatively modified type of barbarism for one of its lowest, most degraded, and most unmitigated forms. Let no one regard such an issue as a wholly visionary contingency. Those who are best acquainted with the history of humanity in its strangely varying aspects and phases, will be the first to acknowledge that it is fairly within the range of the possible, and not very remote from the confines of the probable.

Mr. Mills, as we have seen, was substantially of the same opinion as Colonel Ouseley ; with this difference, that, whereas the latter would *at once* proceed to the adoption of hostile and coercive measures, he would for *some time longer postpone* the resort to such open hostilities. In further explanation of his views, he however, adds—"While I deprecate force at *present*, I beg not to be understood as advocating a *mere argumentary* interference which would permit the agent to become a passive spectator of sacrifices committed all around him. He must on some occasions act with *firmness*, though with *prudence*, and omit no proper exertion to enforce compliance with his requisitions and to establish his authority over the Khonds."

In consequence, we presume, of Mr. Mills' energetic representations, Government was pleased to nominate Lieut. Hicks, and to "vest him with the powers of an assistant to the Superintendent of Tributary Mehals for the purpose of suppressing the practice of human sacrifices among the Khonds."

Accordingly, early in the year (1844), Mr. Mills deputed his assistant to the Duspulla and Boad tributaries, with the special view of liberating intended Merias, and of gaining information on various accessory subjects. In doing so, he furnished him with written instructions for his guidance. In these, while he says, that "all coercive measures" ought, "*for the present*, to be carefully eschewed," he reiterates the statement of his own impression "that gentle means would not *alone* effect the discontinuance of the practice." At the same time, he adds, that it will remain with Mr. Hicks to "offer his opinion on the point, after mature consideration of the case in all its bearings."

Unavoidable circumstances had prevented the assistant from setting out on this expedition at the most favourable season. Having started only towards the end of February, the great drought and intense heat of the weather at the time he reached the Boad country, compelled him to cling to the banks of the

Mahanadi river, and rendered it impracticable for him to visit the Khond fastnesses, without prejudice to the health of the whole of his party. The actual results of his mission may be briefly stated to be, that *twenty-five* intended victims were rescued from the fate which had been reserved for them—that of these he had the heartfelt gratification of restoring six to their bereaved relatives—that, of the Khond Sirdars, twenty-six were induced to pledge themselves, in the form of a written agreement, to refrain from the horrid rites of their tribe—and that a kidnapper or dealer in stolen children was arrested and forwarded for trial by the Rajah of Boad.

This success was so far highly gratifying. Still, there were various circumstances which tended powerfully to temper the joy with which it might naturally be hailed. It is not of course to be understood that *all* the Merias in the Boad district had been given up, or that *all* the Khond Sirdars had entered into an agreement to forego the practice. And even as regarded those who had given the pledge, Mr. Hicks himself was constrained to remark, that he “much feared that an infraction on their part of this compact, was too likely an occurrence.” Nor were his fears on this head without a good foundation. He himself mentions the bad faith of Mahadeb Khonro, the second most powerful chief of the Boad Khonds. This Sirdar, as already stated, promised Mr. Ricketts, when that gentleman went to join and co-operate with Mr. Russel in Goomsur (1837), that he would relinquish the rite, would faithfully keep his word, and do anything in his power to dissuade his people from killing victims. On this, Mr. Ricketts presented him with a horse, some native ornaments and money, and sent him away relying on his declaration to abandon sacrifices. Mahadeb Khonro no sooner reached his home, than he barbarously slew several unfortunate wretches. A description of the inhuman ceremony Mr. Hicks received from his own lips; and while reciting the horrid story, a smile of satisfaction seemed to play on his features, indicating that he himself was perfectly assured of having done something most acceptable to his gods.

Again, though the Rajah of Boad himself seemed friendly enough, he was found “surrounded by a set of niggardly, grasping underlings who encouraged all sorts of rapacity and outrage, sharing, of course, the plunder obtained by such means, and designedly keeping the Rajah most profoundly ignorant of his actual position with reference to Government.” The conduct of these individuals also caused Mr. Hicks “much trouble and annoyance, from their determined and unremitting efforts to throw obstacles in his way”; he had “great reason to

believe that these unprincipled men were strongly leagued with the Khonds and encouraged them in their evil practices."

The Rajah, in lending his co-operation, was powerfully seconded by Nowbhun Khonro, the head of all the Khond chiefs. But, for a time, the united influence and exertions of both completely failed, either in inducing any of the other Khond Sirdars to come in themselves, or to deliver up the Merias in their possession. Summons after summons was issued ; promises of protection and favour were given ; warnings of threatened penalties were duly delivered ; allurements and intimidation were in proper proportion employed ;—but seemingly all in vain. They riotously and pertinaciously persisted in refusing all demands. Some of them at length ventured to leave their villages, which were about 40 miles distant. Full of suspicion and distrust, they approached Mr. Hicks' camp as near as they considered consistent with safety, locating themselves and a horde of followers in a neighbouring hill to watch the course of events. But their patience having been exhausted, and apprehensive of ulterior consequences, they at last determined that the boldest should feel the way for the rest. And thus it was that the first party eventually came in, after detaining Mr. Hicks in suspense and anxiety for about fifteen days. The Boluskúpa Sirdars—who had, the year preceding, doggedly refused to deliver up the Meria children to Mr. Mills' Tehsildar, and who then shewed a disposition to oppose force by force, fortifying the passes leading into their country,—now also evinced a like determination to resist. Twice they were formally summoned to come in. Four of them once came within eight miles of Lieutenant Hicks' encampment, but fled again in the night time. The second deputation found them all in "a state of beastly drunkenness and wild excitement, having also blocked up the passes leading to their fastnesses." They still obstinately refused to come in ; and their attendance was at last secured only by the personal exertion * of the Rajah, who proceeded himself to their haunts and brought in the refractory Sirdars with four Merias.

When Mr. Hicks expressed to any or all of them, as he

* Mr. Hicks himself was most anxious to go, but was dissuaded by the remonstrances of the Rajah and Nowbhun Khonro, who argued that on his approach they would most assuredly fly to other secret places, and all subsequent attempts to persuade them to a conference would prove abortive. When all who were likely to come in, were at last assembled, Mr. Hicks publicly invested the Rajah with a *Khullat*—presented some of the Khond chiefs with silver bangles—and to all gave two pieces of cloth, which they prized exceedingly. In returning from Boad through Duspalla, he could obtain no information respecting the existence of Merias in that district.

frequently did, the horror with which their sacrifices were viewed, the revolting nature of these, as well as their total inefficacy towards either averting impending calamity or propitiating the Deity :—their sole reply in defence of them invariably was, that “the sacrifice was a ceremony practised by their progenitors.”

From all that he had seen and experienced, the general impression left on the mind of Mr. Hicks appears to be embodied in the following deliverance :—

“The exercise of this revolting rite, which Government is so desirous of repressing, owes its existence to the superstition of ages. This cannot be wiped away from the ideas of the people in the space of a month or a year, even at the point of the bayonet, but must be the work of time. It is intimately blended with their religion, and unhappily so deeply rooted an evil in their form of belief, as to require the application of a *proportionally strong remedy* to eradicate and crush its existence. I am firmly convinced in my own mind that, sooner or later, **FORCE MUST BE RESORT-ED TO, as no other measures, except those of a coercive nature, will effectually check its continuance** ; but if the adoption of a persuasive and conciliatory system be permitted for some time longer, and officers employed in various parts of the country to gain information and report on its resources, it would allow the Khonds a sort of intercourse with us, and would go far to civilize and exalt their mind above its present low level, and would certainly be the means of lessening the frequency of the Meria rite.”

With these views, the only practical measures for immediate adoption which Lieutenant Hicks had to propose, were, in the first place, to reward the good services of the Rajah of Boad and of Nowbhun Khonro, by the gift of an elephant to the former, and of a yoke of handsome cattle to the latter ; to depute annually, to the Khond Mehals, at least for the next two or three seasons, both Madras and Bengal officers, who might mutually co-operate in rescuing Merias, and in explaining the sentiments and determination of the British Government ; to appoint a native agent at Boad to collect and report information, and act as a check on the Rajah's proceedings ; to open the Burmúl defile, by cutting a passable road through it alike for facilitating the transit of troops, promoting commercial intercourse, and securing protection for travellers ; to nominate an agency for making a topographical survey of Duspalla and Boad.*

* All of these suggestions were warmly recommended by Mr. Bird, the Deputy Governor of Bengal, to the Government of India. To what extent these were sanctioned by the Supreme Government, or whether finally sanctioned at all, we have not been able to ascertain. In April 1844, we find the Governor-General in Council sanctioning “the employment, temporarily by Lieutenant Hicks, of a Mohurrir, on a salary of Rs 20 per mensem, to accompany that officer to the districts of Duspalla and Boad.”

Another suggestion which had been previously made by others, relative to the

In forwarding an account of Lieut. Hicks' proceedings and suggestions for the approbation and sanction of Government, Mr. Mills pronounced a high eulogium on his assistant, for "the ability and judgment, the patience and unremitting personal exertions displayed by him in the performance of the duty assigned to him"—a eulogium, in the justice and the propriety of which the head of the Bengal Government fully and cordially concurred.

The impressions previously produced on Mr. Mills' own mind were now still farther confirmed. Though more thoroughly persuaded than ever that force must be ultimately resorted to, he is anxious to give another and another trial to preliminary measures of conciliation. His words are: "These facts, while they shew how revered is the rite, and how deeply rooted is the bigotry and superstition of the Khonds, afford incontrovertible proof of the difficulty and magnitude of the work which we have taken in hand." Again, "It is my opinion, as stated in my letter of 2nd June 1843, that *conciliation will not alone accomplish the repression of the rite, and that in all probability force must eventually be used* ; but I strongly object to have recourse to this severe measure, until slow and gradual means shall have failed." Once more, "I would earnestly recommend that we depute annually, active and intelligent officers to the Khondistan, under instructions to improve our intercourse with, and extend our influence over the Khonds ; to express the views of the British Government and its determination to put down the system ; to induce them to substitute animals instead of human beings for sacrifice ; and to sign agreements declaring the sacrifice a punishable crime. *In this manner, two or three seasons may be passed, when as circumstances justified, I would publicly proclaim the repression of the revolting practice, and vest the officers with power of punishing summarily the aggressors of the law.*" Thus terminated the moral campaign of 1844.

Early in 1845, Lieutenant Hicks returned with his wonted zeal and energy to the active duties of his arduous and important mission. He first entered Duspalla. At the summons of the Rajah, all the Khond chiefs assembled to meet with him. He explained to them anew the abhorrence with which their sacrifices were viewed, and the determination of Government to suppress them. He failed, however, in getting possession

enlisting of the Khonds as soldiers, Mr Hicks was not able to recommend. His words are, "They are by nature admirably adapted for soldiers, and would, I doubt not, form a very efficient corps, at present any attempt to employ them as such would be premature and would fail, as they are most marvellously ignorant of every thing relating to us.

of victims, as all the Khonds stoutly denied the existence of the practice, and often quoted their promise to abolish these rites, made by them to Mr. Commissioner Ricketts, who marched through the country some years ago with troops and took away the victims. In upwards of a hundred villages which Mr. Hicks visited, there certainly had been sacrifices, and the usual gathering of people; but he was told that animals had been immolated instead of human beings. Respecting this part of the country, Mr. Hicks' calm and sober conclusion is as follows:—

"I will not presume to say that sacrifices have been relinquished every where in Duspalla, as I do not desire the responsibility attached to such a declaration. I can only speak of what I have personally seen and heard. And having no organized subordinate establishment in the country, it is impossible for me to be acquainted with all that occurs during my absence. I have, therefore, only to express an opinion which must necessarily be based on circumstances that fell under my observation, during an intercourse with the people of Duspalla of three weeks' duration. In that time I learned that the rite, if practised at all, had certainly *lost its publicity*; and in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, I may venture to say that *its frequency is perceptibly on the decrease*. For, where formerly more than a hundred victims annually suffered, now but a few are killed, and these few are made away with no doubt *in secret*, and without the customary parade and display, which, until our interference, always attended the ceremony. It now only remains to teach the Khonds to view its commission in fear and terror of a just punishment overtaking the perpetrators, and one man suffering for it, would, I am convinced, deter others from ever indulging in the practice."

Mr. Hicks next proceeded to Raneegunge, in the Boad territory, where the Khond chief Mahadeb Khonro resided. He appeared for the time to be "frightened into propriety." He even professed that he had "exerted himself to abolish the Meria rite." But, having before given so many proofs of his deceit and wiliness, Mr. Hicks very properly adds, "But this I beg to remark is conjecture on my part; I have only his own word and pledge for it."

From Raneegunge Lieutenant Hicks went to Borogatsa, through some formidable mountain passes, and along a road which lay "through a very declivitous rugged country." In many places it rose to "an angle of forty-five degrees, and was so narrow, that only one person could occupy it at a time, —running along the very edge of a precipice for seven or eight miles, and flanked on either side by ranges of high hills, in which there were numbers of stockades, built in commanding situations." The chief of this district and his followers had formerly behaved in a very refractory manner—driving back the Rajah's people and threatening Mr. Hicks in the same way. On arriving, however, at Borogatsa, he found the villages

deserted—the inhabitants having fled into the neighbouring mountain fastnesses. At midnight they returned and assailed him with “noises of yelling and tom-tom beating ; and, after amusing themselves with dancing and singing, they again retreated to their hiding places when daylight appeared.” For several days he strove in vain to hold any communication with them. No supplies of provision being procurable, and the small quantity in camp being exhausted, Mr. Hicks was constrained to make arrangements for quitting the place, though not without grave apprehension of “the probability of his being subjected to perhaps a summary ejection.” At length at the eleventh hour, some of the chiefs presented themselves, but in “an intolerable state of intoxication.” He understood that there had been no sacrifices at Borogatsa during the past year, though preparations were then going on, to which he supposes his arrival may have put a stop. Two victims that were undergoing the preliminary processes were rescued, and he took pledges from the influential Khonds, “desiring them to refrain from such inhuman practices.”

Mr. Hicks retracing his steps towards the Khalisa, next fixed his encampment at Boluskúpa. He there learnt that the Khonds of Surmundah were assembled in great strength, and on the point of slaying a victim. Indeed, “the noise of the music and shouting was distinctly audible in his camp, as it reverberated in echoes through the hills.” He first sent some Khonds to stop the sacrifice and bring in the victim, but to no purpose. He then despatched the Rajah’s Putnaik with some peons, who frightened the Khonds by telling them that a company of soldiers was at hand. They then dispersed, but obstinately refused to give up the Meria. And it was only in consequence of “repeated threats” that the boy was recovered, eight days afterwards.

The Khond Sirdar of Buttai Barai was then called on to deliver up several Merias which he had in his possession ; but he declined in a very dogged manner, and would not come near Mr. Hicks, although repeatedly invited to do so. This chief had given every encouragement to the sacrifices : three victims having been ascertained to have suffered in his district since Mr. Hicks’ last visit.

In other districts Mr. Hicks succeeded in rescuing eight victims ; though he was pained to learn that in these, since his last visit, at least *thirteen* had been slaughtered. It was at the same time acknowledged that, only a very few years before the number of the slain amounted to *hundreds* annually. The frequency of the horrid practice might, therefore, be said to be in

some degree checked, though there was much reason to apprehend that the diminution was more apparent than real; fear having only caused the perpetrators to substitute *privacy* for *publicity*.

With reference to the means which Lieut. Hicks had at his disposal, there can be no doubt that he achieved as much as could well be expected from him. At the same time, as regards the prospect of ultimate success, the results were any thing but satisfactory. This, as far as we can gather, was the painful impression produced on Mr. Hicks' own mind. The more favorable state of Duspalla appeared to arise from its closer neighbourhood to the plains, from the greater facility with which it could be overawed by a display of British power, and from the wholesome terror excited in the minds of the people by Mr. Commissioner Ricketts, whose "stern yet judicious measures had not been forgotten by them." In any case in which a chief exerted himself to arrest the slaughter of human victims, he appeared to be influenced "more by a wholesome dread of punishment or a forfeiture of his Zemin-dary," than a sincere wish to discourage the atrocious practice, "because it is abhorrent to principles of humanity of which he has himself no idea." On this account Mr. Hicks pleads that "every chief who breaks his pledge by countenancing these sacrifices should be *severely and even capitally punished*;"* since, "so long as an example is not made of a chief who breaks his pledge, so long will they allow their dependents to indulge in the bloody rite." "I may venture to say," continues Lieut. Hicks, "that *the terrors of a just punishment will operate more powerfully on an unenlightened mind in checking its vicious propensities, than all the incitement to good which words alone or mere exhortations can effect*. The adoption of a persuasive or conciliatory tone is certainly judicious, when the capacity of the mind is such as to admit of its application with some hopes of success; but with the Khonds, *such a system will do no good*, as they are a people whose bluntness of feeling can scarcely be credited. They reject all appeals to their sympathy, and the mass generally (indeed, I may say invariably as far as they are concerned) borrow their notions of right and wrong from the leaders of their respective tribes." Altogether, Mr.

* Supposing this measure of severity to be applied to those Chiefs who had not voluntarily but under a species of virtual coercion given pledges, how could it apply to the greater number who had not yet given any? And would not the exhibition of such severity inflicted on those who had been induced to give a pledge, merely because they had broken it, effectually restrain others from ever committing themselves in like manner, and thereby rendering themselves amenable to similar penal visitation?

Hicks appears to have been more painfully impressed than ever with a sense of the utter insufficiency of the means and measures then employed—means and measures which wholly excluded the application of coercion or the display of resistless force. He pleads that the experience of his last tour indicated the “necessity of a more extended and systematic course” than had hitherto been pursued, and which had proved itself to be “utterly inadequate to the magnitude of the undertaking.” As an indispensable preliminary to ulterior measures of coercion, or otherwise, he pleads for the establishment of an organized native agency throughout the country. The entertainment of such a subordinate native establishment he deemed essentially necessary to enable him to do justice to his appointment. An occasional visit to the Khonds would avail nothing, unless it was supported by an agency on the spot, ever on the alert to keep alive the impressions made to watch over the operation of the Sirdars’ engagements, and to give information of whatever was going on in the country. Without the aid of such an agency, says Mr. Hicks, “I shall be made a dupe to gross deception every time I am required to make enquiries into the subject of these sacrifices. If, therefore, sanction be not given for the employment of a native establishment, I request most respectfully to be permitted to relinquish a duty, which is at once a serious and responsible one, and to which, unaided, I feel I cannot do justice. Of the policy of our present interference with the Khonds and their practices, it is not my duty to make any remarks. That has, no doubt, been long since considered ; but *if the matter be deemed at all worthy of the attention of Government, proper means ought, I conceive, to be placed at the disposal of the officer entrusted with the duty.*”

Mr. Mills, in forwarding Lieutenant Hicks’ report to Government, simply adopts and powerfully seconds the general views which it advocates. He considers that his assistant had done as much as could be expected from him, considering the inadequate means at his disposal: that, on the whole, the result of his second mission did him much credit, while it shewed that “in him we had an agent who was admirably fitted, in temper and judgment, to bring to a successful issue, *if practicable to do so*, operations of such magnitude and importance.”

Of the zeal, energy, and good will displayed, alike by Mr. Mills and his assistant, in this great philanthropic undertaking, there cannot be the shadow of a doubt. And on this account they deserve well of humanity. To us, however, the concluding words of both sound very much like a note of despon-

dency. We may be mistaken in this inference; but if so, we cannot help it. They both seemed impressed, from the very first, with a sense of the inadequacy of *mere* persuasive or conciliatory measures. This impression was only deepened by growing and accumulating experience. From the very first they both seemed convinced that nothing but coercion or force would *fully* suffice—and that, sooner or later, such coercion or force must be applied. Still, as men endowed with noble and generous feelings, they shrunk from the miseries, the infliction of which the effective application of coercive measures necessarily involved. Before finally resorting to such measures, therefore, they would bear much, and forbear long. Hoping against hope, they would give a fair trial to every conceivable expedient, in the way of peaceful conference, persuasive argument, humane conciliation, and honorary reward. But what precisely to do, or how efficiently to do it, so as hopefully to reach the seat of the malady, was the problem. Not able from their skill in *diagnosis*, to hit either the root of the disease, or suggest the appropriate moral remedy, they were willing for a season to resort to sundry half measures and mitigating palliatives. But having evidently no very clear perception of the real nature and source of the difficulty to be overcome—no thoroughly intelligent apprehension of the precise means adapted to overcome it,—they could have no absolute confidence in the success of the measures they were led from circumstances to pursue. And in the absence of strong faith, founded on transparent knowledge of the right and the true in action, where is there room for that resolute decision of purpose, which will neither bend nor yield to favours or to frowns—that high-souled enthusiasm, which finds fuel to feed on in the very difficulties it has to surmount—that indomitable perseverance, which untiringly works on amid opposing obstacles, till it has channelled out for itself a direct passage towards the attainment of its final object?

It is impossible not to be struck with the real identity of the experience of the responsible agents of both the Bengal and Madras Governments,—the ardours of early hope quenched in the mephitic air of after disappointment—the growing persuasion that the subject was encompassed with difficulties vastly greater than had been originally apprehended—the conflicting struggle of antagonist convictions as to the relative necessity and desirableness of measures of conciliation and force—together with the final and painfully ominous forebodings as to the doubtful efficacy of either, in securing an early, happy, and satisfactory settlement of the whole question!

Here, however, for the present we must pause. The sole task which we had undertaken was to furnish a plain and unpretending narrative of Government measures for the suppression of one of the most atrocious rites that has ever stained the name or outraged the attributes of humanity. That task we have strenuously laboured to execute with all the faithfulness and impartiality of which we were capable. Our earnest desire has been throughout to do the fullest justice to all parties, so far as the authentic materials within our reach could possibly avail us. In securing such materials, no pains have been spared, nor any trouble begrudged, in ransacking, epitomising, and arranging them when secured. The greater part of them by far, as stated at the outset, must be regarded as quite original : not even the substance of them having ever been previously communicated to the public. To the considerate liberality of the present head of the British Government and his responsible advisers, we are indebted for their being so ample as they have been. And we earnestly trust, that the enlightened policy which gave us access to them, will meet with its proper reward, and be duly appreciated by all that aspire to the honour of philanthropy.

All reflections and speculations of our own we have in a great measure, studiously and purposely eschewed—as these would only tend to interrupt the thread of the narrative and embarrass the orderly sequence and intelligibility of the details. We cannot help, however, remarking on the noble and elevated position in which, in a moral point of view, the narrative of such proceedings as have now been sketched, tends to place the conduct of the British Government. The career of the British in India has hitherto been regarded, by the world at large, as exclusively one of grasping avarice, and towering unscrupulous ambition—avarice, which, for the purposes of a basely selfish aggrandisement, could wring their last pittance from the palsied arms of pauperized millions ; ambition, which, in seizing the objects of its unhollowed craving, could overturn ancient thrones, crush established dynasties, devastate widespread realms, and leave whole cities with their temples, palaces, and towers, smoking in their ruins. The picture has no doubt been grossly exaggerated. Poetry, with its figures and personifications and vivid colourings, has greatly heightened the general effect : Oratory has partly obscured and partly magnified the whole by pointing to the varied groupings through bursting clouds surcharged with the thunders and the lightnings of its own vehement indignation ; while even the garve Historic Muse, with its partial statements and one-sided representations and artful inuendoes—

often the prolific progeny of secret and subtile but unacknowledged partizanship—has lent its aid in conferring a verisimilitude on the heightened colourings of Poetry and the wild distortions of Oratory. At the same time, after making all the deductions, abatements, and allowances which truth, in its stern and unbending rigour, imperiously demands, it must be owned, with deepest humiliation and sorrow, that there is enough in the recital of the bare and naked facts, connected with the rise and progress of British dominion in India, to stain the pride of all our gloryings. On this account it is that one turns, with feelings of unmingled pleasure and serenest joy, from the heartless manœuvrings of avarice and the doubtful conquests of ambition, to the attempted triumphs of a generous and disinterested philanthropy over the barbarism and bloody superstitions of Khondistan. Amid the varied activities thus put forth in the cause of suffering humanity, there are some which very closely approach, if they do not positively exemplify the moral sublime. To behold the head of a great Government sitting, time after time, in earnest deliberation with his Counsellors of State, and issuing reiterated instructions to judges, magistrates, and commissioners, to leave no measures untried, for the rescue of *two unhappy female children*, who, in the wide world besides, had no eye to pity and no hand to help them; their own natural guardian, the very father that begat them, having, in excess of "the limits of credible atrocity," actually sold them into the hands of savage barbarians for the express purpose of being slaughtered! Surely this is a scene which, amid the mechanical monotonous routine of ordinary official business, can scarcely prove less refreshing to the moral eye, than would, to the eye of sense, the sudden appearance of a rare islet of verdure amid the barren wastes of an African desert. It is a scene which serves, in some measure, to realize the glowing aspirations of the Bard of Charity, who fervently longed, that

where Britain's power was felt,
Mankind should feel her mercy, too."—

It is a scene, which in connection with the British name, will gladly survive in the memory of India's regenerated sons, long after many a tale of sordid avarice, and many a freak of wanton ambition, has been clean forgotten.

THE SIKH INVASION OF BRITISH INDIA IN

1845-1846.

BY SIR HEBERT EDWARDES.

1. *Papers respecting the late Hostilities on the North-Western Frontier of India. Presented to Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, 26th February 1846.*
2. *Further Papers respecting the late Hostilities on the North-Western Frontier of India, and the conclusion of treaties with the Maharajah Dhulip Singh of Lahore, and the Maharajah Golab Singh of Jummú, &c., &c, 1846.*
3. *Victories on the Sutlej The Speeches of the Right Honorable Sir Robert Peel, Bart., on moving the thanks of the house to the Army of the Sutlej for the victories of Múdkí, Ferozshah, Alwal, and Sobraon, in the House of Commons, Monday, March 2nd, and Thursday, April 2nd, 1846.*
4. *The War on the Sutlej. May number of the North British Review, 1846.*
5. *Article in the Friend of India. The late Major Broadfoot, &c.*
6. *Article in Colburn's Magazine for May 1846. "Our tribute to the Army of the Sutlej."*

IN the *second* and *third* numbers of this *Review* we described the rise and progress of the Sikh power. In our *eleventh* we have to tell of its "decline and fall." This catastrophe has not been brought about by the natural process of gradual decay. India has not been looking on at the affecting spectacle of an ancient dynasty sinking feebly and peacefully into the grave, but at the violent agonies of a young and profligate state which has died by its own hand in the mad moments of a national debauch.

Our present narrative, therefore, will have to deal with military events: with war, and victory, and ruin; and we need give but a hasty outline of the tragedies which have been enacted at Lahore, since we left Híra Singh in the pride of his power, exulting in a double victory over his uncle, Súchet Singh, and the brothers Peshora and Kashmíra Singh. The debauched, imprudent, but gallant Súchet Singh slain; Kashmíra Singh and Uttur Singh destroyed; Peshora Singh and Lehna Singh driven from the field; and Golab Singh with cautious cunning keeping to his mountains;—Híra Singh and his coadjutor, Pundit Julla, seemed left in the Punjab without a rival. Of the former much has been written, but his character is still little understood. That he was the spoilt minion of Runjít is not to be denied; but the energy, activity, and ability

of his later years, and his gallant death,* bespoke a spirit full of promise for his country, if his country could have understood it. If the Punjab had a Shakspeare, Hira Singh would be his "Prince Hal." But Pundit Julla, his adviser, was the man on whom the building up of the empire would have rested. Free alike from the incautiousness of youth, and the impetuosity which premature prosperity had fostered in his master's mind, he pursued his way with slow but certain step along the slippery paths of state intrigue ;—one of those cold, deep, calculating men who rise in troubled times on the ruin of every thing around them.

To such a man friend and foe are alike ; both are his instruments for a time ; both are cast aside when no longer wanted, and without regret or rejoicing forgotten. He has courage enough for the crisis of an empire ; none to throw away upon a brawl with an opponent. He believes success to be a heaven to which all roads are holy ; and looks upon that man as a fool who tries to gain by force what he might effect by fraud. Such a man *is* Rajah Golab Singh ; such a man *was* Pundit Julla. Of the priestly tribe, and, we believe, a *purohit* † of the Jummû family, he followed the same household tactics as the Jesuits of Europe ; insinuating himself into the good graces of Sûchet Singh, and early gaining such an influence over his nephew, that latterly he governed him with a more absolute sway than ever Dhyan Singh possessed over the mind of the veteran Runjit. Pundit Julla's state policy was not less insidious and Jesuitical than his domestic. Secretly and unsparingly he uprooted the old families ; lopped off the Sirdars of note, and office bearers of long service ; and then grafted in their places creatures of his own. But he outwitted himself ; and fell by the hands of his own instruments. He wished himself to be believed the friend and ally of the Sikh soldiers : but while openly he increased their pay and their privileges, he strove secretly to diminish their numbers, and by recruiting the army from the hill provinces, surround himself with a body-guard of his countrymen who in time might defy the army. His measures were incomplete when the bubble burst. Jealousy had crept in between Rajah Golab Singh and his nephew ; and as its fits went and came, the former encouraged or opposed, the rival claims of Peshora Singh to the Wizarut.

* He was killed in the act of flight ; but he was flying from an army ; and he turned bravely upon his pursuers, many of whom he slew before he himself was overpowered.

† Family priest.

That prince, however, had no ability ; and wanting even the gallantry of his countrymen, he threw up the contest and fled across the Sutlej. It was about this time (October 1844,) that an insurrection broke out in Kashmír and the surrounding country. The fort of Mozufferabad, commanding the entrance into the Kashmír valley, fell into the hands of the petty Mahomedan chiefs ; who, emulating the bigotries of earlier days, massacred all Sikhs who refused to abjure their faith. The Lahore durbar became alarmed, and troops were ordered up. They refused to march. Cajolery and promises were tried in vain. Intrigues were rife ; and the emissaries of Peshora Singh, Lehna Singh, Sham Singh, and other malcontents, were not idle among the soldiers. A military insurrection in the city was the consequence ; and Rajah Híra Singh and his followers were in the greatest danger. The young minister lost not his courage, nor did his master spirit, Pundit Julla, quail ; and their small but faithful band of hill men rallied manfully round both. But a handful of heroes cannot engage an army, nor a priest reason with a rabid multitude. When, therefore, wit and courage had both done their best, the Rajah and his friends were forced to escape across the Ravi, and fly towards Jummú. The news of their flight soon spread, and an immediate pursuit ensued. The Rajah and his companions stripped off their costly jewels, the golden trappings of their elephants and horses, and strewed them in their track. In vain. Revenge, and not avarice, was the ruling passion of the moment. The mangled limbs of their own children would not have arrested the ruthless soldiers in their pursuit. At last, the fugitives were overtaken ; but even then they were not subdued : and though their own Sikh escort basely abandoned them, it was not until after a gallant resistance, and slaying many of their enemies, that Rajah Híra Singh, Pundit Julla, Mean Sohun Singh (Golab Singh's eldest son), and Mean Labh Singh, "put the immortal cup of martyrdom to their lips." Their heads were cut off and carried in savage triumph to Lahore. Their bodies were given to the dogs and vultures.

This tragedy closed on the 21st December 1844 ; and examining carefully the acts which preceded it, we are obliged to acknowledge, that though the game played by Rajah Híra Singh and Pundit Julla, was both bold and desperate, it was yet the only one left by the army, the *real* rulers, to the *nominal* Government of the Punjab. It failed less from the errors of the Rajah and the Pundit, than from the unprecedented unanimity of the rebellious soldiers, who, trampling upon the constitution, acknowledged no law but their own interests ;

and to protect those, combined together with a greater singleness of purpose than ever dignified the efforts of the Mamelukes, the Janizaries, or the Prætorians of the ancient world. Two vital errors the Rajah and the Pundit did, indeed, commit. They despised the wrath, and intrigues of a woman; and they dispensed with the services of Dewan Dīna Nath and the Mútsuddís.* In the patrician Sirdars, and the plebeian army, they had surely enemies enough; and should at least have made common cause with men who had learnt the rarest secret of the times—how to fatten on their country's ruin and survive all revolutions. Of the two mistakes, however, the former was the worst; for the moving spirit of the revolution just recorded was undoubtedly the Rani.

Junda, or Jund Kowr, was the daughter of a common Sikh horseman, whose peerless beauty being praised before Runjít Singh, he immediately sent for and married her. This was but one of those freaks of his last years, for whose vicious tyranny the worn out sensualist could plead no passion in excuse. The girl was at once made over to the charge of Rajah Súchet Singh and his Vizír Rai Kesri Singh, who contested, with a tent pitcher in their own service, the honor of being father to the present Maharajah. Runjít knew this well; but affected to be rejoiced at the child's birth; recognized his legitimacy before all his court, and then ever afterwards neglected him. Perhaps he thought he had done enough in giving him a royal birthright. How royal it might prove, the Jummú brothers were not slow to see; and they carefully kept the child in their possession to be produced at a fitting opportunity. Rani Junda has been designated by one writer in the Indian Press:† “The Messalina of the Punjab;” another, with severer pencil, paints her thus: “As abandoned as Messalina in her amours, and as insatiable as Faustina in her excesses; in modern times she can only be compared with Catharine the 2nd, who yet falls short of her rapacity of voluptuousness.”‡ The picture is scarcely overdrawn, for to the most selfish ambition of the other sex, she unites in her character the worst vices of her own, and her whole career has been a struggle to reconcile the stern necessities of the one with the soft indulgences of the other. Rajah Lal Singh is the living embodiment of the attempt.

A Brahman of Rhotas, between the Indus and the Jhelum, this adventurer early came to the capital to try his fortune.

* Writers: in a word “the Secretariat.”

† *The Friend of India*.

‡ Letters of “Brahman Bull” in the *Delhi Gazette Overland Summary*.

He brought with him as his stock-in-trade a brawny, athletic person of unusual height even among the Sikhs; an open, merry countenance with rather a sensual expression; a bold, manly bearing, great ambition, and——*no scruples*. His first footing within the precincts of the Court was in the humble capacity of Assistant in the Toshukhanah, or Treasury of Regalia: and a mule's load of the royal chattles was the first charge of the future minister. Rajah Dhyān Singh afterwards selected him as a fit instrument to be set up in opposition to Mīr Beni Ram, the head of the Toshukhanah; and he gave him a separate Treasury of his own. But it was not until after Dhyān Singh's death, and when Hīra Singh was in the zenith of his power, that, tired of her old lovers, Rānī Junda cast her eyes on the gallant figure of Mīr Lal Singh, and commenced an amour which, though it has drawn down the envy of the young adventurers at the Court, the shame and reprobation of the old Sirdars, and the ribbald jests of the people, has raised the object of it to the Wizarut, and all but regal power in the Punjab. Mīr Lal Singh now began to have some weight in the scale of parties. He intrigued alternately with and against the Jumū Rajahs; and no sooner did his bias become consistently hostile than his intimacy with the Rānī was made an excuse for removing him from the Toshukhanah, to the control of which he had succeeded on the death of Beni Ram. The disgrace of her lover gained for Hīra Singh the implacable enmity of the Rānī; and we have already seen the issue.

On the death of the Rajah and Pundit Julla, the watchful Mūsuddīs openly joined the rival and successful party; as of course did the ever pliant Fakīrs Uzīz-ūd-dīn, and Nīr-ūd-dīn, and Bhai Ram Singh, the astute Archbishop of Lahore. But all seem to have forgotten that though they had desired, intrigued for, and obtained the destruction of the late ruler, it was the soldiery alone who had effected the measure. The infatuation of the Rānī at this crisis was complete. Instead of looking round her for some bold spirits who would seize with vigorous hand the helm of Government, she threw it, as if it was a bauble, to Jowahir Singh her brother; a weak, vain, besotted debauchee. She herself plunged into a round of festivities and voluptuousness, with a paramour whom she was now at liberty to honour. The Court joined in their drunken revels; and none perceived that while the ministry were thus celebrating the revolution, the Army had stepped into the Government, and appropriated the power.

The Sikh soldiers now rioted at will; took furlough to their homes when they liked, and returned as it suited them; govern-

ed themselves and their officers by a parliament of their own chosen from the ranks ; obeyed no other orders ; overawed the Government, and set the laws at defiance. The idiot Minister, Jowahir Singh, they openly insulted with expressions of contempt for his imbecility and drunkenness ; and loudly called for Lehna Singh to replace him in the Wizarut. The Panchayats even forced themselves into the Durbar, demanded gold necklaces and presents, and an increase of pay from 11 to 14 Rupees. The Colonels, Generals, and other officers lost all authority over their men, who beat them and drove them at will from their ranks.

It might be supposed that such a state of things as has been here hastily described, would soon induce so complete a disorganization, that the Army must dissolve and disperse over the country in marauding bands. But nothing of the kind occurred. On the contrary, it was the civil and social system which was torn asunder ; the executive Government, which was threatened with dissolution ; while the army itself, riotous, and disorderly to all else around, was only drawn more firmly and compactly together by the bond of mutual interest. The very name which they at this time arrogated to themselves, "Surbut-i-Khalsa Ji" or, the body of the Khalsa, breathes the spirit of exclusiveness and unanimity. Their acts, wild and bad as they were, were drawn into the focus of a single object ; and thus, while plunder and violence were rife at the capital, the provinces were left unmolested, except by their own Governors. The country about Lahore and Amritsur is indeed the native place of the majority of the Sikh soldiers ; so that, though they led a life of alternate war and peace, now drawing their sword in a Court revolution, now guiding the plough in the fields of their own village,* they had no temptation to wander beyond the Manjha.† Anomalous all this, but true. Europeans too often judge Asiatics by European rules ; and call false, unnatural, or extraordinary, what is merely new. It is not however a page of history to be lightly passed over by the Anglo-Indian, which exhibits the rude Panchayats of the Sikh army, setting at nought the legal authority of the Government, and yet

* It is a common mistake to suppose that the Sikhs are not cultivators. In the Manjha at least they are so ; and in a large family where one of several sons has gone to the wars to get his livelihood, he will return occasionally on furlough to see his father and brothers, and cheerfully assist them in cultivating the paternal acres.

† That part of the Punjab which lies between the Ravi and the Byas. The word simply means *central* and refers not so much to its geographical as to its national position, including as it does, both the civil and the religious Capital of the Sikh people ; the cities of Lahore and Amritsur.

enforcing their own with iron and mysterious sway among their comrades. Rebellion was so regulated that it might be almost called an institution; and Military license had yet its bounds, reducing it to conditional liberty. Woe, indeed, to the wretch who disobeyed the will of the *nation*! expulsion from the ranks, mutilation of a hand, an ear, or a nose, even *death* awaited him. Mutiny was the condition of their existence; the Government, the Sirdars and their own immediate officers were their proscribed enemies, and the treasury was their open aim. But to gain these ends, sure never was a debauched army so consistent in its conduct.

But we are rambling from our Military sketch. The reader, however, will perhaps not be angry with us if we detain him yet a moment to listen to an anecdote of the times we have been recording; perhaps in its very wildness more illustrative of those times than any thing that has been said. General Avitabile, whose character and habits have been drawn to the life in the pages of "The Adventurer in the Punjab" had a daughter (the child of some favourite beauty in his harem) on whom he doted. He brought her up and watched over her with jealous care, in a cloister-like building which may still be seen in the garden of the General's house, now occupied by Colonel Courtlandt. Here she spent the years of her youth, and grew up a lovely girl. So carefully was all access to her guarded, that even her meals were conveyed to her from without by means of a *tour* such as are used at convent gates. The very shadow of a man had never crossed the threshold of her retreat. And for what high and romantic destiny does the reader think this fair recluse was reserved? Does he picture to himself some young Sikh warrior, who had heard the tale, crouching solitarily night after night among the roses beneath the windows of her prison, and singing in low melting voice the charms of liberty and love, until she forgot her father and fled with her lover to his fort? Does he hear that shout for "a horse and sword!" and see those fifty iron cavaliers spurring madly after one who seems to press a damsel to his broad breast and bid her be not afraid? The old leader of the fifty, far, far, in front, with grey hair streaming in the wind, and his Italian eyes lit up with the prospect of revenge, comes nearer at every bound. The gallant beast on which the young warrior rides sinks deep into the sand at every step beneath his double burden; but mad with the spur still staggers on. But fifty yards and the *Ravi* is gained. The old man draws his sword. It flashes in the moonlight, bright, cold, and merciless as him who wields it. Not a word is spoken; there is not time to curse or

pray ; not a horse's length between pursuer and pursued ; and ten yards further to the river. The old man strikes his heel into his horse ; they are together ; his left hand drops the reins, and reaches out greedily towards the foe ; his right is in the air ; another moment and—a scream—a plunge—they have missed the ford ;—the young warrior and the old man's daughter are deep beneath the swift waters of the Ravi ! Is this we say our readers' dream of Avitabile and his daughter ? Alas for romance ! Alas too for *fact* ! he married her to his cook, a young Mahommedan, to whom he also gave with her a large dowry of money, jewels and precious stones. Time passed on, Avitabile had returned to Europe to receive a jewelled sword from the Honorable East India Company, and many honors from the Kings and Princes of the civilized world. The cook and his bride had sunk into private life ; wishing for nothing more than to be left in quiet to enjoy their wealth. But they lived in times when the Government being poor it was *lèse majesté* in a subject to be rich. To hunt out traitors of this kind, and confiscate their property, was a favourite branch of Pundit Julla's administration. The story of our little heroine and her culinary spouse, therefore, soon reached his ears and excited his cupidity. In the service of General Avitabile there had been a Kashmir Brahman, named Jodha Ram. He was a handsome, dark featured man, with ability enough to rise to be the General's Dewan ; in which capacity he continued for many years ; and when Avitabile returned to Europe, succeeded to the command of his Battalions, and became a General. By a sort of Punjab propriety he was now selected by the Minister as the fittest person to plunder his patron's daughter : and the Pundit seems not to have been mistaken in his man. The spoilt, petted, prisoned, ill-used daughter of Avitabile was stripped of her jewels and robbed of her riches. But retribution soon overtook the ungrateful servant. Pundit Julla was murdered, and Jowahir Singh sat in his place. Jodha Ram gave offence to the new Minister, and was given over to one of those cruel sentences which Runjít Singh was accustomed to call mercy.* But Jodha Ram was a Brahman, and no Hindu would do the deed which would secure to himself damnation through a hundred generations. The Kotwal of the city of Lahore,—a Mussalman, and no very particular person, who had for years been the municipal instrument of violence,—was therefore ordered to cut off the ears and nose of the wretched

* "The culprits, bleeding as they were, were driven out," "Sharp work Bellasis," observed the King, as I looked after the mutilated thieves. '*We do not take life but we punish.*'"—*Adventurer in the Punjab* : Chapter 1st.

man. He too refused; and we blush to record that the only man in Lahore who could be found to execute the barbarous decree was a European. Mr. Gardener, or Gordana, in the Sikh Artillery, took a razor, and with his own hands in cold blood, without personal enmity of any sort, inflicted the punishment which Shihs, Hindus, and Mussalmen had shrunk from with disgust. But then he was made a *Colonel*; and as Walpole observed, "Every man has his price. The only thing is to find it out!"

But to our narrative. The incapacity and profligacy of Sirdar Jowahir Singh and the little favour that even his liberality gained for him among the troops, naturally inspired the ambitious and discontented with hopes of rivalling, getting rid of, and succeeding him. Of these the only two worth noticing are Rajah Lal Singh and Peshora Singh. The former was abetted by the Rani, who, not devoid of natural affection, found herself hurried by a passion more violent, though less pure, into schemes which could only end in the death of her own brother. Ministers in the Punjab do not *resign* when they have "lost the confidence of the people;" nor are they coldly told that "their services are not required" when they have lost the confidence of the sovereign. In either case the removal is complete; into another world. The unhappy woman therefore could not have blinded herself as to the inevitable tendency of her intrigues. But, though in the early part of June 1845 (see Papers respecting late hostilities, p. 3), the Punchayats of the army, were willing to confer the Viziership on Lall Singh; yet, in the course of the next two months, the lavish promises of the prince who was aiming at the throne, and was secretly supported by Golab Singh, had so worked upon the troops, that we find Bhai Ram Singh advising Major Broadfoot, on the 6th August (see Papers, p. 4), that they intend "to set up Peshora Singh and Rajah Golab Singh as King and Wazir." This was an alarming turn of affairs for both the Minister and the Rani, and united them both in a resolution to assassinate their common enemy. The deed was effected with much mystery through Sirdar Chutter Singh Uttariwallah, whose daughter was betrothed to the Maharajah, and who consequently had a deep interest in keeping Dhulip Singh upon the throne. "The Papers, &c.," p. 6, say the Prince was "put to death on his way from Attok to Lahore;" but the popular belief in the Punjab is, that he was murdered in the fort of Attok itself by a *Chúra* or sweeper—sent by Jowahir Singh for that purpose with the promise of being made a general—and that his body was cut up into minute pieces and thrown from the

fort into the Indus to avoid detection. The rage of the Lahore Army at this thwarting of their schemes, knew no bounds; and it soon became apparent that instead of staving off, the Minister had only hastened his downfall. Largesses, bribes, promises for the future, failed to appease the baffled troops; and even a projected expedition against the English, could not turn them aside from their now settled resolution to murder Jowahir Singh. The catastrophe has gone the round of the newspapers and the theatres of Europe; and is graphically recorded by Major Broadfoot in the "Papers" so often quoted, (pp. 9-10). Suffice it here that the miserable wretch, whose debauched and cowardly heart shrank from the storm which his crimes had raised, and which his talents could not quell, prepared for flight;—prepared to throw himself for protection on the friendly and forbearing nation, which, during his ministry, he had hated, threatened, and, on one occasion, even marched against. He bribed his guards to let him fly; they took his bribes and confined him in his palace.

On the 21st of September they led him out in state to the plain of Mean Mir; and in the presence of his sister and the Maharajah, he was shot down like a dog. So died the last and worst Wazir of the Punjab empire established by Runjit Singh.* Rani Junda evinced some natural affection and remarkable courage on the occasion. She even effected the punishment of the ringleaders in the late tragedy, and, as if roused by her brother's death and her son's danger, assumed the Government, sat openly in Durbar, and "laid aside her debaucheries with her veil." ("Papers," p. 10). But the time for prudence had gone by. The vessel of the state too long unwatched had drifted to the rapid's edge; and all that skill and courage now could do, was to seize the helm, put the bark's head straight, and plunge boldly into the foaming gulf. Finding that it was hopeless to oppose the Army, the Rani wisely yielded; encouraged its excesses; called its madness reason; and urged it on in the hope of guiding it to destruction. History scarcely records a conception more bold and able; and while reprobating its unprincipled execution, we cannot withhold our admiration at the design. Runjit Singh, in the zenith of his power, thought all sacrifices light to preserve the friendship of the British; Rani Junda, in the depth of her despair, when the Sikh nation was at its weakest, sought safety in a war with British India.

And how was British India prepared to meet it? What was

* No one had the courage to fill Jowahir Singh's vacant place at Lahore till the breaking out of the war; and the cession of the Jullundhar Doab, broke up the kingdom of "The Five Waters."

the condition and attitude of the North-West Frontier? These are questions of deep interest; for, on the answer given to them depends the stamp which history shall set on the character of the Governor to whom that empire and frontier were entrusted. The time for writing a complete history of the "War with the Sikhs" has not yet arrived: and in this present hasty *sketch* we neither presume to attempt the sacred task of instructing posterity with "the truth, the *whole truth*, and nothing but the truth" of the late great events; nor do we pretend to the information necessary to enable us to do so if we wished. We do not even promise or intend to tell the reader all we know; he must be content with the assurance that we will tell him nothing that we know to be false. He has a right, however, to expect that we discuss this *threshold question* of the war with him, and we do it the more willingly that the Indian Press seems for once to have left it, in some measure, to the Press of England to perceive what was going on in India. The state of the North-West frontier, previous to the Sikh invasion, has been criticised in our Eastern papers by many writers possessed of great military talent, and by many more possessed of none: but it was reserved for the author of a paper called, "The war on the Sutlej" in the *North British Review* (see the heading of this article), to rise superior to military, or any other merely conventional criticism, and scan the question in its length and its breadth with the eye of a statesman and a philanthropist. The following passage we conceive to be a fairer statement of the point at issue than any which has yet appeared in print:—

"The question is, not whether, presuming a war with the Sikhs to have been an inevitable occurrence, the Governor-General had so disposed his troops as to enter upon it with the greatest possible advantage on his side and to prosecute it, to its termination, with the greatest success. *Had it been merely a war-question, a question as to the best means of prosecuting an inevitable war, we have little doubt that the main body of the British troops would, at the commencement of last December, have been posted on the very banks of the Sutlej.* But this was not the question. Sir Henry Hardinge had not to decide between two forms of war, but, *as far as human sagacity could penetrate the future, between peace and a war.* He believed, that it was desirable to preserve peace, and he adopted measures, best calculated to ensure its preservation. He believed that by keeping the main body of his army at Umballa, he would have been able to preserve *peace*, whilst, on the other hand, he was of opinion that a forward movement would have had an inevitable tendency to precipitate the very collision which he was so anxious to avoid. To have advanced the head-quarters of the army to Ferozepore, or the immediate neighbourhood of Ferozepore, would have had all the appearance of an offensive movement; and as the Governor-General had wisely determined not to provoke a war, he abstained from the adoption of a measure which would have surely resulted in the frustration of those

peace intentions which have so honourably distinguished his entire policy towards the Punjab."

And again :—

"The whole case as between the Governor-General and his assailants may be thus briefly stated. It was desirable, above all things, to preserve peace. There was nothing to warrant the supposition that peace could *not* be preserved. To have posted a large army, sufficient to prevent the Sikhs from crossing the river to any point, on the immediate banks of the Sutlej, would have provoked the collision which it was so desirable to avoid. *Therefore, Sir Henry Hardinge did not move up the main body of his disposable troops to the immediate banks of the Sutlej.* In other words, he did not, to avert an evil which there was no just cause to anticipate, bring down upon himself another of far greater magnitude, as certain and as present as the other was conjectural and remote."

Even this writer, however, does not do full justice to the policy of the Governor-General. In his eagerness to shew the folly of posting an army on the banks of the Sutlej, he overlooks the wisdom of taking such military precautions as the circumstances *would* allow; of strengthening the frontier as much as it was possible to do, without losing sight of the grand object, the preservation of peace. He takes it for granted, as most other writers seem to have done, that, because the Governor-General did not *assemble* an army in the North-West, therefore, he did not provide the means of doing so if required; that in short, he allowed the North-West frontier to remain in the disgracefully unprotected state in which Lord Ellenborough left it. This is a grievous error; and the sooner it is corrected, the better. We are no defenders of folly in high places. Our pages have ere now pointedly shewn that the great defect of our military system is its want of preparation.* Trusting overweeningly, like true Englishmen, in our intrinsic strength; confiding with more than Mahomedan infatuation in our "*ikbal*," we leave much, sometimes all, to fortune. Such was long, very long, our practice on the North-West frontier. For years and years the station of Lúdi-ana alone, unsupported by a man nearer than Kurnal, stood in the face of the Punjab. Two or three thousand men with six 6-pounders daring the whole Sikh Army!—a lamb drinking at a rivulet with a wolf. It may be said, that the Punjab was then quiet; there was then no danger. Idle, most idle, will this answer prove to every man who has read Indian history, and learnt to see in the blue and cloudless sky of Eastern politics, no safety against the insidious storm. The hatred of the Sikh people was then as great; the ability to

* *Calcutta Review*, No. 3 Article.—"Military Defence." ~

indulge it, greater. One life alone stood between the nations. One mind, and that directed not by love, not by fidelity, *but by a rare union of insatiable ambition with common sense*, turned the still flowing tide of Sikh conquest back from the Jumna towards the Indus. For nearly forty years has the station of Lúdíana been established; and for more than half of that time has Ferozepore been trumpeted as "a most desirable military position." In December 1838, it became a station for British troops; and such a one as the British in India alone could have established; answering no one possible object for which it could have been intended,—too weak even to protect itself much less the neighbouring town. The nominal strength of the post was four Regiments of Infantry, and one of Irregular Cavalry. Seldom, however, was half that force present, and sometimes only a single Regiment, while the six field pieces were made the butts of Dum-Dum experiment; one month horsed, the next bullocked, and, when the bullocks grew thin and "ill-favoured," horsed again: so that the Artillery of the advanced picket of British India was *hors du combat* for nearly as many months of the year as there were guns. This was Lord Auckland's defence of the frontier, and, in common justice to His Lordship, it may be said, it was only a continuation of the system that had obtained under Lords Wellesley, Minto, Hastings, Amherst and Bentinck. Lord Ellenborough somewhat improved matters. He established a large reserve station at Umballa, sixty miles nearer to the frontier than Kurnal; and he threw an apology for an intrenchment around the magazines and stores at Ferozepore, hitherto exposed at random even to the midnight robber and incendiary. It will indeed claim some portion of our reader's credulity to believe that, during the first year of the occupation of Ferozepore, the ammunition of the troops in the cantonment was kept three miles off *in the bricked up gateways of the city*.

So much for the past, and the predecessors of the present Governor-General. Let us now turn to Lord Hardinge. He found Punjab affairs much in the same condition they had been in for the last twelve months of Lord Ellenborough's administration. But did he allow the frontier to remain as that nobleman had left it? Far otherwise. Silently and unostentatiously he strengthened the force in the North-West. He gave no possible cause of offence by military movements, in season or out of season, indicative of distrust.

His acts never gave the lie to his words as we find them recorded in his letter to the Secret Committee; not so much as the rustling of a plume ever broke the peaceful silence of the

frontier. The abstract "principles of war," which a late writer in the *Friend of India* has well said, "do not alter," required an old and experienced soldier to do one or other of two things: either to hurry up large reinforcements to Ferozepore, or to withdraw that post altogether. But Sir Henry Hardinge did neither; he was something more than an old and experienced soldier, snuffing like the war-horse the battle from afar, and preparing for it with exultation. He was the statesman, to whose calm and unimpassioned judgment it was given to preserve the *peace* of India; and he chose that middle course which the result has proved, united the dignity of forbearance with the necessity of defence. Slowly, silently, and by degrees, he added to the Native Regiments at Ferozepore until they amounted to seven; he doubled the cavalry; he quadrupled the artillery; gave confidence to the whole by the addition of a British Regiment; and to crown the whole, instead of leaving a haphazard, bed-ridden, or dotard Brigadier at the head of this gallant force, he selected one of the best officers in the Indian Army, Major-General Littler, to command it. In the same sure but silent manner was the entire frontier reinforced. Regiments, as if in ordinary relief, but without the issue of the customary published orders, were drawn away from the extremes of the Bengal Presidency: Cuttack, Chittagong, Barrackpore, Benares, Allahabad, and even the Madras stations, were weakened to strengthen Delhi, Meerut, Umballa and Ludiana. The excellence of the scheme, was, that it was effected without suspicion, and excited no alarm. All of ourselves, who could put two and two together, who took sufficient interest in the public acts of Government, and had time and will to consider why some Regiments were relieved early, others late, and why unusual numbers were crowded even to the Upper Doab, could draw the inference that more than usual danger was expected in the North-West: but we repeat that the movement was effected without stir, excitement or alarm, either domestic or foreign. It is perhaps the best proof of the precautionary measures of the Governor-General, that, when summed up, they seem almost to amount to the opposite and preposterous charge of *forcing on the war by the extent of his Military preparations on the frontier*—a charge, contemptuously and satisfactorily disposed of by Sir Henry himself in letter No. 9, pp. 12-13 of the "Papers" before quoted. So far, then, as our Government was concerned, the Sikhs were neither tempted by our weakness, nor driven by our threats to break the treaty, and commence hostilities. One objectionable act alone was committed, though we are not aware that it has

attracted notice, much less censure from the critics of the policy. We refer to the bringing up from Bombay of an armed bridge of boats. In our opinion such boats should *always* have formed a portion of the frontier military equipment. But *this* was not the time to make preparations that must bear the appearance at least of meditated war. Moreover, we are not prepared to say that all the Indian papers were perfectly judicious in their speculations on the prospect of a Punjab war; we cannot vindicate the seasonableness or the propriety of some of the after-dinner speeches of Sir Charles Napier, Sir Jasper Nichols, and others, carefully reported at the Lahore Durbar; but whatever apprehensions these, or any thing else said or done on this side of the water created, we may safely say that they exerted no efficient agency in bringing about the war; and that the violence and intemperance of the Sikh soldiery, the weakness of their leaders, and the despair of their Government alone impelled them to hostilities. But this is beside the question, which is "the state of the North-Western Frontier."

On the 11th of December 1845, the enemy crossed the Sutlej, and invaded British India. Twelve miles from the ford, in the cantonment of Ferozepore, was a compact and well appointed force of upwards of 10,000 men, with 21 field and ten heavy guns, ready and willing to dispute the passage of the river. Why it was *not* disputed has yet to be revealed. The General and most about him, believed their little army amply able either to oppose the enemy in his passage, or to defend themselves in possession of Ferozepore. We incline to a similar opinion. But this is a question which fate has left, perhaps for ever, undecided. Suffice it to say that when, after years of empty boasting, the Sikhs at last came as enemies across the Sutlej, they found 15,000 *more soldiers between that river and Meerut than had been left there by the war-loving Lord Ellenborough or any of his predecessors*. Was *this*, we ask, a want of preparation? Is this the culpable negligence of which Sir Henry Hardinge is accused? We have already seen why this increased, but scattered defensive force was not already "in hand" (to borrow a word from the dictionary of Aliwal); why it was not collected into an army on the frontier: it was, because this would have rendered *inevitable* the collision which Sir Henry, his council, and his agent on the North-West frontier, hoped and believed to be an improbable contingency.

We have now to see whether the troops, which a wise Governor had spread in peaceful attitude over the surface of the North-West Provinces, were yet within "bugle call," and

could be summoned to arms in time to repel an enemy. Hitherto Sir Henry Hardinge had been slow, cautious, forbearing almost to timidity; as if peace were a strange but imperative duty that had been imposed on him. The crossing of the Sikhs was like the magic word which woke the seven sleepers. It broke the spell upon his nature and disenchanted him. The cold snows of age and prudence melted and disappeared before the rekindled fire and energy of the hero of Albuera; the identity of the accomplished statesman passed away, and left a Military leader in its place presiding over the army of the Sutlej. "Telemachus suddenly beheld Minerva! She spread her ægis over him." The Meerut and Umballa Divisions were hurried up; the two British Regiments were summoned from the hills; the Lúdiana force concentrated at Bussean; and in half the time, we confidently assert, in which, under ordinary Indian generals, the troops would have been *ready to move*,* they had *formed an army on the line of march*, fought two victorious pitched battles at Múdkí and Ferozshah, and encamped at Nialkí with the enemy on the other side of the insulted frontier. Well was the ardour of the Governor-General at this crisis seconded by the more than youthful energy and activity of the Commander-in-Chief, whose gallant figure dashing by the column was wont to provoke from many a young "sub" the hacknied lines—

Nor slack'd the messenger his pace;
He shew'd the sign, he named the place—
And pressing forward like the wind
Left clamour and surprise behind.

* * * * *
He vanish'd; and o'er moor and moss
Sped forward the fiery cross!

It is, however, but just to say that a Governor-General only, and such a Governor-General as Sir Henry Hardinge, happily combining the statesman with the soldier, could have brought the whole resources of the country, at a moment's notice, to bear upon the most imminent danger that has ever threatened British India.

There are more victories in a campaign than those which are gained amid the roar of cannon on the battle field, and recorded afterwards in golden lettered flags; and though the march—

* "When a small party was beaten at Kythul in the Sikh states within forty miles of Kurnal (one of our army Division stations) it was three days before a small force could move; it was then found that there was no small arm ammunition in store; and ascertained that a European corps could not move under a fortnight from Subathú."—*Calcutta Review*, No. 3, Art: "Military Defence."

In December 1845, the same European corps at Subathú, and H. M.'s 29th Foot marched out of their Cantonments after 18 hours' notice, to join the army of the Sutlej.

the *rush*—of the British Army from Umballa to the frontier seems now forgotten, or but little thought of, because it gave neither medal nor promotion ; yet was it not the least of the achievements of the war of 1845-46. The Commander-in-Chief, writing from Múdkí on the 19th December 1845, with a keen remembrance of its anxieties and fatigues, devotes a few generous lines of his despatch to its record.

"All this," he says, "is soon related ; but most harassing have been the marches of the troops in completing this concentration. When their march had been further prolonged to this place, they had moved over a distance of upwards of *one hundred and fifty miles in six* days, along roads of heavy sand ; their perpetual labour allowing them scarcely time to cook their food, even when they received it, and hardly an hour for repose before they were called upon for renewed exertions.*"

A writer in the *Friend of India* has since called it "such a march as had not been attempted in India since the days of Lake." Let us look, therefore, a little closer at its incidents, let us not rejoice too much in the fireside reader's privilege, and, with imagination's seven leagued boots, skip at once over those "150 miles," which an army of flesh and blood, with exceeding toil and labour, and to the wonder and admiration of its commanders, marched over "in seven days." On the night of the 15th June 1818, the poet sings—

There was a sound of revelry by night
And Belgium's capital had gather'd then
Her beauty and her chivalry ; and bright
The lamps shone o'er fair women and brave men

On the 11th December 1845, before the British Army marched to the Waterloo of India, every thing had been prepared for a similar festive scene in the Durbar tents of Sir Hugh Gough at Umballa. No need, however, for *secrecy* then ; for carrying on the face of gaiety ; and Generals stealing away "as quietly as possible at 10 o'clock to join their divisions en route."† The ball was given up by common consent, and in that tearful night many a wife who is now a widow pressed her last kiss upon her husband's cheek. Next morning commenced the march on which the fate of two empires hung. The whole road from Umballa to Rajpúra, a distance of 16 miles, was covered with advancing troops and artillery, and the green crops in the fields on either side of the line of march were trodden under

* This is a mistake, the first march was on the 12th, and the last (into Múdkí) on the 18th ; seven marches in all. The mistake would easily arise by subtracting 12 from 18, to get the number of marches ; instead of including that of the 12th.

† See note to Stanza 21, Canto 3, *Childe Harold*, Murray's edition.

foot and scattered over by strings of baggage camels, and camp followers, who, unable to find room upon the old high way, soon made a new one for themselves and scrambled on in the dark through gardens and over ditches in a style more sporting than military. What a motley and amusing scene is an Indian line of march! Here, Jack sepoy, bitterly cold, has tied up his head like a stage coach traveller, and then stuck his full dress *Chako* on the top of it,—much askew. Behind him, rejoicing in the privilege of his rank, jogs along on a miserable bare-ribbed *tatru*, a grey haired Subadar; his very oldest clothes are put on economically for the occasion, but round his throat glitters through the dust his gold-beaded necklace, and on his left breast perhaps dangles on a ribbon, twice too long, a medal or a star. Next, covering the whole column with dust, canters by a devil-may-care Subaltern; his forage cap cocked knowingly over his ear, a cheroot in his mouth puffing away like a chimney, and under him the best Bombay Arab that could be got for money, though it would not carry his bills. "Bless my soul, Sir," croaks a wheezy voice on the other side of the road, "how often *must* I tell you to keep that *beast* in the rear?" It is the fat Major, who has pulled up in his *buggy* to spit the Ensign's dust out of his mouth, and knuckle it out of his eyes. On one side of the road a hackery has fallen, in the dark, into a ditch; and on the other, a gun. The former will be there half the day; for the Gariwan is smoking his *hukah* and waiting till Providence sends somebody to help him. The other will be all right in ten minutes; for a dozen strapping Horse Artillery men have "put their shoulders to the wheel," and are hauling away to a jolly chorus. *Chaque pays, chaque mode!* Look at that half-clad, knock-kneed wretch, shuffling along at one untiring pace, with a pliant bambú over his shoulder, and, at either end of it, a heavy green box slung by ropes. He is a *Banghy bearer*; and you may take an inventory of his load without opening the Pitarahs; *one* of them is *always* devoted to a *Guthri*,* and the other to plates, dishes, and a teapot; for woe betide the Khidmutgar who has not breakfast ready the moment the Regiment comes upon its ground. But mind your head, or it will be knocked off by that half mad Camel who is overladen with tents and "tots,"† and is dancing about the road, furious at the clattering on his back. That red haired grenadier, with the yellow facings, is one of the gallant 9th

* The Indian *vade mecum*, a bundle containing a change of clothes, and something of every thing that "master" possesses.

† Tin pots out of which the European soldiers drink.

foot; and if what he is now swearing at the Camel was not *pure* Irish, there could not be a doubt about his country, for at the end of his bayonet he has slung his boots, and is walking barefoot to *warm himself*. Whose hackery is that with a *slipper bath* in it? There are no ladies in camp;—it belongs to one of the hospitals; and those three black heads poking out at the mouth of the bath are the hospital cook's children, who *live in it when it is not wanted*. Such are some of the queer incidents and characteristic scenes which cheat the soldier of a laugh on the India line of march.

But let us resume our knapsack and march on. On December 13th, the Commander-in-Chief's force marched to Sirhind; * eighteen miles of a sandy and distressing road for both men and horses. And now the dark curtain of the future began to rise. Aides-de-camp went and came, "hot with haste," between the Governor-General at Lushkuri-khan-ki-Surai, and the Commander-in-Chief at Sirhind. The news spread like wild fire through the camp that 8,000 Sikhs had crossed the Sutlej eight miles above Ferozepore; and Sir Hugh Gough, with his assistant Adjutant-General and Military Secretary, might be seen galloping through the sun to meet and consult with Sir Henry Hardinge at Kunha-ki-Surai, half way between their respective camps.† All day those two camps wait, with feverish anxiety, the result of their leaders' deliberations; and, at last, midnight brings the expected "After-Orders" for a forced march of 20 miles on Esrú. The publication of the celebrated Proclamation of the 13th December, is now whispered about the army; the very cook-boys discuss the annexation of the Cis-Sutlej states to British India. The army, too, was this day (14th December) told off into divisions and brigades; appointments were delighting and disappointing the ambitious, and *business* for all was beginning in real earnest.

As an index of popular opinion, and a confirmation of that acknowledged by the Governor-General in his letter to the

* This once populous and wealthy city is now nothing more than a miserable cluster of the habitations of the living amid the ruins of the habitations of the dead. For an account of the fearful destruction which overtook it, see "Malcolm's Sketch of the Sikhs."

† These two Peninsula veterans set an example of personal and equestrian activity during the campaign, which diffused itself through the whole general staff, and won the hearts of the Arab merchants in the Upper Provinces, who (*Ap ke nam sinke Khadawund!*) flocked up at the close of the war to replace the *screws* that had been *doing nothing but going express*, since they left Umballa. Sir Henry Hardinge's ride to Lúdíana is history, and we are told that Sir Hugh Gough thought nothing of riding from his camp at Nialkí into Ferozepore and back again in a morning,—more than 50 miles. A change for the better this from Generals *who on foot or in paliké*, manœuvred armies!

Secret Committee, dated 31st December,* it is not unworthy of remark here that the army at this time was divided into two parties, those who disbelieved the crossing of the Sikhs altogether ; and those who, more polite, condescended to believe it on the Governor-General's authority, but were certain they would re-cross before our army could come up to engage them. On December 15th, the Umballa force moved on to Luttala, nearer thirty than twenty miles, and orders were issued for a rigid reduction of baggage. On December 16th, the force marched thirty miles to Wudní, overtaking the Governor-General and the Lúdíana force at Bussean. Sir Robert Peel, in his speech to the House of Commons, on March 2nd, said :—"From Umballa the troops marched to a place called Bussean, where, owing to the prudent precautions of the Governor-General, they found an ample supply of food and stores." It was Major Broadfoot, who, acting under the orders of the Governor-General, carried those wise precautions into effect : and not only *here* but on the whole march to Múdkí he may be said to have been the Commissary-General of the army of the Sutlej. Even after his death, his subordinate officers became and continued, till very late in the campaign, the real Commissariat of the army. The people of the country were now all supposed to be hostile ; and those who were with the advanced-guard that day, will not easily forget Major Broadfoot and his rough and ready troop of wild looking Afghans, galloping across the plain from village to village, summoning out the grey beards, and, with perfect mastery of their corrupt and broken dialect, acquired in a short residence of 15 months upon the frontier, explaining the terms of the Proclamation, and extracting from the most refractory *Múfsú*† supplies for the advancing army. At Wudní, however, matters were different : the village nestled under the wing of a strong brick fort, and the fort itself belonged immediately to the Khalsa Crown. Supplies were positively refused. The Political Agent's very crabbedest Punjabi could not wheedle the Buniyahs out of enough *Ata* to make a chupatti. The Horse Artillery was therefore ordered up, and as the guns wheeled round into position, the men, ever ready for a joke, very happily exclaimed :—"These be the Political Agents !" They were indeed. It was unnecessary for them even to *speak* ! The very look of them brought out

* Papers respecting the late hostilities, No. 11.

"I concurred with the Commander-in-Chief and the Chief Secretary to Government, as well as with my Political Agent, Major Broadfoot, that offensive operations on a large scale would not be resorted to."

† Malcontent.

the trembling villagers in crowds; and supplies followed without delay.*

The forced marches of the previous days were now telling fearfully on the troops and camels, and a short march of only 10 miles to Churruk, was made upon the following day. A similar march of ten miles to Lungiana, was ordered for the 18th December; but, though no man in that army knew it then, a bloody battle was to be fought that day, and the Governor-General, in his anxiety to relieve Ferozepore, pushed on eleven miles further to the village of Múdkí. For the benefit of those who have a lingering faith in omens, we may as well here record that, just before morning broke on the march to Múdkí, a brilliant star shot from its place in the firmament and fell over the Sutlej into the dark grave of the earth's horizon. The "Bright Star" is the highest order in the Punjab; and those who think that the everlasting laws of stellar motion are disturbed by the convulsions of this little orb, imperceptible in space, may confirm their superstition with the coincidence. It is "stranger still," and much more to the point, that on the 2nd December died the venerable Faqír Uzíz-úd-din, the able Minister of Runjít Singh, and faithful follower of his policy in all the counsels he was called upon to give to the weak successors of his Master. He knew our power thoroughly, and his voice was ever for friendship and peace. The last act of his life was a remonstrance against the approaching war; and without superstition, with him may be said to have perished the genius of the Punjab.

Three miles from Múdkí, the first indication of the proximity of an enemy reached "the Army of the Sutlej." A note from Major Broadfoot—ever in the front—informed the Commander-in-Chief, that Múdkí was occupied by the Sikhs; in what force it was uncertain. Upon receipt of this intelligence the column was halted; the artillery ordered to the front; and the cavalry to support it right and left. Thus "squaring up" in pugilistic phrase, the army resumed its march; with intense anxiety looking for the enemy. The Commander-in-Chief attended by his own staff and that of the Governor-General (made over to him by Sir Henry, who reluctantly remained behind) and supported by two squadrons of the 5th Light Cavalry, then made a reconnoissance in front, and soon met Major Broadfoot and a party of Christie's horse coming back a little downcast,

* The same scene was repeated on the coming up of General Gilbert's Column the following day; and the place was not taken till the arrival of the Meerut troops on the 30th December. It gives us no bad idea of native impudence when we relate that not a single gun was found in the fort, though from the quantity of Jínjal Balls accumulated, it is not improbable that some swivels had been hidden in the wells or houses of the village.

with the tidings that the village, now coming into view, had *merely* been occupied by the advanced picket of the Khalsa Army, who had fallen back hastily upon their own main body; not, however, without carrying off Captain E. Bid-dulph of the 45th Native Infantry, who had the evening before got so far on his way in a gallant but imprudent attempt to join Tait's Irregulars at Ferozepore. The momentary excitement over; the weary foot-sore troops dragged themselves on to Múdkí which they reached at noon—and what a welcome sight there met their view! Beneath the walls of the fort spread a wide clear tank of water; and the reader, who has not the memory of that long march of 21 miles, with heavy sand under foot and the air thick with the dust disturbed by 15,000 men, cannot paint the eagerness with which men and horses rushed to the bank and tried to slake a thirst which seemed unquenchable. In ten minutes the lake was a mass of floating mud, yet fresh regiments kept coming up, and fresh thirsty souls kept squeezing their way in, and thinking it was the sweetest draught they had tasted in their lives. Young ladies! languishing on your damask couches, you never sipped eau sucrée or lemonade out of a chrystal goblet that was to be compared to a greasy chako full of muddy Múdkí water. Between two and three o'clock the baggage of the troops was beginning to straggle in, and the men to cook their breakfasts; when Major Broadfoot again galloped into camp with the news—this time true enough—that the enemy was advancing in force in front.

Away with knives and forks, and out swords and pistols! Camels, elephants, camp followers, and other lumber to the rear! Trumpets sound to horse; bugles, drums and fifes to arms; and the whole army, which, but two hours ago, had made a march of unusual severity, now turned out, as if fully recruited, to the battle.

Once more the Governor-General, with a courteous bow that would have done honour to St James's, waved his dashing staff over to the brave Chief of that brave army; and then fell back upon the infantry. The artillery was in the centre of the front line, and the cavalry on either flank; the main body of the infantry in contiguous columns behind; and a reserve in rear of all. A mile and a half at least from their own camp did the British advance in this order before they came under the fire of the Sikh guns; but then the "long bowls" came bounding in among them with deadly aim and that peculiar *whirr* which makes the young soldier "*bob*" his head. Now tumbrils begin blowing up, and artillery men dropping from

their saddles ; the mutual roar of cannon reverberates over the plain, and smoke obscures the vision. Closer and closer approach the hostile armies ; and a staff officer, almost simultaneously from right and left gallops up to Sir Hugh, with a report that the Sikh cavalry in clouds are turning both his flanks. Right and left he launches his own cavalry upon them ; right and left their brilliant charge makes the enemy's horse give way. The British infantry deploy, and advance rapidly in line. A finer sight no man ever saw than that deployment and advance. The jaded men, worn out with forced marches and want of food, forgot all their troubles in their eagerness to close, and nearly the whole of an unusually large staff might at one time have been employed in galloping up and down the line to keep the regiments from "doubling" into action. And now all hands are at it ! Cavalry charging cavalry ; artillery thundering on the flanks ; and infantry exchanging a roar of musketry in the centre. The battle is at its height ; it rages ; but the British *still advance* : and it is a fact, which has not been noticed by any writer yet that we have seen, not even by his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in his own despatch, that *the charge of the British Cavalry was the turning point of the battle of Muidk.* Up to that moment every arm of the Sikh force, cavalry, artillery and infantry had been *advancing* ; and though the artillery and infantry still stood and struggled manfully after Lal Singh's cavalry had fled, yet *they never gained another foot of ground* ; and the last two hours of the battle was a series of dogged stands, and skirmishing retreats on the part of the Sikh troops ; of sharp struggles, gun-captures, and pursuits, by the British,—over five miles of the worst ground that ever two armies fought for.—Night closed the contest, or rather the pursuit ; and the British army was left in possession of the field and *nineteen* of the enemy's guns. The despatch says seventeen : but we have reason to believe that nineteen, if not twenty, were captured over night, and three or four taken off the field, by a Sikh detachment, in sight of our burying parties, the next morning Brigadier Brooke, who commanded the Artillery, in his return of captured ordnance, only reports fifteen guns in our possession, but says, "Four more guns are reported to have been dismounted by the men of the horse artillery and left on the field from want of means to bring them away." These discrepancies are reconciled by the supposition that two more guns were afterwards brought in by the British ; and two recovered by the Sikhs. We have heard that an intercepted despatch from Rajah Lal Singh to the Raní, after the battle of

Múdkí, modestly allowed "that owing to the bad state of the roads, and the horses being killed, *some few guns fell into the hands of the Ungrez.*" The grand total of killed and wounded on the British side was 872. Among the mournful list of the dead was the brave Sir Robert Sale, known among the soldiers of his old Regiment (H. M.'s 13th Light Infantry) by the faithful sobriquet of "Fighting Bob," and in the page of history as "the hero of Jullalabad."* The loss on the enemy's side is not known; indeed, it has never been accurately ascertained how many men they brought into the field. The Commander-in-Chief's despatch says, "they were said to consist of from 14,000 to 20,000 infantry, about the same force of cavalry, and 40 guns." Sir Robert Peel estimates the Sikh force at "treble the amount" of the British; which would make them upwards of 40,000. We have put the question to a Sikh soldier who was present in all the fights except Aliwal; and he stated that from each of the twelve regiments of infantry in the entrenched camp of Ferozshah, there went out four Companies; between 20 and 30,000 horsemen under Rajah Lal Singh; and 22 guns; and this we are inclined to think nearly correct.

The victory of the 18th December 1845, must be acknowledged, therefore, by every impartial person to have been no mean achievement. It is no easy matter at any time for 14,000 men to thrash between 30 and 40,000; unless, as was the case in our early Indian battles, the discipline is all on the side of the minority. Those days have long passed away. We have been now teaching the art of war to Asia for upwards of a century; and, though not exactly reduced to the sad pass of that celebrated grandfather who taught his grandson draughts,

"Until at last the old man was beaten by the boy;"—

Yet is there no longer that vast disparity between the discipline of the Native and British Indian armies that we can afford to give them, as of old, the odds which Clive thought very fair at Plassey. In the present instance, we think it only just to a very gallant though barbarous enemy, to acknowledge that the Sikh soldiers are fully equal to our own sepoys in every respect but that of obedience to their officers; a radical deficiency, indeed, in cantonments, but, as the result proved of no consequence whatever in the field, when the enemy in front was the hated British, and every common soldier was animated by the same

* A Greek or Roman General would have been more fortunate though less brave, for he would have accepted the augury with which Sir Robert entered on the campaign, and returned in the belief that the gods were against the expedition. In coming down the hill from Simla, all the swords which had been presented to him for his former services were stolen from among his baggage and never recovered.

religious detestation of the cow-killing rivals of the Khalsa. Not only, however, did the Sikh army nearly treble ours in number, and nearly equal it in discipline, but it had the immense advantage of coming up fresh to the fight, after lying at their ease in camp from the day they crossed the Sutlej; while the British troops came off a march of 150 miles (twenty-one of which had been performed that morning,) and were exhausted before the battle was begun. The ground, too, was much in favour of the Sikhs; and they had had plenty of leisure to select it. It was at first, i. e., nearest to Múdkí, an undulating sandy plain, sprinkled, where the cannonade commenced, with trees; and deepening, where the hostile armies closed, into a tangled jungle. No one who has seen Sikhs fight will deny that as light infantry they are not to be excelled. The indispensable requisite of "a Light Bob" is to have self-reliance; to be independent of assistance; to have his wits about him, and take advantage of every bush or stump that will give him time to load again, or unseen bring down his unsuspecting foe. In a word, he must be sufficient for himself, and able to act alone. Now these are just the attributes of a Sikh soldier. Independence, self-reliance, and fearless audacity, are the hereditary qualities of his nation; and have been fostered to the most mischievous perfection in the licentious revolutions which reduced the Government of his country to a military despotism. He is proud of being one of the "Surbut Khalsa Jí," and believes himself a match for two *Púrúbás* at the least; he is proud also of his profession, which Runjít took care should be the most honored in the Punjab; and, instead of being glad to get rid of his accoutrements, he wears them with pleasure, and carries his musket jauntily over his shoulder even when he is out for a stroll. No troops in the world, therefore, are more fitted by nature and habit for carrying on a desultory fight: and the same jungle, which separated and broke the British regiments at Múdkí, only threw the Sikhs into "extended order;" made every hollow an entrenchment, and every bush a battery. Two anecdotes of the field will illustrate these observations.

The fight was nearly over, when a Khalsa soldier, who had been just passed by as dead by a British light field battery, rose cautiously from the ground, and taking deliberate aim with his musket at the officer commanding, shot him in the back. Waiting only long enough to see his victim fall, he then stole off, reloading as he went. A sergeant, who had seen his captain drop, turned to pursue the murderer, and met a similar fate. Several of his comrades then sprung forward upon the track, but had not gone into the jungle when they heard behind a

neighbouring bush the significant ring of a ramrod with which the determined Khalsa was, a third time, driving home his unerring bullet. They prudently abandoned a pursuit which threatened, if continued long enough, to disable a nine-pounder! Another Sikh soldier, feigning to be dead, was kicked up by some men of H. M.'s 50th in their advance, and brought a prisoner before Major-General Sir Harry Smith, who told an officer of his staff, that "spoke the Moors," to ask him which way his friends had run? The Khalsa made no reply, but making a sudden grasp at the General's sword, drew it like lightning from the scabbard, and would have cut Sir Harry down had he not had a riding cane in his hand, and struck the blade aside. An army composed of men like these is not an enemy to be despised.

On the morning of the 19th of December, it was expected that the Sikhs, reinforced from their main body at Ferozshah, would again advance and attack the British, and Sir Hugh Gough had his men under arms drawn up outside the camp in battle array to meet them. Thus they remained many hours; but, though the dust of a hostile column was distinctly seen moving round the British flank, the battalions which raised it showed no desire to renew their intimacy of the previous day. Every disposition, however, was made to guard against a night attack. None occurred, and the spirits of the harassed troops were cheered by the arrival about 11 o'clock P. M. of H. M.'s 29th Foot, the H. E. I. Co.'s 1st European Light Infantry, the 41st and 11th Native Infantry, and a small detachment of heavy guns; a most welcome reinforcement. The two former regiments had, as we have already noticed, marched out of their stations in the hills on 12 hours' notice; and their soldier-like exertions to come up, before an engagement with the enemy could take place, threw the rapid march even of the main army into the shade. They were one day too late; but the Governor-General showed his high appreciation of their military spirit by sending out his own band to meet them, and welcome them to camp. This flattering and graceful compliment turned out unfortunately; for, in stepping out cheerily to the tune of "the British Grenadiers," they all lost their way in the dark; and kept on marching and playing, playing and marching, till they had exhausted all the popular airs in the language, circumambulated the camp, and been challenged by every astonished sentinel on duty.

We had nearly forgotten to record one of the incidents of the 19th December strongly characteristic of oriental warfare. A Mahommedan Chief, one of the leaders in the fight of Múdkí

came over on an embassy from the enemy, and, expressing their regret that two nations who had so long been friends should now be enemies, proposed terms of accommodation for the Governor-General's acceptance! He was put under a guard, and escorted beyond the pickets.

The 20th of December was a halt to refresh the troops, and complete the sad duty of burying the dead. But it was not an idle day among the British Generals and Captains, who, assembled in the tent of the Commander-in-Chief, listened to the plan of the next day's operations. The Governor-General himself volunteered his service as second in command; a step, the prudence and propriety of which has been much canvassed both in India and at home. It has been censured rather flippantly by some as *derogatory* and *rash*. We have every respect for the abstract dignity and high-mightiness of a Governor-General of India; embodying as it does, the irresponsibility of the Great Mogul with the infallibility of the Pope; but we are among those who think that to lead on a wing of a British army against the enemies of his country can derogate from the dignity of no man. Princes of the blood of Plantagenet condescended to such service; and within our own days an heir apparent to the English throne has coveted the still more humiliating command of a single regiment. And as for rashness the proverb says, "there is a time for all things." Certainly, there are times, when cautious prudence becomes the extremity of rashness, and rashness incontrovertible prudence. As a general rule, doubtless, the head of the Government should not expose himself, and never unnecessarily, to danger; nor the State, to the confusion which his death might cause. Lord Ellenborough, for instance, had no business to be under fire at Maharajpore, where his presence served no earthly object. But the battle of Múdkí demonstrated to the conviction of every man in the army, that the Sikhs had been greatly undervalued as soldiers; that they were no common enemy; and that British India, as an Empire, was involved in no ordinary crisis. As yet only a fragment of the Khalsa army, detached in scorn, had been with difficulty overcome; the main body, varying from 48,000 to 60,000 men with 108 pieces of cannon of heavy calibre, in fixed batteries,* and in an entrenched camp, had yet to be encountered; *and the junction with Sir John Littler's force was not yet effected*. This was no time to stand upon the forms of office, or even to regard the restraints of the constitution. It was

* See Governor-General's letter to Secret Committee, Camp Ferozepore, 31st December 1845. Paper, p. 24.

one of those moments in the existence of a State which can be compared only to a sudden squall at sea which takes the good ship aback, and forces every man on board, though he were the Lord High Admiral himself, to *put his hand to a rope*, if he would avoid a general wreck. The Governor-General had sufficiently displayed at Múdkí his wish to be prudent, so long as prudence was practicable; he now showed himself equal to the responsibility of his office, and judging that his country would gain more by his Generalship in the battle, than it would lose by his death, he acted like a true patriot, laid pride aside, and volunteered to serve where he had been accustomed to command. "I need hardly say," writes the Commander-in-Chief in his despatch, "with how much pleasure this offer was accepted."

Some few pages back, in speaking of the Sikhs, we called them "a very gallant though *barbarous* enemy;" and certainly they gained the latter epithet by acts of wanton cruelty which were only fitted to the wars of the Red Indians and the Sioux. During the night of the 18th and morning of the 19th December, they not only carried off the majority of their own wounded, but the heads of all the Europeans they could find upon the field of battle. And at the sanguinary fight of Ferozshah, whenever a scattered party of Sikh soldiers came across a *dúll** going to the rear, they would shout their war cry, "Wah Gúrú Jí!" with as much savage eagerness as if the poor bleeding inmate was still in arms against them; and, dragging him out with curses, hack and hew him with their keen *tulwars*, long after consciousness and life had left their victim. At Sobraon, too, when that famous charge was made by Gilbert's division upon the centre batteries, and more than once the British line was driven back, the Khalsa and the Akalí, drunk with fanaticism and *bhang*,† rushed out from behind their entrenchments into the plain, and mutilated the fallen within sight of their rallying comrades. Such barbarous acts of warfare make the blood boil to see, and run cold to read of, and stain the page on which we should otherwise record the gallantry of the Sikh soldiers. But, amidst all this, there were to be met among them occa-

* *Dúll*, a litter carried by four men. Several are attached to every regiment for the use of the sick and wounded. As we hope for many European readers, we think it prudent to give this explanation; as it is not long since a member of the British legislature, recounting the incidents of one of our Indian fights, informed his countrymen, that "the ferocious *Dúll* rushed from the hills and carried off the wounded soldier!"

† An intoxicating extract of hemp, used by the Sikhs in excess, to make up for their abstinence from tobacco. So true is Hudibras's saying, that all the world—
"Compound for sins they are inclined to,
By damning those they have no mind to."

sional acts of chivalric liberality which ought to be remembered. Such an one was the restoration of Capt. Biddulph. It has before been mentioned that this officer was captured and carried off by the advanced Sikh picket, at the village of Múdkí, on the morning of the 18th. He has since published a short but graphic account of his captivity, from which we cannot do better than extract the following passage :—

"I was hurried out of the place, put on a horse behind a Sikh trooper, and with a stronger escort, galloped off some nine or ten miles. Judge my horror when I saw before me the whole Sikh camp and army! I was taken up and down their position amidst excited crowds, who abused and poked me right and left; my gallant horsemen, however, protected my life, but I saw with alarm, a huge beam on two posts bearing a most unpleasant resemblance to a gallows; multitudes were around it, and I prepared for death, praying that I might not be tortured, and die calmly. We passed this, however, and at last reached Rajah Lal Singh's tents; Akalis, going in and out, shook their swords at me, and crowds thronged me; Lal Singh came out, and I addressed him, but he would not hear me, ordering me to be put in irons and made over to the Commandant of Artillery; thither I was taken; the General spoke angrily and sent me away to his men; I was then chained under a gun, and a guard placed over me. Thus I lay for three days and nights; bitter cold it was; chuppattis my food, water my drink; and many anxious thoughts prolonged my days into weeks, my nights into months. Daily I was thronged, abused and threatened; hundreds of questions were put to me, and tempting offers of service made, all of which I steadily refused. *The artillerymen became my fast friends, defended my life, and, as far as possible, drove back the crowds, and tried to shame those who threatened me.* Even in such a precarious situation, life has its pleasures and enjoyment; the calm of night, cessation from teasing multitudes, a chat with the artillerymen, smoking through my hands from a *chillum* without any pipe; the thousands of reports, strange sights and scenes, the pity of some, the wonder of *all!*—was not this happiness? Indeed, I began almost to be happy; at any rate, I could laugh. But the scene was now to change.

The battle of Múdkí roused my hopes; I sat on a board behind a gun, and the artillerymen with lighted matches stood around: it seemed the fight drew near and more near; fancy almost rang the clangour of a charge in my anxious senses; and then the thought whether victory to us would not be death to me came to calm my too buoyant hopes. I remembered Loveday, he was my ship companion! At 11 at night the guns ceased, the file firing died away, and I heard the bustle of the Sikh troops retiring into camp; who shall describe then the prisoner's feelings? I cannot.

Morning at last came, and I soon perceived that the boastful pride of our enemy had greatly abated, their tone was altered, and my condition seemed better. Another day, another night succeeded; the third I was suddenly summoned to the Chief, Bebauis Ally Khan, and on my way to him a smith appeared and my irons were taken off! On entering the Chief's tent he spoke kindly, gave me water to wash, and said he would get me released. Some conversation ensued, and an Afghan Sirdar, who had visited me the day before, evidently interested himself in my behalf. we started for Lal Singh's quarters, but on the way there I was sent back to my gun; some anxious hours passed, and when the unruly multitude heard I was likely to be released, a row commenced; *my friends of the Artillery stood to their guns and declared they would fire if I were touched*; by degrees matters smoothed

down and the crowd dispersed ; suddenly I was told I might go ! I desired the messenger to make my grateful acknowledgments to the Chiefs and took leave of my Bhaïs, the Artillerymen, but I said, "I shall be cut down directly I leave your lines ;" *two of them offered to accompany me*, and though their authority was not much to protect me, the risk must be run ; off we set, and the sun never seemed to me to shine so cheerfully before. *Then a brother of the Artillery Chief's ran after us, and said he would get me through their outposts ;* he sent the two artillerymen back, and on we went ; many were the stoppages and much demur at the last outpost, five miles from their camp, but my friend satisfied them all. Merrily we trudged the ten miles to Múdkí, and the reception I met from all was grateful, indeed, and never to be forgotten. My companion received from the Governor-General 1,000 Rs., and offers of service if he chose to stay with us ; he returned, however, after the battle to his own people or home. The 21st and 22nd saw the Sikhs routed after a desperate resistance, but the G. G. would not allow me to mingle in the fray, as he said I owed *that* at least to the enemy who released me, although I refused to give any pledge not to fight."

Several European soldiers who had been taken prisoners at Múdkí were similarly restored ; and had a rupee each given to them when delivered up at the pickets.

On the morning of the 21st December the army of the Sutlej marched in pursuit of the Sikh invaders, leaving the sick, wounded, baggage, camp-followers, and captured guns at the fort of Múdkí under guard of two regiments of Native infantry.

"A communication," says the Governor-General, "had been made during the preceding night with Sir John Littler, informing him of the intended line of march, and desiring him to move out with such a part of his force as would not compromise the safety of his troops and the post.

At half past one o'clock the Umballa force, having marched across the country, disencumbered of every description of baggage except the reserve ammunition, formed its junction with Sir John Littler's force, who had moved out of Ferozepore with 5,000 men, two regiments of cavalry, and 21 field guns."

Thus was one of the two objects of the army of the Sutlej gained. Ferozepore, reprieved only by the battle of Múdkí, was now relieved. The other, and the great object, the expulsion of the Sikh invader from Hindustan, remained to be accomplished.

It is necessary to explain here that the Sikh army was at this time divided into two unequal forces ; the smaller one threatening Ferozepore, and the main body encamped within a very formidable entrenchment at the village of Ferozshah,*

* We might well protest against calling it *Ferozshah*. The proper native name is Ferozshuhur or Ferozeshahar, with short *u* or short *a*, according to the system of Romanizing which may happen to be adopted. It is often spelt Pheroshuhr by bad clerks, but scarcely ever, even by the worst, *Ferozshah*. Still, since in the first despatch of the Governor-General

nine miles from Múdkí. Sir Henry Hardinge in his letter to the Secret Committee says, "the Sikh forces varied from 48,000 to 60,000 men, with 108 pieces of cannon of heavy calibre in fixed batteries."—*Papers*, p. 27.

After comparison of several accounts, we do not think the whole invading force of the Sikhs much exceeded 60,000 men, or that they brought across the Sutlej more than 190 guns. Seventeen of these guns were already in our possession; when Sirdar Tej Singh renewed the combat on the 22nd, he is allowed by all to have brought up not only a strong force of infantry and cavalry but of *artillery* also; 72 guns were captured by the British during the battle, and if the enemy, in their disorderly retreat, or during the night, carried off 20 guns, it is as much as they could have done. We do not believe they got away 10. It is probable, therefore, that the estimate of the enemy's force in Ferozshah by both the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief has been too high; that there were not more than about 35,000 Sikhs in occupation of the entrenched camp (of whom nearly 18,000 were Irregular Cavalry, 3,000 Regular Cavalry and 1,000 gunners), with between 80 and 90 guns and 250 camel swivels; while 20,000 Sikh Infantry, 5,000 Cavalry, and about 1,000 gunners lay before Ferozepore, with from 70 to 80 guns and 50 camel swivels.

This being premised, it will occur at once to the reader, whether he be military or not, that however desirable it might be to the British to take their enemies in detail, yet, as a junction with Sir John Littler was indispensable, it was extremely problematical whether that measure could be effected without alarming the enemy's force before Ferozepore, and forcing them either to engage Sir John upon the march; to make a *counter-junction* with their own main body: or, which was most

as well as in other official documents, the orthography of *Ferozshah* was adopted since, in consequence, this orthography had obtained the widest currency, and since it can only be regarded as a popular and somewhat abbreviated form of the native term, more suited to the English ear, we have, for the sake of uniformity, adopted it throughout. Were a rigid philological test to be applied, it would soon appear that the ordinary orthography of most of our Indian proper names would but ill abide the scrutiny. Here, in passing, we may as well remark once for all, that with the view of conforming as nearly as possible with the approved standard of the Asiatic and other literary Societies, as well as learned orientahsts generally, we have used the accented *ā* for long *a*, as in the English word *rule*, which is equivalent to the sound double *oo* in *room*, *food*, &c., and accented *ī* for long *i*, as in the English word *police*, which is equivalent to double *ee* in *feel*, *reed*, &c. The unaccented *u* and *e* denote the short sounds of these letters respectively. Agreeably to the same simple system, the accented *ā* would represent long *a* as in *father*, and unaccented *a*, short *a*, as in *America*. But, as the sounds of long and short *a* are less liable to be confounded than those of *u* and *e*, it has not been thought necessary always to note the difference, more especially in words that are common and familiar, and whose pronunciation, therefore, cannot well be mistaken. Thus, in the word *Rani* queen, both the *a* and *i* are long, consequently, rigid accuracy would require it to be written *Rānī*. But, without the accent at all, no one would now think of pronouncing the *a*, in this word, otherwise than broad and long. It has, therefore, been deemed superfluous to add it. The letters *o* and *e* are always long, and of course do not need the distinguishing mark of the long sound.

probable of all, to drive in the small force Sir John might leave behind him, and plunder the cantonment and the city. The Ferozepore besiegers, however, seem not to have had a very active intelligence department, and they remained quietly watching one side, while the garrison marched out at the other. In the course of the morning they did receive information of General Littler's move, and sent in spies post haste to ascertain its truth. Sir John had, with great foresight, left his camp pitched, bazaar flags flying, and cavalry pickets standing; and when the spies saw every "outward and visible sign" of a watchful garrison as usual, they turned their horses and galloped back, convinced that they had been unnecessarily alarmed.

Sir John Littler, therefore, not only effected a junction with his Chief, but he effected it in the best possible manner; enabling Sir Hugh Gough to interpose his army between the enemy's main body and reserve, and thrash the former before the latter could come up. But we are anticipating.

The Ferozepore force had no sooner joined the army of the Sutlej, than, to borrow from the Commander-in-Chief's narrative, "dispositions were made for an united attack on the enemy's entrenched camp. We found it to be a parallelogram of about a mile in length and half a mile in breadth, including within its area the strong village of Ferozshah; the shorter sides looking towards the Sutlej and Múdkí, and the longer towards Ferozepore and the open country. We moved against the last named face, the ground in front of which was like the Sikh position in Múdkí, covered with low jungle."

The British divisions now deployed into line as follows:—The new arrivals under Sir John Littler took up their place on the left, and next to it the division of the late Major-General Sir John McCaskill,—who was killed while leading it on at Múdkí,—now commanded by Brigadier Wallace. On Wallace's right came the "whole force of artillery, with the exception of three troops of H. A., one on either flank, and one in support to be moved as occasion required."—(C. C.'s despatch). On the right was General Gilbert's division. The division of Major-General Sir Harry Smith and the cavalry formed the reserve, throwing forward a brigade in support of either wing of the advance. In this array did the British, under their two veteran leaders, advance to the attack of Ferozshah; Sir Henry Hardinge commanding the left wing, and Sir Hugh Gough the right. From their relative positions in line, the allotment of work which fell to each division was as follows:—To Sir John Littler nearly the whole length of the West face; to Brigadier

Wallace, a corner of both the West and South face; and to General Gilbert the rest of the South, and as much of the East face as he could manage. Sir John Littler's division being nearest to their work, got first into action, about half-past four P. M. To their lot it had fallen to attack the very strongest part of the enemy's position; for the West and South faces overlooked the Ferozepore and Múdkí road, the direct line of march of the British Army; and on these, but chiefly on the West, had the Sikhs gathered the iron strength of their heavy guns. Never were troops in better spirits than the Ferozepore division when they advanced to this perilous attack; and their General, in detailing its unhappy failure records, that, "under a most galling and destructive fire," when "the casualties in the ranks were awful," "the troops still moved on with great firmness, and approached the enemy's battery to within about 150 yards." Then, says Sir John, "I considered the prize to be within their grasp." The order (so welcome always to the soldier after that most trying of manœuvres, a *silent* advance in the teeth of a shot hailing battery) was given to *charge*, and obeyed "with such determined gallantry and spirit, that the result seemed certain." But what "seemed certain" to the General, seemed "useless" to the Brigadier; who took upon himself a responsibility from which he has since unaccountably escaped, that of ordering where he did not command; of acting in direct opposition to his superior officer; and of withdrawing a noble regiment from a contest in which they *must* have gained honour, in a manner which has gained them nothing but sympathy and compassion. Well might Sir John Littler—who stood pointing to the enemy's batteries and waving on his Europeans to *seize* "the prize" which was before them—when, with bitter disappointment, he beheld those Europeans checked, halted, wheeled about, without, so far as he then knew, any order for so doing,—well might he believe that "*a panic*" had paralysed H. M.'s 62nd. The despatch in which he recorded that belief has drawn down upon Sir John Littler so much unmerited odium, that it would be unjust in any writer *pretending* even to be acquainted with the merits of the case, to pass over them in silence. The duty of defending him is the more incumbent, seeing that with a strict and soldierly sense of military propriety rarely met with, he has left his character in the hands of his superiors, and refrained from publishing to an ungenerous world the complete justification with which the highest military authority in India has supplied him. We are sorry to say that we have met with officers who boldly propounded the doctrine, that, *even if*

the 62nd Regiment was really struck with a panic, Sir John Littler had no business to say so. On asking, *why?* we are told that it *had a bad effect* to tell the public and foreign nations, that any portion of the English army had behaved, or could, by any possible combination of the horrors of war, be *induced* to behave otherwise than with supernatural courage. Granting for a moment, *pro argumento*, such to be the case, and that, to be a great patriot, it is necessary at times to be a great liar, we deny that it has any reference to the point at issue. For Sir John Littler, so far from desiring to tell the public and foreign nations that the 62nd were panic-stricken at Ferozshah, intended the despatch, as all other subordinate Generals intend their despatches, for the *private* information of the Commander-in-Chief; who, not being endowed with ubiquity, or the power of being in two or more places at once, is thus alone enabled to compile a true account of the battle, and describe to his Government, events which it is impossible he could have witnessed. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has himself informed the 62nd and through them the public,—who seem nevertheless to have forgotten it—that the despatch was never intended to be published, but got mixed up by mistake with the papers for the Press; as is sufficiently proved by the non-publication, at the same time, of Sir Harry Smith's and General Gilbert's despatches. The question therefore is not, whether General Littler was right in telling *the public* that the 62nd were struck with a panic; but, whether he was right in telling the *Commander-in-Chief*. And this, we think, cannot admit of a doubt. A subaltern "officer of the day" would probably be brought to a Court Martial, if, in his morning "report," he concealed from his Commanding Officer, that all the non-commissioned officers of the Regiment had been drunk the day he was on duty.* And what is a subordinate General Officer in the field, but a Subaltern Officer with a finer name? And what is his despatch after a battle, but a "report" of what occurred when he was "*on duty*"? Its *intention* is, that it should be a *plain statement of facts*; and the General, who, to gratify his own vanity or serve his own selfish ends, either exaggerates the achievements or conceals the misconduct of the troops under his command, is guilty of a gross departure, not only from military duty, but from *truth*, "the peerless beauty" whose smiles should guide every knight along the path of modern chivalry. Respect, and that gratitude which every Englishman owes to "the hero

* It is not *very* long ago since a certain Lieutenant-Colonel was brought to a Court Martial and *smashed*, for, among other grave offences, concealing a mutiny that had taken place in his Regiment on the march.

of Waterloo," protect the speech made upon this subject by the lawgiver of the House of Lords. It rests in the grave of public forbearance, and is shrouded from criticism by the veil of patriotic regret. One remark, however, we may trust ourselves to make, *viz.*, that the Duke of Wellington is the last man living who should condemn a General "for applying the word *panic* to his troops:" seeing that in his own early days of Generalship, he wrote the following passage to the Military Secretary of Government, and in his later days revised it for publication. "If we had had daylight an hour more, not a man would have escaped. We should have had that time, if *my Native Infantry had not been panic-struck*, and got into confusion when the cannonade commenced."*

But perhaps there is no objection to the application of the word *panic* to *Native Infantry*! And here we shall close these few words in defence of a soldier, whose character for integrity and honour, stands so high among his contemporaries, that the unmerited and even insulting condemnation of "the highest living military authority" has evaporated like breath upon a polished mirror.

Sir John Littler got so much sooner into action than the rest of the line, that, after his repulse, a part of the 14th regiment, Native Infantry, which was one of his regiments, was in time to join the advance of the Queen's 9th Foot, and the 26th Light Infantry under Brigadier Wallace. These gallant regiments, which had before been brigaded together in the last Affghan campaign, have become associated together in India military annals, by their mutual friendship in cantonments, and their generous rivalry on the field. We have already said that to their lot fell a corner of each of the two faces of the entrenchment, on which the strongest force of Sikh artillery was posted. They now advanced to carry it: and did so at the point of the bayonet, in the face of a fire whose severity is best proved by its effects. The 26th Light Infantry had 73 men killed and wounded; and the 9th Foot 273—being 13 more than were lost by the 62nd; thus proving that the heaviness of the fire to which the latter were exposed, was not more than the men would have endured had they been left alone. Brigadier Wallace, and Lieut.-Colonel Abraham Taylor, two tried and excellent officers, fell in this successful storm.

On the right of Wallace's brigade advanced the division of Major-General Gilbert to attack the South and South-East

* Despatches, Battle of Aigauum.

faces of the entrenchment. This division was the strongest in the field, and it fell to its glorious lot to storm *two* of the Sikh batteries. They were both carried—one by H. M.'s 29th Foot, and the other by the Honourable Company's 1st European *Light Infantry*,—the former corps losing 188, and the latter 204 men in the assault and next day's fight. It was on the South face, and between the entrenchment and the village of Ferozshah that the chief portion of the Sikh camp was pitched. The batteries, therefore, were no sooner carried, than Gilbert's division found their work, as it were, beginning. A dense mass of infantry and tents were in rear of the captured artillery, and from among them a galling fire of musketry opened in the faces of the captors. To complete the horrors of the struggle at this moment, one of the enemy's magazines exploded under the feet of the 1st Europeans, blowing up many men and officers, and rending the regiment into two. Thrown into confusion, however, this noble division still followed up the enemy,—each man, being content, if he could not find his own corps, to join another; nor ever stopping till they had trampled down the tents, and driven the savage Khalsa from their camp into the village, at the bayonet's point.

The reserve under Sir Harry Smith was now brought up to put the last finishing stroke to victory, yet trembling in the balance: and H. M.'s 3rd Dragoons were launched upon a battery which still kept up its deadly shower. This corps had already so handled the Sikhs at Múdkí, that, on the other side of the Sutlej, they still retain the distinctive title of "*Múdkíwallahs*:" and they now performed a feat which, rightly considered, was the most remarkable of the war. They charged, and carried the battery they were opposed to,—the leaders filling up the yawning trench with their own numbers, and those who followed crossing on a living bridge of their comrades. One officer, Captain Codd, jammed his horse, in the darkness and impetuosity of the charge, between a gun and the wheel, and unable to extricate either himself or his charger, was cut down in his saddle by the desperate gunners. But this was not all. Having put the artillery men to death and silenced the battery, this gallant band faced the whole Khalsa army within the entrenchment, swept through their camp with loud huzzas over tents, ropes, pegs, guns, fires, and magazines, cutting down all that opposed their passage; and, having traversed the enemy's position from side to side, emerged among their friends with numbers thinned, indeed, but "covered with imperishable glory."*

* "Friend of India."

A young officer, whose horse was killed under him in this charge, made a dash at the tail of a troop horse, wound it round his wrist, and was dragged in safety, though somewhat bruised and buffeted, out of the *mélée*.

Night had now settled darkly down upon the field of battle ; and what a scene did the fitful gleams of a burning camp reveal ! Driven from the batteries and entrenchments they had so hardily won, by the harassing musketry of an unseen foe, and the momentary explosion of mines and magazines which threw their ranks into confusion, General Gilbert's division had sulkily withdrawn and bivouacked within three (300) hundred yards directly south of the Sikh entrenchment. They were joined by H. M.'s 9th Foot and the inseparable 26th Light Infantry and stragglers from every quarter of the field : but the other two divisions of the British Army were nowhere to be found. Sir John Littler, repulsed, had fallen back on a small village directly west of the Sikh entrenchments ; and Sir Harry Smith, who had penetrated into and beyond the village of Ferozshah, had taken up a position in the very heart of the great "parallelogram," and remained there, till between two and three in the morning with his whole division under arms, ready to resist attack. The enemy, who had been practising on him all night, at last got *the bearings* so accurately, that Sir Harry, to save his men, was compelled to withdraw from the entrenchment, and, attracted by a large fire which he conceived to be the bivouac of the army, retired upon the small village of Misriwala, about two miles S.-E. of Ferozshah. It thus happened that General Gilbert's division, swelled as we have before noticed by stragglers from broken regiments, was the only one left upon the field of battle. Fortunately the two leaders, the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, were both with it ; and, by their indefatigable personal exertions, aided by General Gilbert, this handful of British and Native soldiers, was reduced from confusion into order, and lay down to snatch an hour or two of fitful rest, in the face of an enemy who as far out-numbered them, as the Persian host out-numbered the 300 at Thermopylæ. The Governor-General, in a private letter to a distinguished friend, has called this night "the most extraordinary of his life."* Had he been writing a public document he would probably have added, that it was the most extraordinary in the history of India. The whole force of the North-West Frontier, that was available to repel invasion, had met and grappled with the invader.

* See Sir Robert Peel's speech.

Prodigies of valour and devotion had not sufficed to purchase for the British a decisive victory. In some respects it might even seem as if the Sikhs had the advantage; yet the existence of the Anglo-Indian Empire depended upon their being not only beaten, but utterly overthrown and routed. The battle was to be renewed in the morning; and one exhausted division was left to accomplish what had baffled the whole army of the Sutlej. Surely, never was an empire in greater jeopardy; and never did a result prove more clearly that "it is God who giveth the victory."

"In this state of things the long night wore away. Near the middle of it one of their heavy guns was advanced, and played with deadly effect upon our troops,"—(C. C.'s despatch). Sir Henry Hardinge called upon the two regiments nearest him, to "*see if they could not stop that gun!*" The 80th Foot, and 1st European Light Infantry, sprung with alacrity from the ground; advanced once more into the entrenchments; charged; spiked the monster; and returned again to their cold bivouac upon the frosty field. Still, however, if a gleam of moonlight betrayed the little band, the grape and round shot of the Sikh artillery came thundering among them; and not the least wonder of that night was, that a few thousand men should maintain their ground within three hundred yards of a great army, and not be annihilated. Subsequent information has revealed to us, that within the dreaded Sikh entrenchment, there were that night stormy counsels, bitter words, dissension, mutiny, plunder, and desertion. The gaudy tents, and well filled treasure bags of Rajah Lal Singh himself were sacked by his own mad Akalis. And when *at last*,—how *very* long such hours seem!—the dark winter night drew to a close, and the first red streak of day bade the remnant of the British Army arise and regain what had been torn from their grasp the evening before, they no longer found an enemy secure in superior numbers, but one weakened by defection, and just waking from the national dream of *invincibility* which Runjit Singh's successful ambition, French discipline,—with one of its essential constituent elements, blustering braggadocio,—and, above all, the real superiority of the sinewy Sikh over the effeminate tribes of India in warlike courage and corporeal strength,—had unitedly instilled into the Khalsa army. "Our line advanced, and unchecked by the enemy's fire, drove them rapidly out of the village of *Ferozshah*. Then, changing front to its left, on its centre, our force continued to sweep the camp, bearing down all opposition, and dislodged the enemy from their whole position."—(C. C.'s despatch.)

The fact is, that the "opposition," thus "borne down," was little more than the passive resistance of the wreck of a great army;—guns overthrown, tents and baggage-waggons strewed confusedly about, gun bullocks and camels straying loose or rushing mad with wounds over the field, with here and there a magazine exploding, or a mortally hit Sikh raising himself to strike a last blow at the passing "*Gora*,"* then falling back and mingling with the death-rattle in his throat a curse upon the humblers of his tribe. Previous to, and during the advance of the British line, the Sikh artillery kept up a heavy fire; but the retreat had already commenced among the cavalry and infantry, and when the line entered the entrenchments, they certainly "drove the enemy rapidly out of the village," for the Sikhs were in full run before them! Triumphantly, therefore, did the 2nd Division "continue to sweep the camp," marching round two sides of the parallelogram, with the village on their left, and emerging on the N.-E. of the plain which lay before them covered with flying bodies of the enemy they had "dislodged." "The line then halted, as if on a day of manœuvre, receiving its two leaders as they rode along its front with a gratifying cheer, and displaying the captured standards of the Khalsa army." Every man then thought his work was over; and assuredly every man had "done his duty." But Ferozshah was not yet won. The greatest danger, and the most miraculous escape, the enemy most to be feared, and the victory most easily won, had yet to add their wonders to the records of the Indian *Waterloo*.† We left Sirdar Tej Singh, the Commander-in-Chief of the invading army, unconsciously encamped before Ferozepore, while Sir John Littler was marching out. In the course of the day he discovered that he had been outwitted; and but for the cannonade at Ferozshah might have marched that evening upon Ferozepore. We firmly believe that the small garrison, there left shut up in the entrenchment, would have held their own against all Tej Singh's force until assistance could arrive; for, though the Sikh soldiers are very brave *behind* walls, storming them from the outside is not so much to their fancy. Runjít Singh's whole army would have been repulsed from Múltan, had not Phula Singh, a mad Akalí, borrowed from Bacilius the courage to lead a storming party against the breach. Still, the Ferozepore garrison must be owned to have been in great jeopardy at this moment; and when we reflect that many English ladies were among the

* *European*; literally *fair*.† Nothing daunted, we venture to make that comparison at the very moment when we are going to *bring up the Prussians on the other side*.

number of the beleaguered, we are tempted, even at the risk of being thought ungallant, to quote a quaint passage from Rabelais, for the guidance of our rulers. It relates to the impious attack of the Titans on Olympus :—

“ Adonques tint Jupiter chapitre general. Là fut conclu de tous les Dieux, qu'ils se mettroient vertueusement en defense. Et pource qu'ils avoient plusieurs fois veu les batailles perdues *par l'empeschement des femmes, qui estoient parmi les armées*, fut decreté que pour l'heure on chasseroit des Cieux en Egypte, et vers les confins du Nil, toute cette vessaille de Déesses, desguisées, en Beletes, Fouines, Ratepenades, Museraignes, et autres metamorphoses. *Seule Minerve* fut deretenue pour foudroyer avec Jupiter ; comme Déesse des lettres et de guerre, de conseil et execution.”—(Pantagruel Livre III., Chap. XII).

The furious cannonade at Ferozshah effectually diverted Tej Singh from any other enterprise than that of assisting his friends ; and early on the morning of the 22nd December he broke up his camp, and marched with all his force upon Ferozshah. We have before estimated that force at 20,000 Infantry, 5,000 Cavalry, and about 1,000 gunners ; with from 70 to 80 field pieces, and 50 camel swivels ; and we leave our readers to judge, whether, when this fresh army appeared before our utterly exhausted, though victorious troops, who were in possession of the deserted entrenchment at Ferozshah, the danger was not infinitely greater, and the enemy unmeasurably more terrible, than any that the army of the Sutlej had yet encountered. Sir John Littler and Sir Harry Smith did fortunately rejoin the Commander-in-Chief about this crisis ; but, at the beginning of the destructive battle on the previous day, the whole British force amounted only to “ 16,700 men and 69 guns ” ; and now that number was by death and wounds fearfully reduced, while the remainder had no time to recover from the debilitating effects of fatigue and want after the performance of acts of the most daring heroism ; and, to aggravate the cheerlessness of the prospect, the guns had exhausted their ammunition ! On came the Sirdar, —a dense cloud of dust, which slowly rose above the horizon, at once heralding and covering his host. Miles yet separated the two main bodies from each other when their advanced guards—those *antennæ* of armies—came in contact. The weak British pickets were driven in ; and the advantage was rapidly followed up by an attempt “ to regain the position of Ferozshah ; ” again, as rapidly abandoned, at sight of the compact and determined line of the British Infantry. The Sikh advanced guard contented themselves with their *reconnoissance*, and fell back upon Tej

Singh's main body. The Sirdar then apparently halted and formed in order of battle, and, throwing forward his artillery, opened a heavy fire upon the left flank of the British. Where was the answering thunder of the British artillery at that moment? Why do not those guns, whose blackened mouths and blood-stained wheels bear witness that they are not made to play with on parade ;—why, as they are wont, do they not gallop to the front and throw back the iron hail into the enemy's teeth? Sir Hugh Gough has recorded the answer: that "our artillery ammunition being completely expended in these protracted combats, we were unable to answer him with a single shot." We believe the complement of ammunition for a horse artillery gun on service is 300 rounds; and we think it was Napoleon who said, that 300 rounds would take a gun through *three pitched battles*. Either then the fights of Múdkí and Ferozshah were warmer work than Leipsic and Marengo, or our horse artillery was *short of ammunition*. In all humility we leave the solution of the problem to those whom it concerns. It is sufficient for us here to be grateful that the Sikh Commanders, with a weak enemy in his front, and a strong army at his back, had neither the pluck nor the ability to attack; and, after two clumsy demonstrations, first threatening the left flank, and next the village, withdrew like a false hawk whose *stoops* had missed their mark.

To what the army of the Sutlej are indebted for this *deliverance*;—whether to cowardice, or teachery, or ignorance, on the enemy's part of the British numbers; or whether, after all, Tej Singh's whole object was a chivalrous wish to cover his friend's retreat—remains to be guessed and wondered at, but we fear not to be satisfactorily decided. H. E. the Commander-in-Chief has a pardonable leaning to the belief, that, "having directed his almost exhausted cavalry to threaten both flanks at once, preparing the infantry to advance in support," this "caused him suddenly to cease his fire and to abandon the field." (See despatch.) The author of the article in Colburn's Magazine, for May 1846, holds another opinion, and one not uncommon among Indian Military circles. "It appears that owing to some misapprehension of orders, or hallucination in a Staff Officer, the whole of the British cavalry and artillery was ordered off to Ferozepore—a measure which might have caused the ruin of the army,—and intelligence of this movement having got among the Sikhs, they very naturally concluded its object was to interpose those troops between them and the river, and so cut off their retreat!" "Can the annals of war"—concludes this author assuming a very doubtful conjecture to be a *fact*—

"produce any thing more extraordinary, or could the most consummate generalship have been attended with such a result? *Five*, say we, the chapter of accidents in warfare!"

Thus, a little after 4 P. M. on the 22nd December, ended the battle of Ferozshah; a battle which will ever be memorable in history as the nearest approach which the army of any Native power has yet made to a victory over the English in India, in a fair, stand-up fight. It was certainly high time that an army, which could so *very nearly* give us a thrashing, should cool its courage for ever in the waves of the Sutlej.

The British loss in this battle was 694 killed, and 1,721 wounded—total 2,415. But, in the emphatic words of Sir Hugh Gough, "How could a hope be formed that it should be otherwise? Within thirty hours this force stormed an entrenched camp, fought a general action, and sustained two considerable combats with the enemy. Within four days it has dislodged from their positions, on the left bank of the Sutlej, 60,000 Sikh soldiers, supported by upwards of 150 pieces of cannon, 108 of which the enemy acknowledge to have lost; and 91 of which are in our position.

Foremost among the dead, as he was ever foremost among the living, let us weep over GEORGE BROADFOOT, with whose life there left this earth one of the noblest spirits that ever lit upon it. Alas that even the memory of such a man should not be sacred from slander, calumny and *lies*,—lies, as black as his name was *fair*! The metempsychosis which Pythagoras taught—or the kindred belief of the millions among whom we live, that men's new births take shape from their old deeds, and find in the wide range of brute creation bodies best suited to their souls—seems only a fitting satire upon human nature, when, walking among us, bipeds, "heaven-regarders,"*—as an ancient Grecian might say—we meet with men already anticipating their posthumous degradation, and fulfilling the loathsome offices of the vulture, the jackal, and the worm. These men seem *not to belong* to men: they share not our sympathies with what is good and noble, nor our appetite for what is pure; but, brooding ordinarily apart among the stony places and caverns of the world, they come forth only—

When decay's effacing fingers
Have swept the lines where beauty lingers—

and corruption sends them a message, on "the wings of the wind," to come, and tear and mangle, and revel over *the dead*!

* *αυθρατοι*—*a sursum aspiciendo*, *αυω*, *τρεπω*, et *ωψ*—as learned Lexicographers delight to tell us.

A more honourable man than George Broadfoot never lived. He was a stranger among us, for he came from Madras; and of his early career little had reached us, but that he had held with credit staff appointments in almost every department of the army. He was last employed by the Madras Government in the Commissariat at Moulmein; and it was an able report upon the Commissariat of that Province, which first attracted the notice of the Supreme Government, and, when officers were wanted for the Kabul war, made them select him to raise a corps of sappers and miners for service in Affghanistan. It would lead us too far to trace him through those perilous passes which it was ever the lot of "Broadfoot's sappers" to crown, or follow him through the toils, privations, and distracted councils of beleaguered Jullalabad, which, through a weak and well-nigh untenable position, he helped so successfully to defend, not more by the entrenchments which he threw around it, than by the brilliant sallies which he made from behind its walls. Suffice it to say, that, when he returned to India among an "illustrious garrison," no name was *more illustrious* than that of George Broadfoot. It was said of him in Affghanistan, that the offended *manes* of two brothers, killed in battle, hovered round his sword; adding the strength of grief to an arm naturally bold. Certainly in him were united the talents of the one, the various knowledge and sound judgment of the other; and Broadfoot's "occupation" was not "gone" when he received the medal of "*Pax Asiæ restituta*." Whatever may have been Lord Ellenborough's deficiencies, he was undoubtedly possessed of that keen insight into character, which is, to statesmen and governors, a *diviner's wand*. A civil reformer was wanted in Moulmein; Broadfoot was selected; and scarcely were the abuses of a corrupt administration in those provinces cleared away, than he was chosen to succeed Colonel Richmond in the important charge of the N.-W. Frontier. A higher compliment could not have been paid by the Government than in thus calling him from one extremity of the empire to another. The nature of our relations with the Punjab at this crisis has been fully entered into at the commencement of this article; and the "Papers laid before Parliament" supply us with abundant evidence, and, indeed, the most repeated and solemn assurances, that the course which Sir Henry Hardinge wished to steer through that stormy sea was the one which promised most effectually to maintain *peace*. The danger is throughout admitted to be great; fears even are anxiously confessed that war cannot be avoided, but *peace* is declared to be the Governor-General's *policy*, and for its preservation the Governor-

General is ready to incur the reproach of infatuation and neglect, to sacrifice every thing, except the national *honor*. When, therefore, this same Governor-General, who has staked all on peace, finds himself plunged in *war*,—and that war threatening to embarrass his whole administration, if not, endanger the very stability of the empire,—it would have been only too consistent with weak human nature, and especially hard, ungrateful, *statesman-nature*, if he had at once thrown the whole blame of the frustration of his policy on the incapacity or treachery of the agent who should have carried it out. That that agent was *dead*, would only have made the plan more feasible, and surprised us less; for it is astonishing how uncomplainingly the dead bear the burdens of the living! Sir Henry Hardinge, however, was too true a soldier to ask any man to fight his battles; and he pronounced over Broadfoot's tomb—or rather over his *grave*, for those were not the days of *tombs*—that remarkable eulogy, *that "he was second to none in this accomplished service."* No man can read that passage of Sir Henry Hardinge's despatch, wherein he laments the untimely death of his agent, and expresses his determination "at a season of more leisure to confer some special mark of honor, by which his great merits and glorious death may be perpetuated,"* without a full conviction that it came from the *heart*, and was written of one who had *done his duty ably and conscientiously to the Government*. Let those, therefore, who are not behind the scenes, and have no means of judging what Broadfoot either *did* or *did not*;—who have no access to public documents, and who could possibly know nothing of the opinions of a man who had *no confidant* in state affairs;—reflect for a moment on what is implied in the charge of "forcing on the war,"† and pause e'er they vilify the memory which the Governor-General of India and the Prime Minister of England have delighted to honour.‡

* See papers, p. 28.

† To every benevolent and right thinking mind, a similar charge of *forcing on the war* in Sindh will appear by far the heaviest which Colonel Outram has advanced against Sir Charles Napier; and for the honor of Indian diplomacy we wish we could add that it is the one he has been least successful in proving.

‡ From Major Broadfoot's eminent position, as the executive Agent, in carrying out the Governor-General's line of policy, we have deemed it proper to offer this tribute in vindication of his memory. But it is no part of our present plan to dwell on the individual merits and achievements of any of the heroes who fought and fell so nobly in the mighty conflicts on the Sutlej. Amongst these, the names of Sir Robert Sale, Sir John McCaskill, and Sir Robert Dick alone might furnish subjects for so many separate memoirs. From the long catalogue of other officers who bravely died in their country's service, the writer of the article in the May Number of the *North British Review*, already referred to and quoted, selects a few for special notice. "There," (at Ferozshah), says he, "fell Captain Peter Nicolson, an officer of high courage and great ability, who had earned for himself a reputation, as a soldier and a diplomatist, by his services in both capacities, at the opening of the Afghan war—who had been selected to fill the delicate and responsible office of custodian to Dost Mahomed, and who, on the restoration of that potentate to his own dominions, had been appointed to assist Major Broadfoot in the political duties of the North-Western frontier. There, too, at the head of a troop of horse-artillery, fell Major D'Arcy Todd—an officer of rare merit, who

Of all who fell at Ferozshah, only two are mentioned by name in the hurried despatch of the Commander-in-Chief: and of those two, one was a foreigner who did not belong to the army: "Dr. Hoffmeister, the medical attendant on Count Ravensburg." Posterity will be somewhat puzzled to make out this latter name; to guess who was that "illustrious nobleman, who with the officers of his suit, Counts Greuben and Oriola, did us the honour to accompany the force during our operations;" who "were present at Múdkí and in this great battle;" and of whom so brave a soldier as Sir Hugh Gough recorded his "testimony to their gallant conduct on these occasions, worthy of the high reputation in arms of their countrymen, and of the great ancestor of one of them." Who was Count Ravensburg? Who are his countrymen?—are questions which the future readers of the despatches will perhaps ask in vain. And so seldom is it that "an illustrious nobleman" can bring himself to exchange the luxuries of a court for the vicissitudes of travel, and search through foreign lands for something wise or good wherewith to enrich his own, that we are sorry etiquette should have prevented Sir Hugh Gough from disturbing the *incognito* of Prince Waldemar of Prussia. These distinguished strangers, after travelling through Hindustan and penetrating to the snows of the Himalaya, joined the army of the Sutlej, shared with the gallant men who composed it, all the fatigues and privations of the campaign, all the danger and glory of Múdkí, Ferozshah, and Sobraon. And we hope that in the rough soldiers' welcome of the camp, the stirring scenes he took so brave a part in on the banks of the Sutlej, and the never-to-be-forgotten spectacle of a prostrate Empire which he witnessed at Lahore, His Royal Highness was repaid for his enterprise, and laid up as many pleasing recollections as his soldierly bearing and unaffected manners left behind him in the minds of his sometime *camarades*.

Two anecdotes of the battle of Ferozshah are worthy of record, as they serve to illustrate two of the strongest passions of the Sikh soldier: *cupidity* and *bigotry*. Lieut. Sievewright of H. M.'s 9th Foot had his leg broken by a ball, and fell help-

having spent the earlier years of his life attached to the Persian army, and in intercourse with the British mission at Icheran, was selected, on the first formation of the army of the Indus, to accompany the Envoy and Minister as Secretary to Kabul; but was subsequently appointed to the difficult and responsible office of Political Agent at Herat where he was condemned to play one of the most harassing games of diplomacy, against the most crafty and most unscrupulous politician in Asia, Yar Mahomed, ever played by a British functionary—a game in which it was necessary that the more honorable player should be worsted. Here, too, fell Major Somerset, who, on the hard-fought battle-field of Maharajpore, after distinguishing himself by many acts of personal heroism in hand-to-hand combat with the Mahratta swordsmen, narrowly escaped the soldier's death, which was reserved for him on another field and beside another Governor-General, and who here, at Ferozshah, 'with the hereditary courage of his race,' fought with the most signal gallantry, and fell covered with honourable wounds."

less on the field. A Sikh soldier rushed upon him from the entrenchments and was preparing to give him the *coup de grace*; when love of life suggested perhaps the only word in all the eastern tongues which at that moment would have had power to arrest the decending sword. "Bukhshish! Bukhshish!"* faintly cried the Lieutenant; and at once, as if he had uttered all the wisdom of Lokman with all the eloquence of Sádi, the Sikh comprehended his argument, and agreed to his proposition. In another minute the Khalsa sepoy might be seen carefully but rapidly making for Ferozepore *with the wounded British officer on his back*; nor did he cease to attend upon him in the hospital of that station till death put an end to his sufferings. During the night of the 21st December, when the British troops, with the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, were bivouacked outside the Sikh entrenchments, our thirsty soldiers, both native and European, stole into the burning camp of the enemy in search of water;—a desperate quest from which many never returned. Among others, two Sepoys of the 14th N. I. fell into the enemy's hands, and were *tried for their lives* as follows:—

Q. Who are you?

A. Sepoys of the Company.

Q. What caste do you belong to?

A. (One) I am a *Puthan*, (The other) I am a *Brahman*.

The Puthan was immediately tied up, and deliberately cut into small pieces; the Brahman was stripped of his clothes, but released in safety.

The Governor-General (despatch "Papers," p. 27) concludes his account of the battle of Ferozshah, by telling us, that "the Sikh army retreated on the fords of the Sutlej, disheartened by the capture of its artillery, and the severe loss it had sustained in killed and wounded; and has since crossed over to the other side of the river." The Commander-in-Chief adds: "Thus has apparently terminated this unprovoked and criminal invasion of the peaceful provinces under British protection." (Papers, p. 38.) It was only *apparently*! On the 1st of January the Governor-General reports that the enemy was "preparing a bridge of boats about 30 miles to the eastward of Ferozepore; and giving out that they would recross the river and try another battle." On the 19th January he farther adds, that "the bridge has been constructed, and a *tete-de-pont* has been thrown up in front of it, with much military skill, in a position very favourable to defence,"—and, still more decisive, that "advan-

tage has been taken by the Durbar and the Sikh army, of the paucity of troops at Lúdíana, to effect a passage for a force of about 10,000 men of all arms to this side of the Sutlej, in the neighbourhood of that place." (Papers, p. 51) Thus, within ten days of their disastrous defeat at Ferozshah, the Sikhs had recovered their spirit, and were preparing to renew hostilities,—to recross the Sutlej in the very face of the army that had worsted them. In less than a month they *had done so* in *two* places; fortifying themselves in one, and beleaguering a British cantonment in the other. This must bring home to the reader a just idea of the obstinate hatred, and enduring bravery, of the enemy which invaded British India in 1845-46.

The inquiry here naturally occurs—what was the army of the Sutlej doing all this time? While the Sikhs were so busy, why were the British idle? The answer is the best commentary on the Governor-General's policy. That policy was, from the first, decidedly peaceful; and though it provided for self-defence, it contemplated neither aggression nor offensive war. The force upon the frontier proved at Múdkí and Ferozshah that it was equal to the object for which alone it was intended, to resist attack; to *return* that attack, and transfer the evils of war from our own provinces into those of a treacherous neighbour, was a far greater undertaking, and required all the military means at the disposal of the Government. Sir Hugh Gough, therefore, was obliged to rest content with driving the Sikh army across the Sutlej, and waiting with patience till his own could be reinforced with troops from Meerut, artillery and ammunition from Delhi. The delay was not unnaturally misinterpreted by the enemy, who, mistaking for fear what was only the course dictated by prudence in making the requisite preparations, recrossed the river, and advanced unsuspectingly to meet his fate.

Early in January 1846, Sirdar Runjúr Singh Mujithia left the hills and crossed over into the British territory a few miles from Lúdíana. His force has never been accurately estimated, but we believe, consisted of about ten Regiments of infantry (chiefly contingents furnished by Kohistaní and other petty chiefs), 8,000 Irregular Cavalry and nearly 70 guns, the greater part of which were new and of exquisite fabric. The Governor-General is of opinion that "the object of the Sirdar was to pass Lúdíana, and intercept our seige train, ammunition and treasure, on their way from Delhi to Ferozepore." (Papers, p. 53.) The Commander-in-Chief (P. 57) coincides with him; and Sir Robert Peel, in his speech to the House of Commons, gave the same account of Sirdar Runjúr Singh's intention. One of the greatest boobies

in the Punjab ought to be deeply indebted to those high authorities for handing him down to posterity as an able General! Diligent inquiry has confirmed us in the belief that he never harboured any such designs against our siege train; simply because he had no authentic intelligence of its movements. Popular rumour in the Sikh camp said, that the English were getting up guns so big, that they would *eat up* the Khalsa; but of all idea of cutting those guns off, we acquit the whole staff of the Sikh army. At one time the siege train was really within reach of a *Chuppao* from Runjúr Singh's camp; and it is not probable, that, had he been on the look out for it, he would not have had early intimation of its proximity. Their own knowledge of the artillery being on the road and the feasibility of intercepting it, together with a natural anxiety for its safety, alone led the chiefs of the British army to give their enemy credit for as much knowledge and military enterprise as they possessed themselves. So school boys blush beneath the accidental gaze of the usher; and are already prepared to give up the apple which they fancy he has detected in their breeches pocket! But, whether Sirdar Runjúr Singh's object was to intercept the train, or, as we believe, merely to effect a diversion and divide the British force,—the uncertain determination of this point made no difference in the actual necessity of bringing him to battle; for "the rich and populous town of Lúdíana" lay entirely at his mercy. The withdrawal of the troops from Lúdíana at the opening of the campaign has been violently censured; particularly by the proprietors of bungalows in the cantonment, who say it was a most unmilitary proceeding. But persons who have no house at Lúdíana, and are therefore in a situation to exercise a cool and unprejudiced judgment, see, in this early concentration of the force, the foresight of a good General, and the result of a just balancing of conflicting evils and benefits. In proof of this it is sufficient to adduce the fact, that, even after the junction of the Lúdíana troops, Múdkí and Ferozshah were won with difficulty; and might have been lost without them. Now, however, there was nothing to prevent a *reciprocity* of good offices; and Sir Harry Smith with an ample force was despatched to the relief of Lúdíana.

When, within a long day's march of that place, tidings reached Sir Harry Smith that Runjúr Singh had suddenly broken up his camp on the river and marched to Buddowal, a village which rested on the Lúdíana road, and lay directly between that city and the force approaching to relieve it. This intelligence was received by the Major-General late at night on the 20th January,

and he appears to have distrusted its correctness, for he made no alteration in his plans for the morrow, and would have marched directly into the *trap* at Buddowal, had not letters from Lúdíana reached him on the road when within a few miles of the enemy's position. A halt was immediately called; and information of three different routes to Lúdíana procured from a neighbouring village. One passed within two, one within three, and one within five miles of Buddowal. If the latter had been pursued, a collision would probably have been avoided; but the march, as it was, extended to 25 miles; the ground was heavy and the men were fagged. Moreover, the small force at Lúdíana was coming out to meet that of Sir Harry Smith, and the General was naturally reluctant to take a road quite out of sight of the one on which his friends were advancing. His own safety would have been secured at their expense. Under these circumstances—and who will venture to say that they were not of a nature peculiarly difficult and trying?—Sir Harry Smith chose that *middle course*, which, however prudent in the small affairs of life, rarely succeeds in great undertaking. Sir Robert Peel enables us to let Sir Harry be his own historian, for he quotes a letter from the Major-General “to Sir Hugh Gough, on the 21st, just after he had succeeded in relieving Lúdíana”—a document of which, to all appearance, posterity would otherwise have been deprived:—

“When within a mile and a half to my left of Buddowal, moving parallel with my column (which was right in front ready to wheel into line), and evidently for the purpose of interrupting my advance, I saw the enemy. Nothing could be stronger for the enemy than the continued line of villages which were in his front.

“He was moving by roads, while I was moving over very heavy sand-beds. He was in advance far beyond, on my right flank; so far did he extend, and so numerous did he shew his infantry and guns, and so well chosen for him was the line of villages, that with my force he was not to be assailed; and he opened a furious cannonade of from thirty-five to forty guns of very large calibre, and, as usual, right well served. My object being to unite myself with the force from Lúdíana, which every moment I expected to appear in sight—for it was nine o'clock—I moved parallel with the enemy, resolving to attack the moment the Lúdíana troops reached me. He, however, so pressed upon me, that I opened in one body my eleven guns upon him with considerable effect, and moved up the 31st, and was preparing to form line upon this regiment, when the enemy most rapidly formed a line of seven regiments, with their guns between, at right angles with the line I was about to attack, while a considerable force was moving round my right and front. Thus enveloped and overwhelmed by numbers, and such a superiority of guns, I had nothing for it but to throw back my line on its right, which represented a small line on the hypothenuse of a triangle.

“The enemy thus outflanked me and my whole force. I therefore gradually withdrew my infantry in echelon of battalions, the cavalry in echelon of squadrons, in the direction of Lúdíana, momentarily expecting to see

the approach of that force—*viz.*, one regiment of cavalry, five guns, and four regiments of infantry, when I would have made a vigorous attack. The ground was very deep and sandy, and therefore very difficult to move on. The enemy continued to move on as described for upwards of an hour, and until I knew the Lúdíana force was moving, not a musket was fired. Nothing could exceed the steadiness of the troops. The line was thrown back, under this cannonade, as if on parade; and the movements of the cavalry, Native as well as British, under Brigadier Cureton, were without any exception, the most perfect thing I ever saw, and which I cannot describe."

This admirable handling of the cavalry by Brigadier Cureton, which saved Sir Harry's force from destruction, by covering its retreat, seems to be not the only part of these "delicate combinations," which *cannot be described*; and it is much to be regretted, for the sake of Sir Harry Smith's reputation, that this veil of imperfect secrecy, this *green curtain full of large holes*, which the authorities have so carefully drawn before the affair of Buddowal, had not been dispensed with altogether. Nothing can in reality be so bad but that there will be a difference of opinion about it; and some people even think it perfection. But try to conceal a thing, and every body is unanimous in declaring that you have good reason to be ashamed. Sir Robert Peel quotes one despatch of Sir Harry's, dated the 21st January; and Sir Harry, in his *published* despatch, dated January 30th, alludes to another, dated the 23rd January, which, by a foot-note (see Papers, p. 58), we learn was "*not received by the Secret Committee*;" so that the *suppressio veri* does not rest with the Major-General himself. The public therefore are at liberty to believe, either that "the narrative of his extrication from his difficulties only adds to the proofs of his skill and valour, and illustrates his high character as a Commander," (see Sir Robert Peel's, p. 23,) or that the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, in keeping that narrative from the world, exercised a very sound discretion. We must content ourselves in either case with a very meagre history of events, which nevertheless occupied the Major-General for a whole week.

"Reinforced by Brigadier Godby," the Commander-in-Chief tells us, Sir Harry "felt himself to be strong; but his *manceuvre* had thrown him out of communication with Brigadier Wheeler, and a portion of his baggage had fallen into the hands of the enemy.*"

The Sikh Sirdar took up an entrenched position at Buddowal, supporting himself on its fort; but, threatened on either flank by General Smith and Brigadier Wheeler, finally de-

*Only a portion of Sir Harry's baggage may have fallen into the enemy's hands; but we have heard that scarcely an officer with him ever saw again the fellows of the shirt on their backs!

camped and moved down to the Sutlej. The British troops made good their junction, and occupied the abandoned position of Buddowal. The Shekhawati Brigade and Her Majesty's 53rd Regiment also added to the strength of the Major-General, and he prepared to attack the Sikh Sirdar on his new ground.

But on the 26th Runjúr Singh was reinforced from the right bank with 4,000 regular troops, 12 pieces of artillery, and a large force of cavalry. "Emboldened by this accession of strength, he ventured on the measure of advancing towards Jugraon, apparently with a view of intercepting our communications by that route." Here, again, His Excellency gives the booby brother of Lehna Singh credit for a plan which never entered his head ; and a just idea of his incapacity and levity will be conveyed to the reader when we inform him, that in the prosecution of a private pique, he was marching the army with which he ought to have harrassed Sir Harry Smith, to perpetrate a massacre at Jugraon. How Sir Harry was himself reinforced on the same day, and how he halted on the 27th to refresh his men ; how he marched against the enemy on the 28th, and how he gave him a handsome thrashing at Aliwal*,— are not all these acts, which he did, written in his own despatch,— that ample and luminous document, which Fame hath long ere now caught up, and conveying it to her temple, hath there enshrined, amid songs of triumph and the glare of gorgeous emblazonry. To it we must refer our readers, for our narrative is already rivalling it in *amplitude* if not in *luminosity*. As an *abstract*, it is sufficient to mention that Sir Harry payed off the old scores of Buddowal, captured or destroyed 67 guns, and effectually and brilliantly accomplished the purpose for which he had been detached, by driving the enemy with great loss back across the Sutlej. Among the prisoners was a European of the name of Brown, alias Potter, who had deserted from the Company's artillery at the same time as Mr. Masson of Afghanistan celebrity. An enormous beard, sun-burnt face, and accent corrupted by long association with French officers and Sikhs, had banished all traces of the Englishman from his appearance. He was employed in the Sikh artillery, and was with difficulty rescued from the vengeance of the British soldiers.

Let us now return to the main army of the Sutlej, which since the end of December, had been watching the enemy on the banks of the river near Hurríki. It will be seen, by reference

* The Sikhs call "Aliwal" the battle of *Bhūndri* ; and "Sobraon" the battle of *Hurríki Pūtian*.

to a map, that the Sikhs here took up one of the falsest positions possible: *vis.*, with their rear resting on a large river; yet, by dint of much labour, some foreign science and the ingenuity natural to a military people, they contrived to convert it into one of the strongest fortifications against which troops were ever led;—being nothing less than a series of vast semi-circular entrenchments, the outer one of which was two miles and a half from end to end, and three-quarters of a mile in depth; the whole surrounded by a deep ditch and “bristling” with sixty-seven pieces of artillery. A bridge of boats united this formidable camp to another on the opposite bank of the Sutlej; where also were planted some heavy guns whose range swept easily across the river. The British troops beheld the erection and daily strengthening of this position, at the first, with indignation and impatience; next, with disappointment at not being able to attack it; and lastly, with as much indifference and apathy as if they were *not* the men who would have to storm it,—as if every day, nay, every hour, added not fresh height to the walls and fresh depth to the deadly trench. January had passed away in waiting for the heavy train. February had begun; events came slowly down on “Time’s dull stream;” and a universal feeling of *ennui* and listlessness oppressed the British camp. In-lying or out-lying picket, a tour of duty at Rhodawala, or a canter to that outpost with a telescope to take a look at the Sikh regiments on their afternoon parade, or the Sikh horse artillery wheeling about the plain in defiance, were the sole varieties which disturbed or relieved the monotony of life. It was a good key to the inveteracy of any habit whose effect is excitement, such as gambling, drinking, &c., to note the temper of the army at this time. The thick-coming and soul-stirring events which opened the campaign, following as they did on a period of perfect peace, were at first a shock to the nerves, keeping them constantly at the full stretch to encounter exigencies and meet the harrassing calls of duty, by counteracting physical weakness and fatigue. In a very short time this very excitement became a *necessity of being*; and in the early part of February, the whole army was sickening for want of a battle. A malignant fever, or *epidemic “horrors”* at the least, must infallibly have broken out among the troops, if “Sobraon” had been delayed another week.

“The first portion of the siege train, with the reserve ammunition for 100 field guns, reached the Commander-in-Chief’s camp on the 7th and 8th February. On the latter day the brigades, which had been detached from the main army for the operations in the neighbourhood of Ludiana, rejoined the Commander-in-Chief.”—(Papers, p. 68.) On the 9th, the plan of

operations was decided on ; and, on the 10th, was fought the battle of " Sobraon."

From the description that has been given of the Sikh entrenchment, the most unmilitary reader will understand at once, that if an entrance could be forced where either end of the semi-circle rested on the river, the whole of the guns along the outward face would be rendered useless, and taken *in reverse*. We believe the Engineer officers, when called upon to give their professional opinion, approved of the *theory* of the attack, but, with *one exception*, considered it *impracticable*. It was all very well, *if it could* be done, but, in their judgment, it *could not*. Happily the Commander-in-Chief and Governor-General thought otherwise ; resolved upon the attack being made, and chose the western corner of the entrenchment for the attempt. It was yet dark, on the morning of the 10th February 1846, when the army of the Sutlej moved out at last from their lines at Nialki, and advanced to a final contest with the invading Khalsa. Half way between the British outpost at Rhodawala and the Sikh camp stood three trees,—the only ones upon the plain. In the upper branches of these trees, the Sikhs had erected *muchans* or platforms, for sentries to sit in, and watch the movements of our troops at Rhodawala. A deep ditch and bank was thrown around the spot, and it was easy to see, from the British outpost, that the place was strongly occupied during the day. About half a mile to the right of " the muchans," was the village of *Little Sobraon*, and here also the enemy had posted a strong picket within an entrenchment. It was necessary to drive in both these pickets, before Sir Hugh Gough could push forward his heavy guns within range of the great Sikh entrenchment ; and, when detachments of Her Majesty's 62nd Foot stole cautiously down upon them in the darkness and mist of the morning, they were both found unoccupied and were taken possession of without firing. It was afterwards ascertained that these posts were held during the day, and abandoned after dark in the evening ; and this circumstance, added to a thick fog which deferred the dawn, was very favorable to the British, enabling the Commander-in-Chief to bring up his several divisions in order of battle, and post his artillery, without any alarm to the enemy, in whose camp might plainly be heard the light song and rolling note of the *nukaruh*,* which told of deep and false security.

Sir Hugh Gough's plan of attack was as follows:—The heavy guns were to commence operations by a cannonade upon the

* A kettle drum.

entrenchment, into which, crowded as it was with upwards of 30,000 men, their fire was expected to carry confusion and dismay. Sir Robert Dick's division, on the extreme left of the British line, was then to advance and storm the right, or western corner of the Sikh position; General Gilbert's division on the centre, and Sir H. Smith's division on the right, were simultaneously to make false attacks, with the view of diverting the enemy's attention from the real attack of Sir Robert Dick. Brigadier Cureton, with a brigade of cavalry and a troop of horse artillery, was directed to threaten the ford of Hurrki Puttun, about a mile distant from the eastern corner of the entrenchment, on the opposite bank of which the enemy's cavalry were posted.

Agreeably to this plan, at about 7 o'clock A. M., the artillery opened; the fog rolled off as it were a curtain, and the surprised Khalsa at once heard and saw that the avenger had come upon them. In an instant the Sikh drums beat to arms, and many rounds had not been fired from the British guns, before an answering thunder from the entrenchment told that the works were manned, and the struggle had begun. At 9 o'clock the artillery officers reported that the ammunition of the heavy guns was *well nigh expended*; and it is a fact, that when Sir Robert Dick was hastily ordered to advance, he moved up in the face of a furious cannonade from the enemy, and under *cover of a slackened fire from his own side*.*

The attack was led by Brigadier Stacy with Her Majesty's 10th and 53rd regiments, and the 43rd and 59th Native Infantry, supported on the flanks by Captains Horseford and Fordyce's batteries, and Lieut.-Colonel Lane's troop of horse artillery. Beyond all comparison this was the finest attack of the campaign. The artillery galloped up and delivered their fire within 300 yards of the enemy's batteries; and the infantry charged home with the bayonet and carried the outworks without firing a single round;—"a forbearance," says the Governor-General, "much to be commended, and most worthy of constant imitation." As it was the finest attack, so also did it meet with the most determined hand to hand resistance, which the Khalsa soldiers had yet opposed to the British. Like lightning, the real plan of the attack seemed to flash on the minds of all the desperate men in that entrenchment; and, disregarding the distant feints of Gilbert's and Smith's divisions on their left and centre, they rushed to the right to repel the real danger that was upon them. In vain Stacy's brigade tries to withstand

* This was not the fault of the artillery officers, who had prepared as many rounds as the shortness of the time, between the arrival of the guns and the battle, would

the mass which every moment is growing denser; in vain Wilkinson's brigade comes up to the support; in vain Ashburnham's reserve swells the furious side of the assault. It was like the meeting of two mighty rivers, one swifter and one deeper than the other;—and as the swifter for a moment penetrates its duller neighbour's stream, then, yielding to the overpowering waters, is rolled back and swept away, so would the conquered trenches of the Sikhs have been wrested again from the brave division of the British, had not Sir Hugh, with the intuitive quickness of a general's eye, marked the crisis and the struggle, foreseen its issue, and ordered up Gilbert's and Smith's* divisions to the rescue.† They advanced; the enemy beheld it, and returning tumultuously to the posts they had abandoned, poured upon these new enemies, from every foot of the entrenchment, a destructive fire of grape, round shot, and musketry. In spite, however, of a loss unprecedented in so short a time,—Sir H. Smith's division losing 489, and General Gilbert's 685 men in about half an hour,‡—these two indomitable divisions persevered in storming what proved to be the strongest part of the enemy's position; and the entrenchment being thus carried by the British at three different points, the gunners, who drew their swords when they could no longer fire, were bayoneted beside the guns they had so murderously served,—while the cavalry and infantry, driven from three sides into a confused and disordered mass, but fighting to the last, were inch by inch forced to retreat where alone retreat was possible. Preferring death to surrender, they recklessly plunged into the river. The bridge, of which they were so proud, and to which they had so confidently trusted, broke down under the first party of flying horsemen, and became impassable; while the Sutlej, having risen seven inches in the night, had flooded the ford! "In their efforts to reach the right bank," says the graphic narrative of the Commander-in-Chief, "through

* Sir Harry Smith has seen more service than most men living, even of this own Peninsula School; and we have ourselves heard him say that whenever he was told his post was in reserve, he prepared himself for a hard day's fighting "Sobraon" must have confirmed him in this theory of tactics.

† As we have heard many officers of those divisions express their belief that their advance was a *mistake*, and *not intended*, it may not be out of place here to chronicle a curious *fact*, viz., that *both* the Chiefs present in the field, though in different parts of it, *simultaneously* perceived the necessity of the manœuvre, and *simultaneously* ordered it. Both the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief sent two or three Staff officers each to carry the order in question, so that the advance which saved the day, though it lost many men, *was* ordered, and *no mistake*.

‡ The following return of one of General Gilbert's brigades speaks for itself.

1st European Light Infantry.....	<i>Killed and wounded rank and file.</i>
16th Grenadiers	142
Sirdar Battalion	128
.....	123

We know of no instance in which "the butcher's bill" shews that the Native regiments fought so well up to their European comrades as this.

the deepened water, they suffered from our horse artillery a terrible carnage.* Hundreds fell under this cannonade; hundreds upon hundreds were drowned in attempting the perilous passage. Their awful slaughter, confusion, and dismay, were such as would have excited compassion in the hearts of their generous conquerors, if the Khalsa troops had not, in the earlier part of the action, sullied their gallantry by slaughtering and barbarously mangling every wounded soldier, whom, in the vicissitudes of attack, the fortune of war left at their mercy." "Sixty-seven pieces of cannon, upwards of 200 camel swivels, numerous standards, and vast munitions of war" were left in possession of the victors.—(Papers, page 77.)

At half past 10 o'clock A. M. not a Sikh soldier was left alive upon the British bank of the Sutlej; and thus, in little more than four hours was fought the bloodiest battle, with the worthiest foe, and gained the *completest* victory, recorded in our Eastern Annals. *Thus ended also, in awful and disastrous tragedy, the Sikh invasion of British India!*

On the side of the British there were killed 320, and wounded 2,063. The very *lowest* estimate of the Sikh loss is 8,000; we have heard survivors of that routed host lament the death of *twice* that number. And those, who, in cooler mood, when the unsparing passions of war were still, revisited next day the silent battle field, and looked into those trenches where their dead defenders lay in heaps; or saw the Sutlej fords choked with human bodies, and its swelling waters still covered with bloody garments and the wreck of a great army—recalling in awful vividness the mind's picture of God's last judgment upon Pharaoh—will remember the spectacle of destruction to the last day they have to live.

The invaders having been repelled, our task of narrating "the invasion" should now be done; but the "gentle reader," who has been dragged through all these scenes of blood and thunder, will not object to accompany us a little further in a bloodless trip across the river. *There*, we will leave him, until the next Blue Book reveals to us clearly, what is now only dimly perceptible in the Past, Present, and to Come, of the Punjab.

* For the severe punishment inflicted on the Sikhs during their retreat across the river, we are indebted to the singular forethought and cool calculating judgment of the Governor-General. Owing to the paucity of Artillerymen, men had been taken from the Horse Artillery to serve the heavy guns in the field; and the troops—three if not four—to which they belonged, were *left behind in camp*. The services of these troops would have been lost to the army on the 10th February had not Sir Henry Hardinge, while the battle was yet raging, ascertained that the ammunition of the heavy guns was nearly expended, and deduced from this misfortune, the more than *fortunate* conclusion, that the Horse Artillerymen would soon be again available for their proper duties. He accordingly sent back orders to the troops left in camp, to move down without delay to *Rhadawala*; and they were brought down by their *drivers alone* to that post, where they found their own Artillerymen waiting for them, and were galloped into action. The anecdote is not generally known but is worthy of record, as highly characteristic of a mind peculiarly happy in the arrangement of *details*, whose judicious combination alone produces military success.

Ere the heavy train had yet arrived, which was to enable the Commander-in-Chief to fight the battle of Sobraon, Major Abbott, an excellent engineer, was preparing with indefatigable zeal to throw a bridge over a river, which,—as Samson is said to be “the strongest man,” and Solomon “the wisest man,”—might well be chronicled in school Geographies, as *the most unbridgeable* in the world. He said, at starting, he should be ready on the 10th. On that day the battle was fought; and within an hour and a half of its successful termination, Colonel Wood, the Military Secretary, was at Ferozepore, 26 miles from the field,—having given orders half way, to General Grey’s force at Utari, to move down at once to the Ferozepore Ghat. The Governor-General, though suffering from a severe fall, and after riding all day about the field, “returned to Ferozepore on the afternoon of the 10th, within a few hours after the action had ceased, to superintend the passage of the Sutlej by our troops.”—(Papers, page 68). Six regiments of Native Infantry crossed the Sutlej that very evening.—(Papers, page 72). The Commander-in-Chief broke up his camp next day, and marched to Utari: and on the 14th, the *whole* army of the Sutlej was encamped at Kussúr* in the Punjab, within thirty miles of the capital. That evening there arrived from *Lahore* a strange triumphal procession of three elephants and a buggy, loaded with European prisoners who had been taken by the Sikhs in the affair of Buddowal, and now sent in by Golab Singh as a peace-offering to the victors at whose feet his country was prostrate. Deputies from Lahore had arrived at Ferozepore, and peaceably demanded an audience of the Governor-General two days before the battle of Sobraon. They were told, with becoming dignity, that *they would be received after the battle*. On the 11th they had the audience they desired, posted back to Lahore, and returned again to the British camp at Kússur. They were followed on the 15th by Rajah Golab Singh, Dewan Dínanath and Faqír Núr-úd-dín, with “full credentials from the Maharajah, and empowered to agree in the name of the Maharajah and the Government, to such terms as the Governor-General might dictate.”—(Papers, page 68).

“I received the Rajah in Durbar,” writes the Governor-General himself, “as the representative of an offending Government, omitting the forms and ceremonies usually observed on the

* Kussúr was a jagír of Sirdar Sham Singh Utariwallah, one of the few remaining of the contemporaries of Runjit Singh. He joined the invading army and devoted himself to death at Sobraon, neither giving nor asking quarter. His body was brought into Kussúr from the battle field, by his mourning relatives and retainers, while the army of the Sutlej was encamped on his “broad acres.”

occasion of friendly meetings, and refusing to receive at that time, the proffered nuzzurs and complimentary offerings.”—(Papers, page 68). Thus humbled, the chiefs were handed over to the Chief Secretary and Governor-General’s agent, Mr. Currie and Major Lawrence, to learn their fate. Closetted with these “they remained the greater part of the night in conference; but, before they separated, a paper was signed by them to the effect that all that had been demanded would be conceded”—(Papers, page 69). On the 17th, the Maharajah himself came in to make his submission; but the Governor-General had appointed the meeting to be at Lulleanî, ten miles farther on, and *Alexander* was in no haste to see *Darius* humbled. An account of the interview is given in the Papers so often quoted (Page 70), and all that it is essential to note here is, that the offending sovereign came in disgrace, and went away in honor. Negotiations stopped not the advance of the British army, which unopposed, pushed on to the capital. The Sikh army, indeed, was broken in every sense, body and soul. Some eight or ten thousand—doubled, quadrupled by report—still held together about 20 miles from Lahore; but herding rather like frightened deer than Khalsa warriors. *The invaders were invaded*; and those who, in the intoxication of their pride, talked so lately of carrying their baby King to Delhi, had now not a sword to draw in defence of their native land.

On the 20th of February the army of the Sutlej encamped on the plain of Mean Mir, in the suburbs of Lahore, the scene of Jowahir Singh’s murder; and it is impossible not to contrast *our* conduct in victory with what would have been *theirs*, had they reached the capital of Hindustan. We had just cause, most assuredly, to feel resentment against a people who had invaded our territories, and endangered even the safety of British India; yet, *there* might be seen our Generals forbearingly encamped three miles from the rich city which the fortune of war had placed at their mercy, and punishing with dismissal, or flogging, any soldier or camp follower who dared to enter it for the gratification even of his curiosity.* And is there any one who doubts, that if the Sikh army had been successful at Múdkî or Ferozshah, and penetrated as far as Delhi before another army could be brought to oppose them, the streets of the imperial city, though no longer offering the same gorgeous temptation to a lawless and greedy soldiery, would have run with the blood of the inhabitants and been as completely and brutally sacked as ever it was by the army of

* See G. O. Army of the Sutlej, of date 20th February 1846.

Nadir Shah? The lofty, dignified, and magnanimous attitude of the British army before Lahore did honour to the European character, and the forbearance of the troops, to British virtue and discipline.

Proclamations were issued to calm the terrified people of the Punjab; and as, one by one, the chiefs and officers came in, they were received by all in the British camp with the kindness and consideration their gallantry deserved. Dark looks there were among them bespeaking broken hopes and smothered longings for revenge, but, oftener there was a subdued yet manly bearing, as free from boasting as from bending, which none could behold without admiration. In later days, this was more especially remarkable among the Sikh sepoy, who, coming to their pay tables, through or near our ranks, bore themselves with a soldierly resignation which could scarcely have been expected from the vaunting, concealed Khalsa.

The durbars and the treaties therein ratified; the stately restoration of the young Maharajah to his throne; and the leaving of a British force at Lahore, at the earnest solicitation of a timid ministry;—is it not all put before the reader with graphic vividness in the minutes of Mr. Currie, and the despatches of the Governor-General? One point alone is therein touched on, which needed some farther explanation, and even the little that is told, seems to have escaped the notice of those who have criticised the treaties. Let us endeavour to clear it up for the benefit of the future historian.

It is often asked, why was Rajah Golab Singh so highly honoured and so lavishly rewarded for his *double* treachery, to us, in sending food and ammunition to the Sikhs, to his *countrymen*, in betraying the cause he volunteered to advocate? The *premises* assumed being incorrect, it is only logical that the conclusion should be false. The *Delhi Gazette*—to which the public both of India and England is indebted for a great deal of correct information on Punjab affairs—is the foundation of the error; but its pages, if carefully read, would have furnished also its correction. *Rajah Golab Singh sent NO supplies to the Sikh army*; he only promised to do so;—in itself almost a warrant that they never went, even if we knew not from other sources that he sent not a man, nor a grain of corn, nor a pound of powder. He only came to Lahore after repeated and pressing calls; and when there, he told the Durbar, the chiefs, and the soldiers, that “they were asses! that, if they wanted *peace*, he, *who had taken no part in hostilities*, would plead for them; and if they wanted *war*, they might go to ruin their own way.” He was

taken at his word, and yet not trusted. Nominally *plenipotentiary*, he was associated with the most astute servants of the Durbar; and the fault, therefore, is not his, if the terms they jointly made were such as the Maharajah found himself unable to fulfil, except by the cession of more territory. And when the British Government had become possessors of Kashmír and Jummú, Golab Singh had as undoubted a right to purchase, as they to sell it. In exchange for a crore of rupees they took it; and in exchange for a crore of rupees they parted with it again. A small portion of the press has twitted the Governor-General with breach of faith in lending himself to a Vizier in a nefarious trick upon his Master. But the accusation was made in ignorance of the facts, which have since been published, and it ought in fairness to be retracted. The following extract bears date so far back as *February 3rd*, and shews how early the Governor-General contemplated, as the best policy of England, what Golab Singh is said to have, *at a later date*, suggested for his own selfish purposes:—"It may be politic and proper, in the course of the discussions which may arise, to weaken the territorial power of the Government of Lahore, *rendering the Rajpúts of the Hills independent of the Sikhs*, and by other means involving a loss of a portion of their territory: * * These are points which can be better discussed *when the Lahore Government may seek to approach the Government for the restoration of peace*."—(Papers, page 54). And when the Lahore Government *did* approach the Governor-General, what was there to prevent such a scheme of appropriation from being carried out, and the Hill territory being given to Golab Singh as a piece of policy, without reference to any treaties? Surely, nothing but unmerited *forbearance*; and the objections of the critics, therefore, amount to this, that only as a last resource did a generous conquerer consent to a partition of territory which yet policy had told him would be wise at first!

Two things are at all events certain: 1st. That the Durbar, though publicly poor, was privately rich: as ministers they had an exhausted treasury: as individuals they had stores of wealth. Any two or three of its members could have advanced the sum for which Kashmír and Kohistan were given up, and so far preserved—if they had cared about it—the integrity of their country. With these examples before us, to talk about the want of patriotism or treachery of *Golab Singh*—the last of a Sikh-murdered family!—is worse than idle; or, indeed, as absurd as to accuse Sir Henry Hardinge of fraudulently scheming for a *part* of a country which conquest had made his own, in its length and

breadth. 2ndly. It was infinitely better not only for *us*, but for the people of all ranks in the Punjab, that Golab Singh should be *out* of it. He could only have wished to be Wazir, that he might realise at last the schemes of aggrandisement which his ambitious heart had for years been scarce able to contain. It is, indeed, difficult to conjecture whether wisdom would have prompted him to aim only at the independent sovereignty of the hills, which as a subject he had so long monopolised ; or avarice, his ruling vice, have tempted him to sit upon the throne before which he was once proud to bow. But his road to either object would have been the same. The impoverishment of the Punjab would have prepared the way for its division or its conquest ; and the hearts of all classes of the people, from the Sirdar to the ryot, would have been gradually broken by fines, confiscations, and extortion.

If then, we, of the *exoteric* school, have not before us all the steps which led to it, we can at least see the *wisdom* of the final arrangement ; and they, of the *exoteric* school, the negotiators of the treaties, have a right to expect that, amid all the arguments brought to bear upon their diplomacy, the *argumentum ad hominem* should not be forgotten by the world. The names of Mr. Currie and Major Lawrence are a sufficient guarantee for the *honesty* of any document to which they are attached.

We need not prolong our narrative. The troops, left at Lahore, have been comfortable, healthy, and kindly treated ; though something far otherwise was prophesied by dabblers in politics of high and low degree. Many, indeed, at parting with the friends whom they left behind in occupation of "the devoted city," cheered their spirits with a shake of the head and a hope—for which there was just room !—that another *Kabul catastrophe* might not be their fate. But, with all our perspicacity acuminated to the highest possible degree, we could never see the similarity between the two cases—the position on the one hand of 8,000 men with thirty guns of their own, and a hundred others belonging to the Sikhs, well supplied with provisions, and only 40 miles from their own frontier, occupying a capital at the urgent entreaty of the Sovereign and the Sirdars—and the position, on the other hand, of *scarcely more than half that number, without provision, without materiel, forcibly occupying two unconnected posts, in the heart of a disaffected country, 500 miles from support of any kind!* But we leave these questions to the decision of history ;—history, which we, being neither Whig nor Tory, neither Government scribes nor radical opponents, but plain lovers of *truth*, have no wish to lead astray. Whenever the time for writing that history shall arrive, and an historian be

found among us or *our children*, who shall bring *impartiality* to the consideration of *facts*, it will we think be sufficiently apparent, that though errors of detail may have crept into all departments—for so long as governors are *men*, how can it be otherwise?—it would yet be hard to shew how, circumstanced as Lord Hardinge found the N.-W. Frontier in 1844, he could have acted better with the view of preserving *peace*; or how, when in 1845 *war* was forced upon him, he could more effectually have carried it on, or brought it to a more successful conclusion. Rapidly yet quietly he doubled the frontier posts; he had 10,500 men at Ferozepore; 7,200 at Lúdíana, and 13,000 at Umballa. In other words, out of an army of scarce 100,000 men, he brought up more than 30,000 within 70 miles of a contingent—nay, judging from past experience, an improbable—danger. Ferozshah was fought within ten days of the invasion with 16,700 men; and *six weeks after*, when the strength of the empire had been brought to bear on a single point, and all possible reinforcements had been pressed into the field, Sobraon was fought with only 18,000! thus *proving*, that after the necessary precautions had been taken to watch the frontier and keep open the communication with the rear, under *no* circumstances, and by no measures, however warlike, could many more men have been brought into action than *were brought* by the pacific but energetic policy which the Governor-General pursued. And as for the war's conclusion, which has been called "lame and impotent," let it be compared with the wars of his predecessors, which have been mere drains upon the Treasury. The Burmah war entailed a cost of several crores of rupees, the Afghan war saddled the country with a debt the interest of which occasions a present large deficiency of revenue and the war in Sindh;—in truth, Sir Charles Napier has found it so impossible to keep the books, that we cannot tell *how* high to estimate the price of that war; but this we do know, that it bids fair to prove a perennial curse. The Sikh war, on the contrary, has added to our possessions territory worth 40 lakhs per annum; has strengthened our frontier by throwing our right flank forward so as to cover Simla, Lúdíana and Umballa; and exacted an indemnity of $1\frac{1}{4}$ millions from the enemy for the expenses it involved. It is said that those expenses amounted to $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions—12 months' Batta, Commissariat, &c, being included—so that, making a liberal allowance of 20 lakhs per annum for the interest of the extra 25 lakhs expended in the war and on the Government of the new country, we have still an equal sum to carry annually to the credit of British India.

It would have been more, could we have avoided taking the hill country north of the Byas. We suppose it was *necessary* in order to square off the frontier, but it was a dear bargain ; and if politic, we should gladly have seen it left in the hands of either of our neighbours. This is an opinion which will not perhaps meet with general favour : for there is always something alluring in *annexation*, and in the present instance, we know that many advocated the appropriation of the hill country, and blamed the sale of Kashmír to Golab Singh. We suspect, however, that the advocates of such a policy have not much studied the question on which they so dogmatically enlarge ; that they have never very closely calculated the number of men requisite to hold the Huzaras, Peshawar, or Kashmír ; much less compared that calculation with the probable revenues of the countries they covet,—or rather, with the *balance* of revenue which would be left after the usual confirmation of Jagírs which follows a British Indian conquest.

The Punjab is the popular *el Dorado* of our army ; and even those who have neither medals nor honours to gain by its annexation, consider it a rich and fertile land. Taken as a whole, it is far otherwise. In its palmy days, the fertilizing dew of prosperity may indeed have fallen over its whole surface, but it ever evaporated from the few chosen spots where the lakes and fountains were. The superabundance of the Jullundur supplied the rest of the Punjab with competence : a part paid for the Government of the whole. That part is in our possession : and if the exquisite flavour of the sunny side of the melon tempts us to pick up the green side which we threw away, we shall find it sour, unwholesome, and unripe. Each Doab is a kingdom in itself : for it is cut off for half the year by rapid and difficult rivers. Each, therefore, in our hands would require a separate army to ensure its tranquillity. Not many months have passed since it took 10,000 men to put down insurrection in a territory less by half than the smallest of the Punjab Doabs, a territory which had been for nearly half a century accustomed to our supremacy, and was close to the Bombay Presidency. The country west of the Jhelum is wilder than that of Kolapore and Sawuntwarri ; the features of the country are on a larger scale ; the people more savage and independent, more impatient of restraint, less satisfied to pay revenue, and accustomed for generations to a fast and loose Government, that, one day is content to take what it can get, and the next, comes down upon the people with frightful executions, mutilations and massacres. Few people, when they come to consi-

der these details, will deny that the Governor-General was wise to refrain from annexing the Punjab. To us his forbearance seems more than *wise*; it is eminently magnanimous, merciful, and patriotic. In the Punjab itself, none could have blamed, in India, all would have approved the conquest. Sir Henry would have gathered a large harvest of what is called *fame*, and run no risk in the reaping: for *by him* not another shot would have been fired. The country was at his feet, and chronologies would only have recorded that *he*, Sir Henry Hardinge, had added it to British India. The difficulties of a widely extended frontier and the embarrassments of a sterile province would have awaited *his successor*! To England's mission in the East, we trust we are as much alive as those, who at the point of the sword, wish to carry philanthropy and liberty through the world; but we can see as little humanity as wisdom in commencing an enterprise which seems to have no end. *Peace is the great want of British India*: and how can we hope for peace in the Punjab? One insurrection, a single outbreak, runs like a shudder through an empire—unsettles long settled provinces, diverts revenue from its proper channels, and puts back the course of civilisation. Instead therefore of cheating ourselves into new conquests, by calling them *new fields of usefulness*, let us be honest and cultivate the fields we have already gained; let us improve our present possessions before we venture to enclose more; *let us educate the millions of Hindustan, before we pretend to "emancipate the Sikhs."*

THE BANKS OF THE BHÁGIRATHI.

BY REV. J. LONG.

1. *Rennel's Atlas*, 1779.
2. *Tassin's Bengal Atlas*, 1841.

THE question of statistics is one that has engaged of late years the attention of some of the most scientific minds in England, France, and Germany ; in England a Statistical Society is in active operation, and publishes a Journal since 1837. Statistics are now classed as a science, and as such occupy a place in the list of subjects that come before the British Association ; in France the archives of Government are thrown open to the researches of the members of La Société de Géographie, a body which has contributed more to the advancement of the science of Geographical Statistics than any other throughout the world. But in India how different is the case, it would, at times at least, almost seem to be as easy to get access to the records of the Inquisition as to many of the statistical documents of the Bengal Government, which are often permitted to become the food of white ants, or perhaps to be *sold in the Calcutta Bazaars as waste paper*, while they are virtually *sealed* to the investigation of the learned ! Yet in spite of every such discouragement, much light has been thrown on the History of India by individuals.

We feel strongly that the *present* is the time for collecting information on the condition of India—Hindu society is in a transition state—the old pandits and natives, whose heads are stored with traditionary lore, are passing away, and their successors feel little interest in the past local events of India :—unless therefore, “these fragments from the wreck of time” be preserved in print, we shall lose one means of noting the progress of the natives of India. Todd’s Rajasthan, Malcolm’s Central India and the Mackenzie MSS., compiled at a period when Central India was in a transition state, have snatched from oblivion a number of valuable facts, which will serve hereafter as landmarks to indicate the march of improvement among the Rajpút and South India tribes.

In former numbers of this Review two papers appeared, “Notes on the banks of the Húgly,” which gave an account of the places between Calcutta and Chinsura ; we propose continuing the “Notes” as far as Sútí near the mouth of the Bhá-girathi, with the exception of Chinsura, Húgly and Bandel. Chinsura with its Dutch associations, and Húgly with its stirring events in days of yore, afford ample materials for a distinct article Bandel we have noticed in “The Portuguese in North India” The banks of the river between Tribeni on the South, and Gaur on the North, teem with local associations of various

kinds—*Tribeni*, famous as a place of pilgrimage since the days of Pliny—*Sáigan*, a grand emporium of trade in the time of the Romans—*Ghospárd*, the cradle of the Kartá Bhojás—*Dumurda*, notorious in the annals of dakoity—*Sukhsagar* and the river encroachments—*Chagdá*, once infamous for human sacrifices and dakoity—*Sibpúr*, formerly a residence of the illustrious Raja Krishna Chandra Ray—*Guptapárd*, famous for its monkeys and Brahmans—*Santipúr*, the stronghold of ghosains—*Kalna*, with its trade and temples—*Dhobá*, and its sugar manufactory—*Nudya*, in old times the capital of Bengal, and still a Brahmanical metropolis—*Agradíp*, the scene of a famous mela—*Katwá*, the port of Birbhum, well known in the days of the Mahratta—*Palásí* the Indian Marathon—*Rangamati*, with its spur of the Birbhum hills—*Berhampúr*, 80 years ago the frontier cantonment of the East India Company—*Kasim Bazár*, the former seat of the English, French, and Dutch trade—*Múrshidabad*, and all its recollections connected with the Musalmán dynasty—*Jangpúr*, famous for its silk trade—*Súti*, where Mir Kasim met his defeat and his visions of independence vanished—and *Gaur*, the metropolis of Bengal, long before the days of Alexander.

To the mere stranger the banks of the Bhágirathi present little calculated to afford interest ;—so would the plain of Troy to the person ignorant of Grecian history : but for those who love to dwell on the past, there are few parts of India, except Rajpútaná, which are crowded with a series of more interesting associations. The trade carried on by the Romans—the Hindu dynasty of the Lakhmans—the scenes where British ascendancy was established in this country—the influence of Mahommedan sway—the development of the resources of this country by indigo, silk, and sugar factories—the former prevalence of gang robbery,—ideas connected with these and kindred subjects crowd on the mind of the intelligent traveller in passing various places on the banks of the Bhágirathi. In consequence of the local associations he has called up, Sir W. Scott has given “a charm to Scottish scenes and barren heaths” Dr Johnson has made the often quoted remark, in which he condemns the man whose patriotism would not glow on the plains of Marathon, or piety grow warm amid the ruins of Iona. In India where Europeans generally feel so little interest in the country, know so little of its past history, and sympathise so little with the natives, it is specially important that the principle of *local association* should as far as possible be called forth. We must know something of the *past* history of a people in order to understand their *present* condition—what

a stimulus did the recollections of Grecian history afford some years ago to the exertions of philanthropists in the cause of the modern Greeks, who were crushed under the yoke of Turkish tyranny. We trust that the progress of English education and Christian missions along the banks of the Bhágirathi during the next fifty years, will afford a brilliant contrast to the gloomy recollections of past times—to the profligate rule of Kúlinism—to Satis—Infanticide—Musalmán despotism, and Hindu stagnation of thought.

The banks of the Bhágirathi are likely to afford scenes of the noblest triumphs to missionary and educational operations, because the principle of concentration and mutual co-operation will be carried out, by a *chain* of missionary and educational posts at,—Húgly connected with the London Missionary Society; Ghospára with the established Presbyterian Church; Kalná with the Free Church of Scotland, Nudiya and Kishnaghur with the Church Missionary Society; Katwá with the Baptist; and Berhampúr with the London Missionary Society.

Besides Heber's Journal and "Robert's Scenes" there are scarcely any journals of travellers worth notice on Bengal; in a recent work, "Bacon's First Impressions," it is stated, that after leaving Barrakpúr "a few *hours* tracking brought us to Serampore" the author gives a drawing of a fakír's serai on the banks of the river near Húgly with a *hull* in the vicinity! this resembles Carne's description of Kiernander, the *first* Protestant Missionary to Bengal, visiting his *mountain* villages *near* Calcutta! No Sanskrit works give any topographical information respecting those localities, except the Sri Bhagavat and some other Puranas which notice Tribeni, and the course of the Ganges. Arrian, Pliny and Strabo write incidentally of a few places. As for authorities on these subjects little information can be given, since in the Bengali language no book of any description was compiled before A. D. 1500. The poem of Kobi Kankan was written in Bengali 300 years ago, (the author lived in Burdwan, and is said to have been born at Damini near Tárikeswar in Burdwan; Kirti Bās is also said to have been born in Burdwan). It describes the journey of a merchant from his own residence, 150 miles from the sea, down the Bhágirathi to the port in which he embarked for Ceylon, he enumerates the places at which he *lagoed* on the banks of the river. The *Sandesdbali* and *Timir Násak* notice a few towns, but the written or printed materials are very scanty.—"The Musalman invaders of Bengal thought Hindu writings to be full of mantras or charms, and they deemed them *haram* or sinful, and not worthy to be seen, hence on entering a town in Bengal

they burnt every ancient MSS. as well as image: the Hindus also were in the practice, when invaded, to destroy every thing which was of value to the invaders, and particularly all "MSS. that would give information of the country;" hence no MSS. exist which give any information of Gaur or Pálibathrá. The Hindu writings were of an anti-historical character. The remarks of Taylor in his "Historical Manuscripts" are applicable here,—“Generally speaking, Indian princes, purely such, as distinguished from foreign invaders, have been less addicted to warring with each other, than those of almost any other ancient nation. Hence, in a great degree, arises the paucity of materials for Indian history; but, happily periods most barren of historical incident, have always been most prosperous for the people.” We must therefore have recourse, occasionally to oral testimony and current traditions, which are the only sources in the absence of written testimony, and which have been resorted to with so much success by Tod in his Rajasthan; the discoveries, however, of Ventura in the topos of the Panjab: of Prinsep in Pali Medals; of Hodgson in Nipal, and of Remusat in Chinese MSS. give hope, that future researches may throw a flood of light on the Ante-Mahommedan history of Bengal; a translation of some Persian MSS. mentioned in Stewart's catalogue would afford information on Bengal history: even legends are of value, for as Wilson remarks, “Hindu tales are *faithful* records of the state of popular *belief* many ages ago.” Legendary lore is compared by Troyer to a chronometer, which, though it gives not the true time, yet presents errors which we know how to correct. Dr Buchanan, though he undertook at the command of the Marquess of Wellesley a survey of Eastern India, which occupied him seven years, and cost the Government 30,000 £, yet has not thought it beneath his notice to embody in the report he presented to Government the legends and local traditions of the districts he passed through.

We name this article the banks of the BHÁGIRATHI, though some Europeans call the river as far as Nudiya the Húgly,—but Húgly is a modern name given to it since the town of Húgly rose into importance: the natives call it Bhágirathi, because they say it was the Channel Bhágirathi cut in bringing the Ganges from the Himalaya to Ganga Ságar. This name recalls what is believed to be a fact—that the Ganges itself formerly ran by Katwá, Tribeni, and not as it does now into the Padma; our reasons are,—the natives attribute no sanctity to the waters of the Padma, thinking the Bhágirathi to be the true bed of the river, hence the water flowing by Bishop's College is not esteemed holy, as they say that the site

of Tolly's Nalá was the ancient bed—there are no places of pilgrimage along the banks of the Padma, while on the Bhágirathi are Tribeni, Ságar, Nudiya and Agardíp. Dr. Buchanan states on this subject: "I think it not unlikely that on the junction of the Kosi with the Ganges, the united mass of water opened the passage now called Padma, and the old channel of the Bhágirathi from Songti (Súti) to Nudiya was then left comparatively dry. In this way we may account for the natives considering that *insignificant* channel as the *proper* continuation of their sacred river, as they universally do, a manner of thinking that unless some such extraordinary change had taken place, would have been highly absurd"—the names of places near the Bhágirathi ending in *dwípa* island, *dángá* upland, *daha* abyss, *ságar* sea, seem to indicate that a large body of water formerly flowed near them.

We begin our notice with the SARASWATI Khal, which flows by Tribeni down to Sátgan, and which in former days was a mighty stream, when the Bhágirathi, instead of flowing as now past Húgly, rolled its mighty waters down by Sátgan. Rennel states: "In 1566 the Satgang river was capable of bearing small vessels, and I suspect that its then course, after passing Satgang was by way of Adampur, Omptah and Tamluk: and that the river called the old Ganges was a part of its course, and received that name, while the circumstance of the change was fresh in the memory of the people. The appearance of the country between Satgang and Tamluk countenances such an opinion." The banks of the Saraswati at Tribeni formed the ancient boundary of the kingdom of Orissa, extending as far west as Bishenpur in the time of the Ganga Vansa princes from the 10th to the 14th century A. D. Akbar annexed Tribeni to the Bengal Government, and separated it from the powerful kingdom of Orissa or Kalinga, which flourished at the same period as the Ujayin and Malwa monarchies, and was next to Magadh in greatness, stretching from the Godavery towards the Ganges; the king of Kalinga in Pliny's time could bring into the field 100,000 foot; at the beginning of the Christian era Salivahan ruled the country between the Godavery and the Nermada. "By progress of emigration and conquest the Orissa nation carried their name and language over the vast space of territory, including besides Orissa Proper part of Bengal and Telingana." In 1243 the Rajah of Jagipur, 35 miles N.-E. of Katak, besieged Gaur the capital of Bengal. The Orissan monarchy sunk into decay about the same time that the Saraswati river, owing to a silting process, dried up; in 1845 an inundation tore up the soil in the bed of the

river near Sátgan and exposed to view the masts of a ship. In Rennel's maps, drawn over 70 years ago, the Saraswati joins a river which flows by Duma, Nisipur and Chanditala into the Húgly at Sankral near Bishop's College : this probably was the old bed of the Bhágrathi, which passed from Sankral up to the site of Tolly's Nalá, then *vid* Gurea, Burripur and Rajganj to Diamond Harbour, and so on to Ganga Ságar ; the ground west of Haura, and from thence on to Húgly is low and marshy, indicating the course of a former river. Ptolemy however states, that the Saraswati flowed into the mouth of the Jellasore river : this view corresponds with that of Rennel's, and may be reconciled with our's, by supposing a *branch* from the Saraswati, *i. e.*, *Ganges*, to have joined the Damudar or Rupnarayan.

SATGAN, the royal emporium of Bengal from the time of Pliny down to the arrival of the Portuguese in this country, has now scarcely a memorial of its ancient greatness left ; it has furnished a native proverb indicative of its fall . " Compare not yourself to a man of Satgan." Wilford thus describes it, " Ganges Regia, now Satgan, near Húgli. It is a famous place of worship, and was formerly the residence of the kings of the country, and said to have been a city of an immense size, so as to have swallowed up one hundred villages, as the name imports : however, though they write its name Satgan, I believe it should be Satgram, or the seven villages, because there were so many consecrated to the seven Rishis, and each of them had one appropriated to his own use " Sátgan is said to have been one of the resting places of Bhágirathi. One of the Puranas states that Pryabasta, king of Kanauij, had 7 sons, who lived in Satgan, *i. e.*, Saptagram, and whose names were given to seven villages, *viz*, Agnidra, Romanaka, Bhopisánta, Saurabanan, Bara, Sabana, and Dutimanta, they were *mínus* Kusa-grass is said not to grow in Satgan, as it was cursed by the seven *Rishis*. Di Barros writes, " that Satgaw is a great and noble city, though less frequented than Chittagong, on account of the port not being so convenient for the entrance and departure of ships." Purchas states it to be " a fair citie for a citie of the Moores, and very plentiful, but sometimes subject to Patnaw." Fredericke, who travelled in Bengal, 1570, and visited Satgan mentions, that in it " the merchants gather themselves together for their trade : " he describes a place called Buttor, " a good tide's rowing before you come to Satgaw, from hence upwards the ships do not go, because that upwards the river is very shallow and little water, the small ships go to Satgaw and there they lade ." he writes that " Buttor has an infinite number of ships and bazars ; while the ships stay

in the seasons, they erect a village of straw-houses, which they burn when the ships leave, and build again the next season ; in the port of Satgaw every year they lade 30 or 35 ships great and small with rice, cloth of bombast of divers sorts, lacca, great abundance of sugar, paper, oil of zezeline, and other sorts of merchandize." The Shah Jehan Namah, part of which is translated in Stewart's Oriental Catalogue, mentions that, "while Bengal was governed by its own princes, a number of merchants resorted to this place (Húgli), and having rendered this agreeable, obtained a piece of ground and permission to build houses, in order to carry on their commerce to advantage ; in the course of time owing to the stupidity and want of attention of the Governors of Bengal, a great number of Portuguese assembled here, who erected lofty and solid factories which they fortified with cannon, muskets, and other implements of war : " he then states the Portuguese settled at Húgly, " which drew in a short time all the trade from Satgan, which in consequence fell into decay." In 1632, Húgly being made a royal port, all the public officers were withdrawn from Satgan, which soon sunk into ruin. The Mogul Governor of Húgly brought a charge against the Portuguese before Shah Jehan of "having drawn away the trade from the ancient port of Satgan." The silting up of the river there, was another cause of its decay : similarly we find that Kambay, which was a famous port when the Portuguese came to India, is now choked up owing to the sea having retired several leagues : it is said the Moguls deepened the present channel which flows in front of Húgly, and this would serve to draw off the current which before flowed down by Satgan.

Warwick, a Dutch Admiral, notices that Satgan in 1667 was a place of great trade for the Portuguese. The foundations of a fort built by the Musalmans remain near Satgan bridge, the fort was pulled down to build houses in the town. The old Dutch residents at Húgly had their country seats at Satgan, and were in the habit of *walking* from Chinsura in the middle of the day to it, and returning after dinner. Near Satgan bridge stands an old temple in which is interred one of the officers of Shah Sufi. The people of Satgan were famed for wit, and often contended for the plam of wit with the inhabitants of Mahmud Shah, in the neighbourhood.

Opposite Tribeni at the mouth of the Saraswati Khal, stands a famous MOSQUE, containing the tomb of Jaffir Khan ; it was once a Hindu temple. Jaffir Khan was the uncle of Shah Sufi, he was a zealous Musalman, and made a proselyte of Rajah Man Nriput, he was killed in a battle fought with Rajah

Bhudea. Jaffir's son conquered the Rajah of Húgly, and married his daughter, who is buried within the precincts of the temple, and to this day Hindu votive offerings are presented at her tomb on Musalman festivals. Jaffir Khan himself, though a Musalman, worshipped the Ganges. This temple must be at least 500 years old, as Shah Sufi came to Bengal, A. D. 1340 (he fought a battle near Pandua, which rendered the country entirely subject to the Musalmans); the stones in it are very large: the temple was probably erected when the kingdom of Orissa was in its glory and stretched its sceptre as far as Tribeni, and when ships floated on the waters of the Saraswati—across which a child can now leap. A civil servant at Húgly is said some years ago to have pulled down part of this temple to make a ghat!!

South of this temple is the village of BANSBARIA or Bansbati, *i. e.*, the place of bambus, famous for the temple of the goddess Hansheshari, with its 13 pinnacles and 13 images of Shiva, erected 50 years ago by Rani Sankari Dási, the wife of Nrisinga Deva Ray, a zemindar: it cost a lakh of rupees, and had a house there surrounded with a trench and four pieces of cannon mounted on it; when the Mahrattas came near Tribeni, the people fled to this house for protection. On the festival of Hansheshari, the Rani used to invite pandits from all the neighbouring country, Calcutta, Nudiya.* This temple occupies 15 acres. At Bansbaria there were formally 12 or 14 tolas, where Nyaya or logic was read, but Sanskrit studies are on the decline there. The Tatwabodhini Sabhá had formerly a flourishing English school of 200 boys at Bansbaria, established 1843, but some of the boys embracing Vedantism, their parents became alarmed lest they should forsake Puranism

* The following is a list of a few among the many eminent pandits Nudiya has produced during the last 300 years—Raghu Nandan composed about 200 years ago "the Essence of the Hindu ritual," he established a new ritual in the investiture of the *paua*, he wrote a work on Law called *Tithi tatva* in twenty eight books, it is extensively studied, and is highly valued by Colebrooke—*Nudiya* is most famous for the study of Nyaya or Logic: among the pandits who have written commentaries here on the subject occur the names of—Godadar Sriromani, Maturanath Tarkabagish, Roganath Sriromani, Bas Deb Sarbabaumi,—on *Smriti or law*, Jí Matta Bákan—Sri Krista Tarkalankar, Chandrasekar Bashishpati; and on the *Mugda Bodh or Grammar*, Durgadas Bideabagis, Ram Tarka Bagis, Bharat Malik; Amar Sing, the author of the *Amera Kosha*, lived in Naya where he kept a tola and wrote his book. There is a tradition that the celebrated Kalidas came from the Court of Vikramaditya to test the knowledge of the Nudiya pandits, and also that Sankar Acharya visited it for the same reason, Krishnanda, a Brahman of Nudiya, in the middle of the 16th century, propagated a doctrine called *pasu bháb*, it is believed in by numbers of Brahmans in Bengal. Sir W. Jones, 1787, congratulated himself in "spending three months every year near an ancient university of Brahmans (Nudiya), with whom he began to converse fluently in Sanskrit." Those anxious to know more on the learning of Nudiya, we would refer to Adam's Reports on Education in Bengal and Bahai.

and they withdrew many of them ; the members of the Sabhá thought that Bansbaria being an eminent seat of Hindu learning, presented a more favorable opening for schools than Calcutta ; but Puranism and Vedantism being antagonistic, the success of the school has been retarded. A tiger was seen near it in 1830; he killed four ryots; old persons still remember the time when the Satgan district was infested with tigers, and when rewards used to be offered from the Collector's Office at Húgly for killing them. Tarachand, a native Christian, resided at Bansbaria; he was led to inquire respecting Christianity from simply reading a New Testament. The first native Church under a native minister was formed at Bansbaria under Tarachand, who was a well informed man, and spoke English, French, and Portuguese with fluency.

On the opposite side of the river facing Bansbaria is MALIK-BAG, of which Ramkomul Sen gives the following account in his able preface to his Bengali dictionary—"The Musalman invaders of the west of Hindústan, who afterwards established themselves on the throne of Delhi, considered this country (Bengal) to be *Dojakh*, or an infernal region, and whenever any of the Amirs or courtiers were found guilty of capital crimes, and the rank of the individuals did not permit their being beheaded, while policy at the same time rendered their removal necessary, they were *banished to Bengal*. Of those individuals banished to Bengal, one named Mullik Kássim had his residence immediately west of Húgly, where there is a *haut* or market, still held, which goes by his name. Ahmid Beg was another person of that description; his estate is still in existence, opposite to Bansbaria; and there are a *haut*, *gunge*, or mart, and a *khal*, or creek, still called after his name; Meer Beg also had a fort, with a mansion opposite to Húgly, which is called *Mír Beg ká Gur*." These lands were given on a kind of military tenure, as the Government of the Afghans in Bengal bore a close resemblance to the feudal system of the Goths. The air and water of that part of Bengal were then considered so bad as to lead almost to the certain death of the criminal. The whole of *Malikbág* was formerly a large garden, but the trees have been cut down for fuel. In the time of Malik the site of Serampore was a jungle. The site of the city of Jessore, which is considerably to the north of Malikbág, was, when founded 300 years ago by Sivananda Majúmdar, the uncle of Rajah Pratapaditya, "a forest on the borders of the sea." A little to the south of Malikbág is HALISHAR, famous for the Smriti colleges, established there by Rajah K. Ray of Nudiya; he assigned

to them endowments of land, the Rajah is said to have come here to visit Balaram Tarkábushan, a very learned pandit, who would not enter a Sudrá's house, nor even take money from his hand, nor receive a present on the banks of the Ganges; the Rajah saw a Kumbhakar, or potter at the place, and asked him in Sanskrit, *Kastam* (who are you), the man replied, *Kumbhakar Ahang* (I am a potter), the Rajah surprised that a low person knew Sanskrit, said, this is a fine place, and he made a bazar in it called Kumarhattá, *i. e.*, the bazar of the potter. Great quantities of broken pottery are still dug up, the pandits still call Hálishar by the name of Kumarhattá. Balaram Tarkaboshu, a pandit well skilled in Nyaya, lived here. There are still twelve Sanskrit colleges in Hálishar and its neighbourhood; Law and Logic are the chief subjects taught. Hálishar is noted for its drunkards, and particularly for drunken women: one reason ascribed for it is, that many Brahmans from the East of Bengal reside here, and follow the Tantra system which encourages drunkenness. At Hálishar, Ram Komal Sen had his country seat, he was of low origin, his father was a native doctor; Professor Wilson patronised him and gave him employment in his printing office, afterwards in the mint, where he studied English and Sanskrit, and subsequently became Assistant Secretary to the Sanskrit College. *Hálishar* formed a zillah last century: it has a population of about 30,000; 4,000 of whom are of the *bhadrá lok*, or Hindu gentry.

To the North of Malikbag flows the JAMNA river, called by Ptolemy the Diamuni, "the blue daughter of the sun," by Jaydeva it is named the Kal Yamani, because Kanya destroyed the hydra *Kalya* which infested it; the villages along the Jamná are scattered and thinly populated. Corpses are thrown into it in order to float into the Bhágirathi, which they sometimes do after the lapse of a year. In 1813 the Government survey fixed the Jamná as the Northern boundary of the Sunderbands. The Jamná joins the Ishamati (so called from its being noted for its *ikshu* sugar-canes. The Jamná, though now a khal, was a large river at the period when the whole stream of the Ganges flowed down by Tribeni, and along with the Saraswati formed the Dakhin Prayág; the ghát manjis on the route from Orissa to Tribeni are guilty of great oppression. To the North of the Jamná is GHOSPARA, famous for being the birth-place of the Kartá Bhoja sect.*

* Few respectable Hindus have joined the Kartá Bhojas, yet they are spreading, but chiefly among the *lower orders*: one of their pretences is, to substitute an actual vision of the goddess of every individual instead of a material image, each one is

We now come to the far-famed TRIBENI, the MUKTABENI of Bengal, as the Tribeni at Prayág is the Yukta Beni. Tribeni is said in the Padma Purana to give virtue and salvation to all those residing near it; a famous mela is held here in January: in 1838 over 100,000 persons attended it; of these 24,000 were from Orissa. The Shiva Purana states that the place where the Ganges unites with the Jamná is capable of destroying the sin of murdering a Brahman, particularly in the month of Magha. Stavorinus, an old Dutch traveller of the middle of last century, described the mela as attended by an immense concourse, who carried home Ganga water for the use of their relatives. Tribeni is one of the four *Samajis* or places famous for Hindu learning; the others are Nudiya, Santipur, and Guptapárá. Tribeni was formerly noted for its trade: Pliny mentions that the ships assembling near the Godavery sailed from thence to Cape Palinurus, then to Tentigalé, opposite Fulta, then to Tribeni, and lastly to Patna. Ptolemy also notices Tribeni. The Portuguese, Ptolemy, and the natives now call it Tripina, but incorrectly. There were over 30 tolas in Tribeni: Jaganath Pandit lived here in the time of Lord Cornwallis; he took an active part in the publication of the Hindu laws. Some years ago a Saniyasi who lived for 30 years near the bazar, was attacked by dakoits; 2,000 rupees were stolen from him, and his ears were cut off. A bridge was built over the Saraswati by Prankissen of Chinsura, but it was nearly destroyed in the great storm of 1842 B. S. by an overflow of the Damuda. Jaganath presided 50 years ago over a large college in Tribeni: he was considered the most learned man in Bengal, and died at the age of 109 years. Several persons have become rich here from selling the clothes

allowed to retain the deity he has been most accustomed to honor; a secret and darkened apartment is chosen, and the initiated are made to see their own god, *i. e.*, they are turned first to a strong light and then to a dark recess where fancy conjures up the image. Their chief principle is, "that by devotion God will give them eyes, and then they will obtain a sight of Him, and through that sight, salvation." The *Friend of India* states, "It is a certain fact that a considerable number of those who first received the Gospel in Jessore, were in a measure prepared to do so by an acquaintance with the religionists of Ghospara." The same remark applies to many of the 4,000 natives who became Christians a few years ago in the Kishnaghur district. The Kartá Bhojas have given no written account of their doctrines, they think pen and ink, too, material; their tenets are handed down by tradition which is communicated to the initiated. Ishwar Chandra Pal, "the present head of the sect, lives in the style of a rajah, his grandfather was a guala, or keeper of cows. Drs. Marshman and Carey visited Ram Dulal, his father, in 1802, they found a *rath* near his house! which was handsome, stately, exceeding that of many rajahs;" he was "no less plump than Bacchus, and about 20 years of age," he argued with them, defending the doctrine of Pantheism; some of their secret rites are of the most disgustingly licentious description. They are spreading in the districts of Burdwan and Kishnaghur, and particularly along the road from Burdwan to Hugly and Calcutta.

of the dead. Stavorinus writes in 1763 that about 3 miles north of Tribeni near the river, he came to a wood in which was "an ancient building of large square stones as hard as iron, 30 feet long and 20 broad, the walls 13 or 14 feet high, no roof, 3 tombs of black stone on which were Persian characters." The Bengalis believe it was built by a magician in one night without the assistance of any mortal! In June 1837 an alligator, 12 feet long, with the arm of an adult female in his belly, was caught here at the ghat.

NYA SERAI, or the New Serai, is situated on a branch of the Damuda river, called the Kanah Nadi; its mouth is so choked up with sand at Salimpúr, that it is unable to receive much of the Damuda, and is therefore called the Kanah Nadi; attempts have been unsuccessfully made to cut through the sand, but it has filled up again; it has been proposed to cut a canal to draw the water from Bundipúr to Balí Khal, or to make a canal from Gopalnagar to Bydabáti. A bridge was built here by a zemindar; but a few years ago it was washed away by the inundation in 1839; it was ordered to be rebuilt by the Court of Directors. Through Nya Serai lies the line of traffic to Burdwan and the Jungal Mahals. Stavorinus in 1768 describes the country about Nya Serai thus: "We met with pleasant plains of arable and pasture lands, intermixed with groves of cocoanut, mango, and other trees; the sugar-cane was likewise cultivated in many places, and flourished excellently." Stavorinus walked from Nya Serai to Tribeni,—“the way first led through a wood which was filled with the notes of birds, and afterwards over a lovely plain mostly consisting of pasture grounds.” The banks of the river between Nya Serai and Serampore are mostly elevated, which shows it was a remnant of the ancient elevation of the land like that at Rangamati. There are a Munsif at Nya Serai, and a chokey station for the Salt Department. The Nya Serai Khál is named in Rennel's maps the old Damuda; on it is *Magrd*, so called from a goddess of that name; it is on the high road to Lahore, has four tolas, and furnishes quantities of sand fit for plastering.

North of Nya Serai is the village DAMURDA; its affix *daha* an abyss, indicates like *Khal*, *Sagar*, *daha*—that it is alluvial land gained from the water. There is an English school here. A zemindar, Babu Ishwar, is said to have lived here 40 years ago, and to have been in the habit of inviting travellers to his house at night, and then strangling them while they slept; a pilgrim discovered it at night and gave information to the thana at Bansbaria; the zemindar was arrested and hung; men were found sunk in a tank near his house with stones tied round

their necks. Many natives still are afraid to go in Damurda boats. Dakoity reached its height in this neighbourhood and the Kishnaghur district about 1807; the dakoits had the village watchmen under their influence, and used to go with the greatest indifference to the gallows: their cruelties were most atrocious: lashing with sabres, scorching all the skin off with blazing grass, burning off the most tender parts of the body with oil and tow, violating girls, extorting confessions by rubbing hot irons over the body, &c.

On the opposite side of the river is SUKH SAGAR, placed in Rennel's map at a considerable distance from the river, which has of late made fearful encroachments, and has not left a vestige of the magnificent house of the Revenue Board that cost a lakh and a half originally. The Marquis of Cornwallis and suite, used often in the hot weather to retire to it, as it was the Government country seat before Barrakpúr. The house of Mr. Barretto, and a Roman Catholic Chapel erected by him in 1789 at a cost of 9,000 Rs., have also been washed away. Mr. Barretto was suspected by the natives from his being a rich man, to have known the art of turning metals into gold. These encroachments of the river, together with Pal Chaudri, a rich zemindar, making a bazar in Chagdá, have led to the decay of Sukh Ságar, which owed much of its prosperity to Mr. Barretto, who made many roads there planted with *nim* trees on both sides, which remain to this day: he had a rum distillery in 1792, as also Sugar works; in his time the place was called Chotá Calcutta. On Clive passing Sukh Ságar, a small battery there gave him a salute; he, imagining it to be an enemy's entrenchment, ordered it to be dismantled. On the courts being removed from Múrshidabad to Calcutta in 1772, the Revenue Board was fixed there, as it was thought more suitable than Calcutta from being in the country. Bissenpúr, Srinagar and Bhagdá near Sukh Ságar were noted formerly for dakoity. The zemindary of Sukh Ságar belonged to Rajah R. C. Ray of Nudiya, who made a bazar in it. there are still remaining the ruins of several fine houses built in his time: he also erected a temple to Agru-Chandy in which human sacrifices were offered. Forster in 1872, gives the following description of Sukh Ságar:—"Sukh Ságar is a valuable and rising plantation, the property of Messrs. Crofts and Lennox; and these gentlemen have established at this place a fabric of white cloth, of which the Company provide an annual investment of two lakhs of rupees; they have also founded a raw silk manufactory, which, as it bears the appearance of increase and improvement, will I hope reward the industrious, estimable labors of its pro-

prietors." A pátskhá was established by Government in 1845 ; a zemindar gave as a school room a *chaubári*, formerly built by Mr. Barretto to enable the Hindus to read the Puranas and Mahabharat. An English pay school was founded in 1844 by the Munsif under the patronage of the Vedantists ; in 1846, at the annual examination, 150 respectable babus were present. *Pitambar Sing*, an eminent native Christian convert, and a Sanskrit scholar, was stationed as a catechist in 1802 at Sukh Ságar, "a pretty large place and very populous neighbourhood ;" he was a match in argument for the pandits ; a tract was the instrument of his conversion. In 1804 he left the place on account of sickness, as also because of "his house being out of town and surrounded with robbers." Bishop Heber writes in his Journal, 1824 : "I saw (near Sukh Ságar) a sign of a civilized country, a gibbet with two men in chains on it, who were executed two years ago for robbery and murder in this neighbourhood. The district bears a bad name ;" he remarks that Mr. Corrie saw near it the prints of tigers' feet ; at *Palpára*, near Sukh Ságar, lived Nandakúmar Vidyálankar, who was deeply versed in Nyaya and the Tantras, he published a book called *Kularnuba* : the river has washed away twelve bigahs and a great part of *Palpára* ; near it is *Monasápota*, respecting which Ram Komul Sen relates the following legend :—"Bengal was once governed or possessed by *Asurs*, Demons, one of whom called *Sambarásura*, was king of lower Bengal : he was killed by Pradyumna, the son of Krishná, and his corpse was thrown into pits near Sukh Ságar, in *Monasápota*, which was thence named *Pradyumnahrad* or Pradyumna's pit."

North of Sukh Ságar is CHAGDA (notorious for ghat murders) fabled to derive its name from Bhágirath, because when bringing the Ganges from the Himalaya to Ganga Ságar to water his forefather's bones, he left the traces of his chariot wheel *chakra* there. Chagdá as well as Bansbaria and Ganga Ságar were formerly noted for human sacrifices by drowning ; the aged and children were thrown into the river ; in November 1801, some pilots saw 11 persons at Sagar throw themselves to sharks ; and that month 29 persons were devoured by them ; it is still a famous place for burning the dead and for bathing ; corpses are brought there from all parts of the country, often from great distances, when they become putrid ere they reach Chagdá ; the persons carrying the corpse are not allowed to enter a house, must pay double ferry-fare, and must take fire with them as none will give it. Tavernier mentions seeing corpses brought to Chagdá, from a place twenty days' distance, all rotten and smelling dreadfully. It is singular that in former times, and particularly near Calcutta, persons

were burnt on the western bank of the river, because the true channel was considered to be there, as the river was said to have made a *new* channel on the eastern side ; this seems to favour an opinion held by some, that the Ganges is gradually tending to a more easterly direction. Chagdá is the route taken by people north of Calcutta for Dhaka and Assam, *viâ* Jessore, as the road is better and higher than that *viâ* Baraset. A road has been made from Bangaon to Chagdá 20 miles, planted with trees on both sides, by Kali Prasad Padar of Jessore. As this Babu stands out conspicuously from his countrymen by his public spirit, we give the following notice of him :—‘ He has indeed proved himself an example to many Roy and Chaudri zemindars of greater opulence and higher respectability.’ Report of the Babu’s liberality having been made by the Judge and Collector of the district, the Governor of Bengal has presented him with the title of Roy, and a Khelat consisting of a pair of rich shawls, a Kaba, and a crested turban embroidered with gold and pearls. On Monday, the 30th of March last (1846), the Judge of the district invited the most respectable European and native gentlemen of the station, including Vakils and Múktiars, and presented him with the honorary dress and a suitable address. On which the Babu felt himself much affected at the kindness of the British Government, and after returning his heartfelt thanks, gave four hundred Rupees to the Jessore Government School, one hundred Rupees to the Jessore Charitable Hospital, and three hundred rupees to the beggars that crowded on the occasion. Afterwards, Mr. Seton-Karr delivered an eloquent speech in eulogy of the Babu. He was followed by Roy Lokenath Bose and Babu Nilmadhub Ghose, who all spoke to the same effect, after which the meeting dispersed. The following is a statement of the several liberal acts of the worthy Babu :—

- 1st. A staircase to the hill of Chuddernath.
- 2nd. A stone built Dhuramshala or alms-house at the Ghat Attara nullah.
- 3rd. A brick built Naght Munder in the temple of Dhakshuri.
- 4th. A brick built bridge over the Dytollah Khal.
- 5th. A brick built bridge over the Bhyrub Nadi at Nilgunge.
- 6th. A Dhuramshala and a house of charity at Nilgunge.
- 7th. A road from Bongah to Chukra Dha on the banks of the Ganges, extending over nearly twenty miles, and planted on both sides with trees.
- 8th. A road from Chúra Maukati to Agradíp, extending

ing over nearly 30 miles, and planted on both sides with trees.

9th. An iron bridge over the Kobotoka river at Jhikargucha with the joint assistance of Government.

10th. A brick built bridge over the Betna river at Jadubpúr.

11th. A brick built bridge at Kaintpúr.

12th. A brick built bridge at Naudanga Huridashpúr."

Chagdá has been notorious for ghat murders: there are various persons now living there, who have been taken to the river to die, but have recovered and are *outcasts*. Great numbers of people bathe here at the Bároni festival in March; many persons come as far as from Orissa. The *barúari puja* is celebrated with great pomp here; this puja was established in 1790 by a number of Brahmans of Guptapára, who formed an association to celebrate a puja not noticed in the Shástras; it is named *barúari*, because they chose 12 men *bára* as a committee; they collected subscriptions in the neighbouring villages, but this not being sufficient, they sent men into various parts of the country, and having obtained 7,000 Rs., they celebrated the worship of Jaggadátri Durga with such pomp, as to attract the rich to it from a distance of 100 miles around; they procured the best singers in Bengal, and spent the week in festivity: in consequence of the success of the first *barúari*, they determined to celebrate it annually, which is done in various parts of Bengal, and particularly in Ulá Guptapára, Chagdá, Shirpúr; one-fifth of the money is devoted to the idol, the rest to singing and feasting. In 1845 an English school was established here under the patronage of the Brahma Sabhá. Stavorinus, 1786, writes: "The village of Chagdá, which gives its name to the channel, stands a little inland, and there is a great weekly market or bazar here: the channel terminates about three Dutch miles inland, and on its right has many woods in which are tigers and other wild beasts; on entering the woods a little way, we soon met with the traces of tigers in plenty, and therefore we did not think it prudent to venture farther; we met in the way the remains of a Bengali who had been torn in pieces by a beast of prey." Walking near Chagdá when it was dark, Stavorinus was warned by the natives that there were many tigers who had their haunts near, and who in the evening were wont to repair to the riverside. In 1809, Hanif and eight other dakoits were hung here. In 1808, at 9 o'clock in the evening, 45 dakoits attacked the house of a man in Chagdá, took his brother, and burned him with lighted torches and straw taken from the thatch of the house which was in the bázár; they then

rolled a bambu across his breast, he died the next day ; they were torturing him during 4 gharis : it was as light as day in the bazar from the blaze of the dackoits' musalchis and torches ; they plundered eight houses besides in Chagdā : one witness stated on the trial, "the country is in the hands of the dakoits, they do not scruple to plunder in broad daylight." In 1809, one Gangā Rām Sirdār deposed before the magistrate, to having been a dakoit since his twelfth year, and to having committed dakoities to the number of thirty-six, east of Chagdā, in the Jessore and Burdwan districts, and particularly at Bagdā ; in 1815 the dakoits in Burdwan used to go in great pomp to the villages under pretence of a wedding procession, and then plundered them. In 1845 an English school was opened here by an Indigo Planter of the neighbourhood : it is conducted by two students of the Chinsura College, and has about 40 boys in daily attendance. Chagdā has two Sanskrit colleges, containing 20 pupils ; they study Hindu Law, under the tuition of two Professors of Law. There are 40 Brahman families in Chagdā : in the bazar there are about 200 shops.

The MATABANGA river lies north of Chagdā ; it was formerly much deeper, and was the channel of trade between the east of Bengal and Calcutta ; its banks, 40 years ago, were infested by thieves and tigers. A survey was made of it in 1795 by Colonel Colebrook, as Government wished to keep it open all the year around : it is sometimes dangerous to cross on account of the torrents which suddenly come down. The Matabanga has many interesting associations in connection with one of the greatest men in Bengal, Rajah Krishna Chandra Ray of Nudiya ; an interesting life of him has been published at the Serampur Press in very pure Bengali. At *Anunda Dam*, near the mouth of the Matabanga, the Rajah had a fine garden, and used often to go there to bathe ; it is now over a mile inland. *Shibnibās*, some distance up the river, was the favorite residence of the Rajah ; it was a princely pile and fortified, but is now surrounded with jungle ; the Rajah designed to make Shibnibās equal to Kāśī, *i. e.*, Benares, and as in Benaras, there is a great image of Shīva named Bisheshwar, so he put one in Shibnibās named Bhura Sib, hence those well known lines—

Sibnibāsī tulea Kāśī
Dhaneoa nadi Kankanā
Dhaneoa Ragu Nandanā.

A very good account is given of Shibnibās in Heber's Journal, Vol. I., p. 120 ; the Rajah built here 108 temples of Shīva and endowed them richly with land for the maintenance of the officiating priests. RANIGHAT, so called from the Rāni

of Krishna Chand, is the abode of many rich zemindars, and particularly of the Chaudris. Human sacrifices were offered here in the time of Krishna Chand : some of the zemindars there have been very oppressive, and were in the habit of rubbing a hot iron over a man's body and making him then sign stamped papers. Chandi Bhattacharjya died here in 1841 ; he had 40 wives. Ragananda, the dewan of Krishna Chand, lived here ; he was noted for his inhospitality, and the following lines were composed on him :—

Rájbari ghorí baja tantaná
Dui prahare atit gele,
Muktu máre chatkaná.

Dakoits swarmed here when Tytler was magistrate in 1809. Not far from Ranighat is ULA, so called from Uli a goddess, whose festival is held here, when many presents are made to her by thousands of people who come from various parts. there are a thousand families of Brahmans, many temples, and rich men living in it. As Guptapara is noted for its monkeys, Halishar for its drunkards, so is Ula for fools, as one man is said to become a fool every year at the mela. The Baruari Puja is celebrated with great pomp, the headmen of the town have passed a bye-law, that any man who on this occasion refuses to entertain guests shall be considered infamous, and shall be excluded from society. Saran Siddhanta of Ula had two daughters, who studied Sanskrit grammar and became very learned : in 1834, the babus of Ula raised a large subscription and gave it to the authorities to make a pakka road through the town.

On the opposite side of the river is GUPTAPARA ; the people of which are famous for their activity and wit and the purity of their Bengali : there are 15 tolas, and many pandits who study the *Nyaya Shastrá* ; it is also notorious for thieves and Brahmans. In 1770, Cherinjib Bhattacharjya of Guptapara composed in Sanskrit, the Vidyanmodu Tarangini : it treats of Hindu philosophy, and is in high repute among the natives, it was translated into English in 1832 by Rajah Kalikissen of Calcutta. There is a temple of Radha Ballub ; the sons of the founder have an endowment for supplying travellers with food and drink. Guptapara is noted for its monkeys, which are very large and very mischievous, they sometimes break the women's kalsis ; it has become a native proverb that, to ask persons whether they come from Guptapara, is equivalent to inquiring—are they monkeys ? Rajah Krishna Chandra Ray is said to have procured monkeys from Guptapara and to have married them at Krishnaghur, and on the occasion to have invited pandits from Nudiya, Guptapara, Ula and Santipúr : the expenses of the nuptials cost about

half a lakh : though there are many monkeys on the east side of the river, there are no *hanumans*, or apes among them. The Rajah of Bishenpūr was formerly so annoyed with monkeys who used to come into his palace and steal his provisions, that he at last requested a body of sipahis to destroy them. Stavorinus mentions seeing a great number of monkeys in a wood at Guptapara. There is a celebrated mela here, in 1845, in consequence of the boat swamping, 40 women were drowned as they were crossing over to the mela. At *Sumūru* village human sacrifices were offered in 1770—*Ballaghur* is the abode of many kúlns, in the temple of Radhagovinda 12 Brahmans and 50 beggars are daily fed ; it has an English school :—*Jirdt* is the residence of many Vaishnavas and Vaidyas ; there are two tolas in which law and logic are read . there are 30 families of Ghosians, who have a hospice there for the entertainment of all castes . Sudam, Radakanth and Swarup, notorious dakoits, lived there. *Gokal Ganj* is so called from Gokal Ghose, who 30 years ago made a bazar there ; in 1822 the Government erected a bungalow for the occasional residence of their then superintendant of schools.

SANTIPUR has long been famous for its learning : it was the residence of Adwaitya, born 400 years ago, one of the friends of Chaitanya, a Hindu reformer. There are still over 30 tolas, though they are much fewer than in former times . one-third of the people are Vaishnavas, several of the descendants of Adwaitya live at Santipūr . there is a temple which cost two lakhs, erected by Chaudri Babu, it is called Shamachand. A kúln, Chandra Banerji, was killed here 30 years ago, he was married to 100 wives, and was murdered by the brother of one of them on account of his profligate conduct towards his sister ; eight of his wives performed *sati* on his funeral pyre. *Satis* were numerous here formerly : out of 56 *satis* in 1816, in the district of Nudiya, 20 were performed at Santipūr. Human sacrifices were also frequent ; even as late as 1832, a Hindu, at Kali Ghat, Calcutta, sent for a Musalman barber to shave him he asked him afterwards to hold a goat, while he cut off its head as an offering to Kali, the barber did so, but the Hindu cut off the barber's head and offered it to Kali, he was sentenced by the Nizamut to be hung. A few years ago a number of Brahmans assembled at Santipūr for puja, and began to drink and carouse after it ; one proposed a sacrifice to Kali, they assented, but having nothing to sacrifice, one cried out, where is the goat, on which another more drunk than the rest exclaimed, I will be the goat, and at once placed himself on his knees ; one of the company then cut off his head with the sacrificial knife. When they woke the next morning from their

drunken fit, they found the man with his head off; they had the corpse taken to the ghat and burned, and reported the man died of cholera. Suicides are on the increase, women think little of hanging themselves for any trifling domestic disturbance; ghat murders are also of occasional occurrence; an old woman was found lately dead at the ghat with her mouth stuffed with mud; a man came sometime ago to the magistrate, he was 45 years old, and requested leave to be burnt, as he said he was tired of life, and burning would be a blessing; the magistrate offered him money which he refused: that night he was burned. The obscene rites of the Tantra Shastra are sometimes celebrated there; one of them is the worship of a shamefully exposed female. A Brahman of Santipūr in the time of Rajah Krishna Chand was accused of criminal intercourse with the daughter of a shoemaker; the rajah forbade the barber to shave him, or the dhobi to wash for him. He applied to the Rajah for pardon and afterwards to the Nawab, but in vain; subsequently the Rajah relented and allowed him to be shaved, but the family have not regained their caste to the present time. Bribery is very common; false witnesses charge two annas a day, for which they will swear to any thing. Santipūr has a great number of brick houses; it is noted for its Ghosains, ("Gentoo bishops" as Holwell calls them,) tailors and weavers: fine clothes called *urmi* are made; there is a sugar factory 2 miles from the town, 700 persons are employed in it, and 500 mds. of sugar refined daily. The river has made great changes: a century ago it flowed behind the sugar factory, 2 miles away from its present bed. Rennel's Map marks Santipūr at a considerable distance from the river. In 1845 a grant of 20,000 Rs. was made by Government for the repair of the road leading to Kishnaghur.

The Commercial Residency of the East India Company was maintained here up to 1828; clothes to the value of 12 or 15 lakhs were purchased every year by the Company from the weavers: the Commercial Resident had a salary of 42,351 Rs. annually, and lived in a magnificent house with marble floors built for him at the cost of a lakh; it was sold for 2,000 Rs. In 1822, the East India Company cloth manufactory gave employment to 5,000 persons: 1802, the Marquess of Wellesley spent two days at the Residency: and 1792, there were shipped for England from the Santipūr factory 14,000 mds. of sugar. Majoribanks was the last resident, and his plans failed. We have an account of indigo factories near it in 1790; in the vicinity of Santipūr are the indigo factories of Gangadarpūr, Kali Ghat, Nanda Ghat and Hurni Khal under the management of Europeans. Mr. May, the Superintendent of the Nudiya rivers, was

engaged in 1836 in surveying a line of a proposed still water canal from the Húgly near Santipúr to Mangra on the Naba-ganga river, which, if cut, would have afforded a certain communication with the great river at all times of the year. No place on the river was so infested with dakoits as Santipúr until the appointment of a Deputy Magistrate who is *resident* there: even zemindars and respectable babus were in league with the dakoits; no native would formerly venture to pass Santipúr at night; guard-boats are now employed, which sail swiftly, and put a great check on river dakoity. There is an English School at Santipúr: 1822, Messrs. Hill, Warden and Trawin, of the London Missionary Society, preached in Santipúr; they remark that "the people have much simplicity and received the truth more earnestly than Bengalies generally." They examined whether Santipúr would not make a suitable mission station: they reported that "Santipúr has 50,000 inhabitants at least, and 20,000 houses, many of which were built of brick and exhibit evident marks of antiquity,"—that it had a vast population—was contiguous to other large and populous villages, being only $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Guptapara, which contains 10,000 people, about 4 miles from Ambika and Kalna, two adjacent villages, the aggregate of whose population is 45,000—"the favorable disposition of the moral feelings of the people, which we conceive has been cherished materially by the general instruction which has been diffused by the Company's schools"—the opportunity of obtaining medical assistance from Kishnaghur, 12 miles distant—the situation of the place close to the river with every facility for intercourse with Calcutta—induced them to recommend it as a mission station. Here Holwell was landed as a prisoner on his way to Múrshidabad, after surviving the misery of the Black Hole: he was marched up to the Zemindar of Santipúr "in a scorching sun near noon, for more than a mile and a half, his legs running in a stream of blood from the irritation of the irons." From thence he was sent in an open fishing boat to Múrshidabad, "exposed to a succession of heavy rain or intense shunshine." He was lodged in an open stable; he experienced, however, every act of kindness from Messrs. Law and Vernet, the French and Dutch chiefs of Kasimbazar; as also from the Armenian merchants. He was led about the city in chains as a spectacle to the inhabitants, to show the condition the English were reduced to.

KALNA (Culna) lies on the opposite side, and is noted for its great trade, being the port of the Burdwan district; the bazar has 1,000 shops, the houses are chiefly of brick. Great quantities of rice bought from merchants of Rangpur, Dewan-

ganj, Jaffirganj, are here stored up ; grain, silk and cotton also form a large staple. Kalna must have been a place of some importance in Musalman times, as the ruins of a large fort are still to be seen near the mission house, which commanded the river : great numbers of snakes are brought to it from various parts of the country ; the village of Ambika is situated near it, so called from Ambika, the goddess Durga. Kalna is said to have 60,000 inhabitants, the chief part of whom come from different parts of the country to carry on trade here, " they have not the simplicity which villagers generally have, but are more deceitful." The Rajah of Burdwan has a magnificent mansion here, in which is a Dhatrita or alms-house, where several hundred beggars are daily fed on flour, ghi, rice and dhal ; there is an Attshala for travellers ; close to it is a place called a Somaj Bati, where a bone of every deceased member of the Rajah's family is deposited, while a bone of the last Rajah is exposed wrapt up in cloth ; the Rajah belongs to the Khetrya tribe, who bury the ashes of the dead : inside of the Rabjari are 108 temples of Shiva, ranged in two circles, one within the other, above, 50 priests are employed to serve them : the buildings must have cost a large sum of money, but it is to be observed that the zemindary of Burdwan is the only great estate which has suffered no diminution since the English Government was established, while the estates of Kishnaghur, Rajsháhi Dinajpúr, and Vishnupúr, formerly equal to the patrimony of princes, have been broken up and sold for arrears of revenue. In 1832 the old Rajah of Burdwan died at Ambika : the succession was afterwards disputed, and one Pratab Chand came forward to claim the property, stating that he was the real Rajah and had not been really burnt ; the trial lasted a long time and was sent down to the Sadar, the decision filling 100 reams of foolscap,—as if the Sadar judges could have either leisure or inclination to wade through such a mass of documents, in order to come at the truth ! The editor of the *Darpan* remarked of the trial, " such a scene of villainy has been brought to the light by this trial, as has never, we believe, been exhibited in Bengal before. If the prisoner be the real Pratab Chand, the villainy by which the present Rajah has been seated on the gadi to the injury of the rightful heir, is most surprising. If, on the contrary, the real Pratab Chand did actually die, and his body was burnt, the pretender will stand unrivalled for roguery." 10,000 persons assembled on the first day of his trial at Húgly : the popular feeling was in favor of Pratab Chand.

The river formerly flowed behind Kalna, where old Kalna

now is; it passed by Pyagachi, the remains of deep and large jils are still to be met with there. Old Kalna is deserted as a place of trade, but is the residence of many respectable natives. Tieffenthaler states that at Kalna the Ganges forms a bay. At Baydapúr, near Kalna, about 1820, there were two Rathes kept at a short distance from the town, near an unfrequented road; many persons were murdered by robbers who concealing themselves there, sprang out, killed the travellers and hid their bodies among the wheels of the Rath; the people suffered much, but could not find out the murderers, at length some said the Rath was the cause they burned it to the ground, and then *the murders ceased*. Some of Sleeman's approvers told him that *pungus* or river thugs lived near Kalna, and also near Katwa. Many persons were formerly killed at Kamardanga Khal near Kalna, so that it was unsafe to pass through it even by day. West of Kalna is a tank occupying eight bighas, where a mela is held. near it are two fine ruins of mosques, one of which has layers of stone running through the building ornamented with tracery; it contains the tomb of the founder. A good road was made between Kalna and Burdwan in 1831 with bungalows, stables, and tanks, every 8 miles, by the Rajah of Burdwan, chiefly with the design of enabling him to bathe in the Ganges. Kankar is found near this road; the country to the west of Kalna is high ground, richly wooded. In 1837 property to the value of a lakh was consumed in the bazar, the fire lasted three days. In 1822 Messrs. Hill, Warden and Trawin visited Kalna and found that numbers of the boys could read. Kalna now forms a station of the Free Church Mission, and has an English school there containing 120 boys. A mela called Gachemi is held in March, attended by numbers of Musalmans and Hindus. A Musalman zemindar here holds a grant of 169 bighas made to him by Sultan Suja 200 years ago, and continued by the Rajah of Burdwan; at the village of Chaga is an image of Shiva, which is fabled to produce images of itself, and is immersed in water for ten months every year.—*Kulti* is said to produce roots which cure spleen, as *Mukutpúr* has roots which are said to cure the bites of dogs. Holwell states that in his time (about 1760) there was at Amboah near Kalna a College of Brahmans supported by the people for the purpose also of maintaining the monkeys in the adjacent groves.

MIRZAPUR KHAL lines north of Kalna, and was designed to be the terminus of a canal to lead from the Húgli at Kalna to Rajmahal. The Military Board in 1844 reported that no permanent improvement can be made in the channels

of the Nudiya rivers owing to the shifting of the channels : they recommended a canal from Kalna to Rajmahal 130 miles long, 50 feet broad, and 5 deep, which would cost at the lowest 3,847,437 rupees ; boats going to the Ganges from Calcutta would save a round of 326 miles by it, they calculated on a profit of $14\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. by it : the Government had a surplus of 3,235,950 rupees from the tolls on the Bhágirathi, Circular and Tolly's canals and the Nadya rivers. The Dhoba factory owes its origin to the enterprising spirit of Mr. Blake, who risked his fortune in it ; Colonel Sleeman very justly proposed that the Agricultural Society should give him a gold medal for advancing the sugar manufacture in India ; he established it under the most unfavorable circumstances, and on his arrival in England he was offered four lakhs for the concern, but he formed a joint Stock Company, which purchased the works from him for $4\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, and he retained 300 shares for himself ; in 1836 they manufactured 800 tons of sugar. There are four Europeans and 250 natives employed. It has a number of factories as Tremoni in Jessore on the Kabbadak, Kissapúr, Jessore, Chandpur near Chaugachha, Rari Khali, Narikalbari, Sudpúr Bonmari, Kanchanagar, Surui, Santipúr. We find that in 1801 a Mr. Carden lived at Santipúr as superintendent of rum and sugar works belonging to the E. I. C. He then introduced the China cane which he describes as not liable to the ravages of white ants and jackals ; the E. I. C. had a sugar plantation farm at Santipúr. Mirzapúr is described by a traveller of 1822 thus : " this village is situated on a beautiful arm of the river, and presents some of the most rural enchanting scenery which we have seen in India."

We next come to the far-famed NUDIYA, Nabadwip ; all its early history, however, like that of Gaur, is buried in the wreck of time : we need not be surprised that we have few records of Nudiya, when we find that we have scarcely any of Gaur, though as late as 1556 Gaur was a flourishing city three leagues long ; though the streets were wide, yet the people were so numerous, that they were sometimes trodden to death : it was 20 miles in circumference, and the rich people used to eat their food from golden plates. The earliest fact we know about Nudiya, is that in 1203 it was the capital of Bengal and was surrounded with a wall, that Lakhman Sen, its last sovereign, was at dinner when news reached him that Bhaktiyar Khilji, the Musalman general, was marching into the city, on which he made his escape to Vikrampúr in a small boat ; his nobility apprehending a Mahomedan invasion, had some time before deserted the city. Nudiya was plundered and sacked by Bhaktiyar, and the seat of empire

was transferred to Gaur. In Lakhman's time Bengal became independent of the Magadh empire, to which it was subject before.* As to how long Nudiya was the capital, or what kings lived in it, or why that place was selected, not a single ray of light is furnished either from tradition or MSS. "*sic transit gloria mundi*"—the condition of the people at that time was probably semi-barbarous, as they very likely used the Bengali language, which was then a very poor idiom, as it has had no grammar until within the last sixty years; the upper classes and priesthood spoke and wrote in Sanskrit. Even the Bengal Brahmans were so illiterate in the days of Adisur, that he procured the services of certain Brahmans of Kanauj who had gone to Ganga Sagar to bathe. Bhaktiyar was the first Musalman invader of Bengal† The caprices of the river have not left a fragment of any old buildings; in Lakhman's time it flowed at the west of the present town near Jehannagar; and old Nudiya which was swept away by the river, lay to the north of the existing Nudiya. The old town was on the Kishnaghur side of the river, hence when Bengal was divided into zillahs, the district of Kishnaghur was called the district of Nudiya; Government lately intended to attach Nudiya to the Burdwan district on account of its being on the other side of the river; in 1840, a gentleman of Kishnaghur dug up the remains of fish 12 feet beneath the ground in Nudiya.

Nudiya derives much of its celebrity from its having been the birth-place of Chaitanya, the great Hindu heresiarch; hence the Chaitanya Bhagavat writes: "No village is equal to Nudiya in even earth or hell, because Chaitanya was there incarnated, no one can tell the wealth of Nudiya, if people read in Nudiya they find the ras of learning, and the number of students is innumerable." Chaitanya was born at Nudiya A. D. 1346, his father was

* Lakhman's mother was of the royal family of the Sovereigns of India; his birth cost the life of his mother, who by unnatural means postponed her accouchement until after a particular hour specified by the astrologers. He was so attached to Nudiya, that, notwithstanding the warnings of Brahmans and astrologers, and though the nobles and chief inhabitants, apprehensive of the invasion, sent away their families and property to Jagannath or the countries North-East of the Ganges—yet he would not quit it until he was surprised at dinner by the cries of his royal attendants, who were being slaughtered by Bhaktiyar and seventeen of his troops, (he had concealed the rest of his troops in a wood near the city and had passed the guards, disguised as an enemy). The Musalmans killed a great number of the Hindus. Bhaktiyar allowed the city to be sacked, reserving only the public stores and elephants for himself; the troops also plundered all the neighbouring villages. The old Rajah went to Jagannath and died in the vicinity of the temple soon after.

† He was an Affghan, of disgusting appearance so that his deformity caused his rejection as a volunteer by Mahommed Ghory and Kutub-ud-din, yet in spite of his "vile body," the qualities of his mind shone out, and he was appointed to head the invasion of Bahar and Bengal: After sacking Nudiya, he took possession of Gaur: he died of grief at Deocote, in consequence of the total failure of his expedition to Assam and Tibet.

a Baidik Brahman: at 44 years of age he was persuaded by Adwaitya to become a mendicant, to forsake his wife and go to Benares; he then formed a sect, teaching them to renounce a secular life, to eat with all those who are Vaishnavas, he allowed widows to marry; the Ghosians are his successors; one-fifth of the population of Bengal are followers of Chaitanya; his disciples are on the increase. Todd thinks the worship of Krishna succeeded that of the simple form of Hindu worship, *viz.*, of the Jains, who adore *jín* or spirit. Nityananda, a coadjutor of Chaitanya, resided in the midst of Nudiya; his image is there still and is worshipped. The era of Chaitanya formed the commencement of Bengal literature.

The settlement of Chaitanya and his followers at Nudiya (Chaitanya died A. D 1396,) together with the Court of Bengal having been held there, were probably the chief causes of its having become a seat of learning. tradition, however, states that a learned devotee settled there, when it was a dense jungle, who attracted a number of learned men to the place: probably Nudiya derived its original supply of Pandits from Tírhút. The Ayin Akbary mentions that in the time of Lakhman "Nudiya was the capital of Bengal and abounded with wisdom;" in 1819 there was a handsome temple of Krishna finely ornamented.

Human sacrifices used to be offered in the temple of Durga at Brahmanitala near Nudiya in 1799 at Banga Para, 37 widows were burnt with their husbands, the fire was burning 3 days; on the first day, 3 were burnt, on the second 15, and on the third day 19, the deceased had over 100 wives—in 1807, the *Tapta Mukti* or ordeal by hot clarified butter was tried before 7,000 spectators on a young woman accused by her husband of adultery—a meeting of Brahmans was held in 1760 at Kishnaghur before Clive and Verelst, who wished to have a Brahman restored to his caste, which he had lost by being compelled to swallow a drop of cow's soup; the Brahmans declared it was impossible to restore him (though Ragunandan has decided in the *Prayaschitta Tatwa* that an atonement can be made when one loses cast by violence) and the man died soon after of a broken heart. Nudiya was then the head-quarters of Hindu orthodoxy, the place of Hindu retreat, Gunga Govind Singh, the dewan of Warren Hastings, after having acquired immense wealth, retired to Nudiya with two or three hundred Vairagis, leaving all his money to his grandson Lalla Babu, who withdrew to Brindaban, where he expended 6 lakhs on temples, tanks, &c.:—Gunga Govind Singh erected a temple over 60 feet high, which was washed away 25 years ago by the river; it was at

Ramchandrapúr, and supplied food to many fakírs and pilgrims of the Vaishnavas : he himself was a Sudra. At Bullal Digy, north of Nudiya, the house of the famous Bullal Sen stood, there were formerly many temples, but the river has swept them also away. Lord Valentia writes in 1805, of "a very handsome Musulman College at Nudiya, which was for three hours in sight and bore from us at every point of the compass during this time." The bore came up to Nudiya in Sir W. Jones' time ; beyond it cocoa trees do not flourish. In 1835 a Dharma Sabha was established, called that of the Ten Thakúrs ; they punished offenders by excluding them from caste by sending them, when they transgressed the Regulations, to the magistrate of Kishnaghur, or by prohibiting midwives attending their wives in confinement. An almanac has been published in Nudiya long before the time of Rajah Krishna, it is superior to that of Bali or that of Malua near Murshidabad : this almanac regulates the principal festivals. In May 1817, the *cholera* began in Nudiya, in 1818 it spread through India, then in 1820 to China, 1821 to Arabia and Persia, 1832 to Russia, Prussia, and in 1832 to London. The neighbourhood of Nudiya until recently was in a wild state, 80 years ago people were obliged when travelling to sound instruments to scare the tigers away ; about 1802, gentlemen used to go to Kishnaghur to hunt tigers, and in 1826 a tiger was killed at Dhogachea, 6 miles west of Nudiya. Dr. Leyden wrote in 1809 to Sir S. Raffles that he was for several month's magistrate in Nadya, where he was engaged "bush fighting in the *jungles*." Jahanagar (the same as Brahmanitala), west of Nudiya, has a great mela in July, the tradition is that Jahna Muni there swallowed up the Ganges. A cow called Ramdenu is worshipped in Nudiya. Another Ramdenu is worshipped in Benares ; it must be one of an age to give milk, which yet has never been capacitated to do so ; when one dies another is selected : she is chiefly worshipped by the person in whose house she is. There are over 30 temples in Nudiya and about 100 tolas, it is a finishing school for those pandits who wish to know logic thoroughly as Rarhi or Burdwan is for Grammar students, and Kanakhya Kishnaghur for law students ; there are students here 45 years old, many come to study from the distance of Assam, so that the remark of Dr. Carey, who visited Nudiya, 1794, is perfectly just, "several of the most learned pandits and Brahmans much wished us to settle there. and as this is the great place of Eastern learning we seemed inclined, especially as it is the bulwark of heathenism, which, if once carried, all the rest of the country must be laid open to us." Lord Minto wrote

a very able minute, recommending that two Sanskrit colleges should be established, one at Tīrhut, the other at Nudiya ; he encouraged learning there, giving two chief pandits 100 Rs. monthly each, prizes were awarded to the best native scholars : in the first class 800 Rs., in the 2nd 400, 3rd 200, 4th 100, besides a *khelat* to the one most proficient. The C. M. S. have had an English school here during the last eight years. The Rev. Mr. Deer, of the C. M. S., founded schools 16 years ago in Nudiya.

AGRADIP is called by Wilford, Aganagara, and is famous for the mela called Baroni held in April, established for three centuries ; these melas *also* answer commercial purposes like the fairs of Germany (*feriæ*;) at Ganga Sagar mela in 1838, goods to the value of 12 lakhs were sold. In 1823 Agradīp mela was attended by 100,000 persons ; in 1813 two women cast their children into the river, but the fathers took them out again and paid a certain sum to the Brahmans for their ransom ! People from Dacca and Jessore used to throw their children to the Ganges there. At Katwa two mothers did the same, one of the children was taken up, but the mother seized it again, broke its neck, and cast it into the river. The great attraction here is the image of Gopinath or Krishna ; its history is the following—Ghosh Thakur was sent as a disciple of Chaitanya and Nityananda to Agradīp, to take a certain stone and make out of it an image of Gopinath to set up there as an object of worship : Ghosh Thakur did so, it became famous ; after his death the image fell into the hands of the Rajah of Kishnaghur, who sent a Brahman to perform the ceremony before the image and receive the offerings, the offerings to the image yield an annual profit to the owner, the Rajah of Kishnaghur, of about 25,000 Rs. ; Rajah Nabakissen seized it 30 years ago on account of a debt due to him, the lawful owner however regained it by a law suit, not however before a counterfeit one had been made exactly resembling it : the image is fabled to reveal many secrets ; different castes eat together at this mela : Gopinath means Lord of the caves, as Krishna was worshipped formerly in caves chiefly at Gaya, and Jalindra near the Indus. The temple in which Gopinath is placed was endowed by Rajah Krishna Chand with lands to the annual value of 7,000 Rs. ; in 1828 the old temple was washed away by the river, and the present temple is erected one mile from the river, built in the European style of architecture. Forty years ago there was a cloth manufactory here. In Rennel's time Agradīp was situated on the left bank of the river, it is now on the right ; it was on the left bank when Henry

Martyn visited it in 1806; he saw there a wild boar of very large size walking on the side of the river: we find that in 1769 the Bengal Government paid 1,918 Rs. to Bildars and Kulis for cutting down "the tiger jungle" at Pattehah in Agradīp; in 1771 the charge was 873 Rs. A storm occurred here in 1832 which sunk the boats of a regiment of soldiers.

Dewangunj Indigo Factory established 53 years ago, lies north of Agradīp, it gives employment to a number of *buneas*, a class of aborigines like the Bagdi, Poda, Harin, Dhangas, who came from Gaur and retired to the hills. Pliny mentions indigo being brought from India; it was formerly called in Germany "the Devil's dye," and the use of it was prohibited: the Elector of Saxony in Queen Elizabeth's time describes it as "a corrosive substance, not fit food for man or devil." In 1783 the attention of the East India Company was directed to the cultivation of it in Bengal. There are twenty-nine indigo factories between Nudiya and Mūrshidabad. At one of these, Dr. A. Rogers tried experiments on the flax cultivation, having brought out a Belgian for that purpose. Chamberlain, a celebrated Missionary of Katwa, used often to visit this place, and placing himself beneath the shade of a large tamarind tree, "preach to successive congregations from sun rise to sun set."

KATWA (Cutwa,) called by Arrian Katadupa, raises up a host of associations connected with stirring scenes in Bengal history: here Clive arrived in 1756 on his route to Plasi, expecting to meet Mir Jaffir, but on his not arriving, he saw that the fate of the English hung on a hair—should he wait two or three days at Katwa, the French under Law would by that time arrive and join the Nawab's 50,000 troops;—should he fight, the river was only fordable in one place, and if defeated, "not one man would have returned alive to tell the tale:" in this crisis he called a Council of War, in which every member voted against coming to an immediate action, except two captains; Clive afterwards remarked this was the *only* Council of War he ever held, and that if he had abided by that Council, it would have been the ruin of the East India Company; after twenty-four hours' consideration, Clive took on himself the responsibility of breaking the decision of the Council, and ordered the army to cross the river. Coote was in favour of immediate action, on the ground that delay discourages soldiers, and that the arrival of Monsieur Law, (to whom the Nawab allowed 10,000 Rs. monthly,) would give vigour to the counsels of the Nawab, that many French and English soldiers would desert to Law, besides "the distance from Calcutta was so great, that all com-

munication from thence would certainly be cut off." Katwa was formerly regarded as the military key of Mūrshidabad ; within six miles round it there is a population of 100,000. Pere Tieffenthaler describes it as a place where "they make much fine stuffs of cotton and silk ;" it is still the great port for the Birbhum district. In the Gola Ganj there are several hundred shops which sell sugar, cloth, iron ; in 1836 the Rajah of Kewgang in Birbhum offered to make a pakka road from Sūri to Katwa, a distance of forty miles, provided he should be allowed the service of convicts on the road ; the Judge of Burdwan remarked in 1802, "commerce has been much extended by the opening of the three grand roads leading to Hūgly, Kalna and Katwa, which have been lately put into a state of repair by the labour of the convicts, and nothing can more forward the commerce of this district, which has not the advantage of inland navigation, or more conduce to the general convenience of the inhabitants than good roads." There is a temple of Maha Probhu frequented by numbers of bairagis and travellers ; they are fed there at the cost of the shopkeepers who contribute one pice out of every 100 Rs. to defray the expense. In 1812 a leper was burnt alive here, he threw himself into a pit 10 cubits deep, there being fire at the bottom ; the leper rolled himself into it, but on feeling the fire, he begged to be taken out and struggled to get free ; his mother however and sister thrust him in again, and he was burnt to death ; he believed by so doing he should be transmigrated into a finer body : in Calcutta a few years ago there were 531 lepers, of whom 118 were beggars : lepers have burnt themselves alive in Katwa as recent as 1825. About 1810 the headless corpse of a man was found in the temple of a certain goddess at the village of Serampur near Katwa, it had been offered as a human sacrifice. Mūrshid Kūli Khan erected at Katwa guard-houses for the protection of travellers ; one of his officers had charge of it, and whenever he caught a thief, used to have his body split in two and hung upon trees on the high road. Katwa was the scene of various battles between the Musalmans and Mahrattas, those hardy warriors, "who deserted the plough for the sword, and the goatherd made a lance of his crook ;" various parts of Bengal verify the remark of Todd, "the Mahrattas were associations of vampires, who drained the very life blood wherever the scent of spoil carried them ; where the Mahrattas encamped annihilation was ensured ; twenty-four hours sufficed to give to the most flourishing spot the spectacle of a desert ;" these very Mahrattas scrupled to kill the most noxious animals, while they eagerly-employed their tulwars in the destruction of man ! Ali

Verdy Khan retreated in 1742 before the Mahrattas from Midnapúr to Katwa during 7 days, through a miry country, and incessant showers of rain, with no bed for the soldiers but the bare earth, and no food but grass and leaves of trees—one of the most enterprising achievements in history, exhibiting a power of endurance which somewhat reminds us of the celebrated retreat of the ten thousand Greeks. The Mahrattas invaded Burdwan as late as 1760. Chaitanya paid a visit to Katwa about 1370 to see Kesab, a sanniasi, who lived there.

The Aji river lies to the north of Katwa, it is said to have been formerly a deep stream, but to be now silted up; Wilford calls it the Ajamati or shining river; it is the Amystis of Megasthenes, Arrian mentions it; it is named the Ajaya in the *Galava Tantra*, which states that whoever bathes in it becomes unconquerable. Jaydeva, the great lyric poet of Bengal, was born on the banks of the Aji near Kenduli in the opinion of Lassen and the Vishnuvites, though others assign his birth-place to Tirhút or Orissa. The Gita Govinda was translated by Sir W. Jones into English, by Lassen into Latin, and by Ruckert into German. The Great Akbar was an enthusiastic admirer of the mystic poetry of Jaydeva, so like the Suffism of the Persians, his poetry is studied very much at Nathdwara near Udyapur: Jaydeva lived according to Todd 3000 years ago; according to Lassen A. D. 1150, his tomb is at Kenduli near Ilambazar, and there is an annual festival held there resorted to by numbers of Vaishnabs, as Jaydeva strongly recommended in his writings the worship of Krishna, particularly in his Gita Govinda, which he composed at Katamkhandi, a village 12 miles north of Ilambazar. the place is still called Jaydevpara. L. Sen, a poet, lived on the banks of the Aji, 12 miles from Katwa; people travelling are fond of singing his poems, there is an account of him in the Dharma Puran, as also a description of Katwa. The Dhoba Company have coal stores at Katwa, they bring their coals down the Aji, which is a very dangerous stream, as the boats are often swamped by sudden rushes of mountain torrents. The Aji and Babla sometimes flow down with such violence from the Birbhum hills as to cause the Bhagirathi to roll back its waters. To the north of the Aji is the FORT OF KATWA, which was half a mile in circumference, taken by Coote in 1757; it had 14 guns mounted then: in 1763 Captain Long took it from Kasim Ali: the walls were of mud, it commanded the river; Major Coote, with 200 European and 500 Native troops and 2 guns came to the banks of the Aji and called on the garrison to surrender; the sipahis crossed the river and fired on

the garrison under shelter of the bank, when the garrison saw the Europeans cross the river, they set fire to a shed of mats which had been made to protect the walls from the sun and escaped to the north ; within the fort and in several granaries in the neighbourhood the English found as much rice as would support ten thousand men for a year. At the close of the rains of 1742 Ali Verdy had 600 of his soldiers drowned on the breaking of a bridge of boats as he was crossing the Aji to attack Bhaskar Rao in Katwa : the Mahrattas had then possession of all the country west of Múrshidabad, so that the inhabitants of the city were obliged to remove their property across the Ganges, as the enemy in the dry season had plundered all the country about Plasi and Daudpúr.

Following the tedious and shifting windings of the river we come to the field of PLASI (Plassey) so called from Palasa, a tree counted very holy ; Sir W. Jones states that there was a grove of those trees at Plasi formerly, they were to be seen at Kishnaghur in Jones's time. Of the famous mango grove called Lakha Bag, from there having been a lakh of trees in it, (this tope was about a mile to the east of Ramnagar Factory,) all the trees have died or been swept away by the river, excepting *one* under which one of the Nawab's generals, who fell in the battle, is buried ; the place is called by the natives *Pirha Jágó*, and is held scared by the Hindus and Musalmans, but particularly by the last. This grove was 800 yards long and 300 broad, it existed at the time of the battle, there is only one tree left ; the river has so changed its course as to have swept away every thing which was on the surface at the time the battle was fought ; as late as 1801 there were 3,000 mango trees remaining, and the place was notorious for dakoits who lurked in jungles there. An English traveller of 1801 thus writes about Plasi, "the river continually encroaching on its banks in this direction, has at length swept the battle field away, every trace is obliterated, and a few miserable huts, literally overhanging the water, are the only remains of the celebrated Palasi" Murders and dakoities were formerly very common in the neighbourhood of Plasi, the jungly state of the country affording shelter to marauders of every description, it is now a cultivated plain. Important as the battle of Plasi was to the English interests, there was another equally so, the battle of Biderra near Chinsura, for as Holwell remarks, had the Dutch gained the victory they would have been joined by the Nawab, "and not an individual of the colony would have escaped slaughter." Clive is said to have fallen asleep, amid the roar of the cannon in the battle ; when he awoke he found the enemy retreating, but

he put Major Kirkpatrick under arrest for advancing without his orders—while he was asleep, one cause of the defeat of the Nawab's troops was that their matchlocks did not fire owing to the rain having wetted the powder. A life of Clive was published by an Italian in 4 vols. It was compiled by a deadly enemy of Clive, who wrote it with the intention of damaging his character. We mention the following few notices of him which are little known, and are not recorded in Malcolm's *Life of Clive*—Clive was called by Pitt in the Senate "the heaven-born general"—he learned dancing at Paris 1763, in order to please the French ladies—many of the French nobility, who despised all the mercantile class, condemned Clive for having been in a mercantile office—he forbade all the Company's servants in India the use of palankins, and the junior servants the use of even an umbrella—he rose early and then executed a good part of his business, afterwards breakfasted, and then took exercise:—he was rather reserved in company—he was a great enemy to interlopers. When leaving India, 1767, he issued orders that all free merchants should be recalled to Calcutta, and should not quit it.

Clive knew nothing of the vernaculars—Clive, the warrior of India, and Orme, his historian, were appointed writers the same day—after the battle of Plasí he proposed to the authorities the conquest of China, in order to pay off the national debt! Mír Jaffir (nicknamed Clive's ass) sent a message after the battle to offer Clive several hundred of Suraj-ud-daulah's women which were taken in the camp—an East India Director once asked Clive whether Sir Roger Dowler (Suraj-ud-daulah) was not a baronet—this is as good as Lord George Bentinck's stating that, if the price of sugar be raised, the hundred million of Hindus will not be able to sweeten their tea—Clive's voyage from England to Calcutta, 1765, cost the East India Company 73,489 Rs. He used all his influence and power to get Benodoram, a native favorite of his, restored to caste, but failed—when he went home he was exposed to various insults from civilians or military men whom he had offended in India. Once he was obliged to disguise himself three times in one day to avoid the pursuit of some of his enemies. Clive suggested a plan to Pitt for establishing a mighty empire in India, extending from the Ganges to Kambay, he proposed in 10 years to pay off the national debt from the diamond mines, and to divide the country into ten provinces with deputy governors in each. The people of Múrshidabad expected to be plundered after the battle, and were therefore greatly surprised when no contribution was levied on them,—Clive remarked that when

he entered Múrchidabad at the head of 200 Europeans and 500 sipahis, the inhabitants, if inclined to destroy the Europeans, might have done it *with sticks and stones*. RAMNAGUR silk factory* is opposite the field of Plasi, the river formerly ran behind it. *Saktipur* near Ramnagar is noted for an annual mela of Shiva in March, when many visitors and shopkeepers repair to it from Calcutta and Múrchidabad. 30,000 people assemble : silk is produced chiefly on the west bank of the river, as the soil there is dark and more suitable for it. Near the village of *Munkurra* not far from Ramnagar, Ali Verdy treacherously assassinated Bhaskar Pandit with 19 of his officers. The troops of Suraj-ud-daula, when driven from Plasi, were pursued by the English to *Daudpúr*, nine miles distant. The Nawabs of Múrchidabad then kept a stud of 300 of elephants there, they still keep them ; it was a hunting seat, there is a large *bul* called Kalantar near it, where abundance of Chera called dal is procurable for elephants ; from this place Mír Jaffir sent word to the English that he was come to join them, while the Nawab went to Múrchidabad and offered large sums of money to induce the soldiers to fight for him, but they would not ; at night he escaped from the palace windows with two or three attendants. Mangan Para lies north of Plasi, and is famous for the Kacheri of the Berhampúr Rajah.

RANGAMATI next presents its bluff cliffs, forty feet high, the only elevated ground in that neighbourhood, it being either a spur of the Birbhum hills, or else rock decomposed *in situ*, the remains of the original level of the country : the earth is red, *ranga mati*, and of the same kind with that found near Rampúr Baulea and Midnapúr, the intervening soil of a similar description being probably washed away by a process of denudation ; Parasnath hill is 5,000 feet high, while all the surrounding country is a low table land ; red clay, like that of Rangamati, encompasses the Delta of Bengal, and is found in Dinajpúr, Rajshahi, Dhaka, Goalpara. Dr. McClelland observes, "this clay has long appeared to me like the remnant of the ancient continuous surface, through which the rivers have cut their channels for ages, so as nearly to have effaced it altogether." The legend respecting Rangamati is, that Bibisan, brother of Raban, being invited to a feast by a poor Brahman at Rangamati, as a token of gratitude rained gold on the ground, and hence the earth is red ; by others it is ascribed to Bhu Deb,

* Belonging to Mr. W. Rose, an ingenious and enterprising gentleman, to whom, for his producing the best samples of white and yellow silks, the Agricultural Society have awarded two gold medals.

who, through the power of his *tapasya*, rained gold. Wilford writes that Rangamati was formerly called Oresphonta, Hararpunt or Hararpana, *i. e.*, ground *árpana* consecrated to Hara or Shiva. "Here was formerly a place of worship dedicated to Mahadeva or Hara, with an extensive tract of ground appropriated to the worship of the God; but the Ganges having destroyed the place of worship, and the holy ground having been resumed during the invasions of the Musalmans, it is entirely neglected. It still exists, however, as a place of worship, only the image of the Phallus is removed to a great distance from the river," it is called by the poets Kusumapúri, an epithet applied to favorite towns of theirs, as Patna, Burdwan, Rangamati. The remains of pottery, which have been dug up, show that there was a large population here once: in the Mogul times there was a Fauzdar; and in 1767 the Zemindar of Rangamati received a *Khelat* at the *puna* of Mutijil to the value of 7,278 Rs. Rangamati was one of the ten fauzdaris into which Bengal was divided; it is resorted to as a sanitarium, and is a favourite place for pic-nic parties; the undulations of land and scenery remind one of England; it abounds with partridge and snipe, and shooting excursions are often made there. It was once selected, instead of Berhampúr, for the erection of barracks, as being a high and healthy spot. In 1835 the Company's silk factory here was sold for 21,000 Rs., it had 1,500 bigas of land attached to it; the high land is not so well adapted for the growth of the Mulberry as that of the low alluvial soil in the neighbourhood: in 1784 Warren Hastings spent a few days here with Sir John Doyley—Hastings' name suggests various points—he was the first Governor-General who patronised Oriental and Statistical studies, as the inquiries on Tibet, Cochin China, and the Red Sea show; he supported, at his own expense, pandits in Calcutta to translate from the Sanskrit, poems and mythological works, and yet Burke could say of him "he never dines without creating a famine in the land!" His trial lasted seven years, two hundred Lords marched in procession on the opening of it to Westminster Hall. Hastings was *accessible to all natives*.

BERHAMPUR, so called from a Musalman officer Brampúr, who was in one of the Nawab's armies, is noted for its fine barracks. Our military frontier is now at the *Sutlej*; 80 years ago *Berhampúr* was the northern frontier station. In 1763 one detachment of the English troops occupied Birbhūm, another Kishnaghur, while the body of the army was between Ghyretty and Kasimbazar. The barracks cost in 1765-7 the sum of £302,270; articles for them cost three times as much as in Calcutta. In 1768 the Chief

in Council of Kasimbazar appointed a committee to investigate into the exorbitant charges made, they suspended three covenanted Government officers for overcharges, amounting to two lakhs, the difference between the cost and charges to the East India Company. It was proposed to surround the barracks with a ditch to prevent the soldiers going to Múrshidabad and getting drunk, but it was found it would have cost a lakh. The Seir Mutakherim in 1786 states, "the barracks of Berhampúr are the finest and healthiest any nation can boast of; there are two regiments of Europeans, seven or eight of sipahis, and fifteen or sixteen cannon placed there, and yet I heard men say that the Musalmans were so numerous at Múrshidabad, that with *brick bats* in their hands they could knock the English down." In 1771 Berhampúr, Chittagang, Dinapúr and Allahabad were regarded as the four head-quarters in Bengal. The English in a letter to Suraj-ud-daula in 1768 stated they did not wish to have any troops beyond the Karamnassa. George Thomas, who came out to India from Ireland as a common sailor, and became afterwards a general in the service of the Begam Sumrú and master of the province of Hurriana, died here in 1802 on his way to Calcutta to embark for Europe, and is interred in the burial ground. Creighton of Gaur, one of the first who established native missionary schools in this country, is also buried here; he lived for twenty years with the late Charles Grant at Goamalty, "without a single instance of a painful difference:" he published a plan of the best mode of establishing native schools, and supported several at his own expense; *he connected schools with his factories and gave daily instruction to his factory servants.* He died at the age of forty-two, and his friend W. Grant, a kindred spirit, was buried the next month, in the same graveyard with him.

"Little Henry," the subject of Mrs. Sherwood's beautiful tale "Little Henry and his bearer," is also buried here. Mrs. Sherwood lived to the east of the burial ground. At the time of the great famine of 1771, travellers were found dead here with money bags in their hands, as they could not purchase corn with them. 1810, in consequence of an earthquake the water of the tank here turned a dark green colour, and an immense number of fish, many of them weighing from 10 to 18 seers, floated dead on the surface, they were taken away in carts by natives, some were buried, and some used for manure. A gentleman lived at Berhampúr in 1813, who was very anxious to improve the country, and seeing the natives carrying the earth in baskets on their heads, he procured six wheel barrows instead, which the natives used constantly

before him, but one day congratulating himself on advancing their improvement, he saw them carrying the wheel barrows on their heads. A theatre was established at Berhampúr in 1821. A Bible Association was established in 1830, and an Agricultural Society in 1837. To the south of Berhampúr is Gora Bazar, inhabited by Musalmans or people from the North-West, who speak Urdú. to the South-East of Berhampúr, two miles, the *Cheltia Mela* is held in honor of Roganath, it is attended by about 20,000 people. Berhampúr was forty years ago the residence of General Stewart, who used to offer puja to idols and worship the Ganges; he lived to an advanced age, was well acquainted with the manners of the natives, his Museum in Chauringi was opened to the public; during the last years of his life he fed an hundred destitute beggars daily: he was called "Hindu Stewart." Like Job Charnock he married a Hindu, and she made a Hindu of him. At *Vishnupúr* human sacrifices were formerly offered.

KASIMBAZAR is so named from Kasim Khan who founded it. it gives its name to the island of Kasimbazar, included between the Bhagirathi from Nudiya up and the Jellingf; tigers and boars abounded in the neighbourhood thirty years ago, as also birds of beautiful plumage; Lord Valentia, however, states that there were no tigers there in 1802, owing to the increase of population and the rewards of ten Rs. per head for every tiger offered by Government. At different periods, Government spent a lakh and a half in Bengal in rewards for killing tigers, it was a regular charge at the Kacheri of Hugly. Kasimbazar is now three miles from the river. The Decennial Settlement brought much land into cultivation; an Indian traveller of 1811 writes.—"Kasimbazar is noted for its silk, hosiery, coras, and inimitable ivory work, but as to the greater part of its surface, it is a wilderness inhabited only by beasts of prey, at twelve or eleven miles from Berhampúr, an almost impervious jungle extends for a considerable space denying entrance to all but tigers." Bolts, a factor, at Kasimbazar, made nine lakhs by trade between 1760 and 1767. Bruton in 1632 writes of "the city of Kasimbazar where the Europeans have their factories, the country affords great quantities of silk and muslins." Kasimbazar was a great mart in former days for trade. Reynal remarks: "Kasimbazar is grown rich by the ruin of Malda and Rajmahal: it is the general market of Bengal silk, a great quantity of silk and cotton stuffs are manufactured here; they are circulated through part of Asia; of the unwrought silk 3 or 400,000 lbs. weight is consumed in the European manufactories." The cotton trade

is almost extinct there now, owing to the cheap importations from England, but 500,000 pieces of Kora are manufactured there at present, amounting in value to thirty lakhs. In 1677 Mr. Marshall employed in the factory here was the first European who learned Sanskrit, he made a translation of the Sri Bhagavat into English, which is preserved in the British Museum. A melancholy instance of Sati was witnessed here in 1742 by Holwell in the time of Sir F. Russel's chiefship, in the case of the widow of Ram Chand Pandit, a Mahratta ; her friends, the merchants and Lady Russel, did all they could to dissuade her : but to show her contempt of pain, she put her finger in the fire and held it there a considerable time, she then with one hand put fire in the palm of the other, sprinkled incense on it and fumigated the Brahmans, and as soon as permission to burn arrived from Hoseyn Shah, Fauzdar of Múrshidabad, she mounted the pyre with a firm step. In 1681 out of 230,000£ sent by the East India Company for investment to Bengal, 140,000£ of it was sent to Kasimbazar : that year Job Charnock was chief there. In 1620 the English had commercial agents at Patna, and in 1658, they had them at Kasimbazar, Húgly and Balasore : 1767, one of the members of Council was appointed to be chief of the trade at Kasimbazar. In 1753 Warren Hastings was a commercial assistant here, and devoted much of his time to Persian ; in 1757, on the place being taken by Suraj-ud-daula, who encamped with his whole army opposite to it, he was made prisoner and sent to Múrshidabad : the English had a fort then here, which at the time of the battle of Plasi was more regular and tenable than that of Calcutta : it had four bastions ; in that year Suraj-ud-daula came before the fort with his whole army, and Mr. Watts recommended that a fortification should be erected at Múrshidabad : the Court of Directors in reply stated, that in subordinate settlements they could not bury the Company's capital in stone walls, that their servants were so thoroughly possessed of military ideas, as to forget that their employers were *merchants*, and trade, their principal object. The Commercial Resident here had a salary of 50,160 Rs. ; the filatures and machinery of the East India Company were worth twenty lakhs ; in 1768 it was recommended that European troops should not be brought nearer to Calcutta than Kasimbazar on account of the climate of Calcutta being so unfavourable to European health.

The FRENCH had a factory at Kasimbazar, as also at Malda : the one at Kasimbazar is now marked only by ruined walls and an old flagstaff, it is called Farasdanga, the native population have deserted it for the more profitable settlement of Khagra

and Gora Bazar. The French *still* own Farasdanga, though they make no use of it ; the site is occupied by native distilleries. They had a factory at Saidabad, where Dupleix lived a long time, he was the Louis Philippe of the French interests in Bengal, as his great aim was to raise French power through the influence of French commerce. Dupleix gained twenty lakhs in India and originated the French private trade therein : with all his attention to business he indulged in frivolity : he has been seen in the streets of Chandernagar with a fiddle in his hand and an umbrella over his head, running naked with some other young fellows, and playing tricks at every door. SAIDABAD has an Armenian church built about 1757, and in Tieffenthaler's time, a great number of Armenian merchants lived in beautiful houses here and carried on trade.* From Saidabad Clive wrote the memorable letter to the Council, the 6th of May 1766, apprising them of the conspiracy among the officers, and their determination to lay down their commissions since the Company had reduced their batta. From Saidabad embankments extend to Bhamenea ten miles distant, they used to cost annually for repairs over a lakh. 1767 Múrshidabad was near being washed away in consequence of the embankments breaking down. In 1838 a meeting of natives was held at the house of the Hon'ble W. Melville, Governor-General's Agent, to establish an English school, they subscribed 6,000 Rs. ; the school flourished for a year, English, Bengali, Persian, Arabic, and Sanskrit were taught, but when those Europeans who took an interest in it left the station, it dwindled away.

MURSHIDABAD is of earlier date than the time of Múrshid Kúli Khan, its reputed founder, but rather embellisher ; he made it the capital in 1714 as being a central place. Akbar, writes Tieffenthaler, founded Múrshidabad and sent a body of troops to a place east of it, called Akbarpúr. Every part of Múrshidabad suggests ideas connected with a fallen Musalman dynasty ;

* "The Armenians gradually came from Gujarat and Surat, to Benares and Bahar : about one hundred and fifty years ago they formed a settlement at Saidabad in consequence of a Phirmaund from the Mogul. When the Dutch settled at Chinsura in 1625, they were followed by the Armenians." As opulent merchants they exercised great influence over the Moguls. When Holwell landed in 1757 as prisoner at Múrshidabad, having his body covered with boils and loaded with fetters, he was received kindly by the Armenian merchants. Travernier in 1665 met four Armenian merchants, who traded with Butan and *supplied the people there with idols!* Yet in building their Church in 1695 at Chinsura, no Hindus or Musalmans were employed at it, but only Armenians. Akbar had an Armenian servant of whom he entertained a high opinion—Coja Gregory, an Armenian, was the chief man at the court of Mir Kasim, he trained all the Nawab's infantry and cavalry in the English manner and commanded the artillery ; in 1772 he presented a petition to the House of Commons, complaining of the treatment he and his nation received from the Company's servants, both in person and property ; they were *rival* traders.

in 1759 it was 5 miles long and 2½ broad. Since the removal of the revenue courts and capital from it to Calcutta in 1772, Múrshidabad has been in a state of rapid decline. The reason of the removal was—that appeals were thus made to Calcutta direct, and only one establishment kept up—the records and treasure were insecure in Múrshidabad, which “a few dakoits might enter and plunder with ease” Hastings also assigned a reason that thereby Calcutta would be increased in wealth and inhabitants, which would cause an increase of English manufactures, and give the natives a better knowledge of English customs. The palmy days of Múrshidabad have passed away—the times when the Koran was the only code, when the Nazim decided in all capital cases, and when a court held on Sunday was the only appeal from the provinces ;—when the despotic principles of Moslem Governments rendered the courts rather instruments of power than of justice—when all eyes were turned to Múrshidabad as the centre of Government and source of favour. The splendor of a court has faded away and also the outlay of money connected with it ; we find that on the marriage of Suraj-ud-daula, Ali Verdy kept a continued feasting for a month in his palace at Múrshidabad : all comers were welcome, every family in the city, rich and poor, partook of his hospitality, by receiving several times tables of dressed victuals called turahs, none of which cost less than 25 Rs., and thousands of them were distributed in Múrshidabad.

On the golden principal of “the greatest good of the *greatest number* for the greatest length of time,” we think the English rule preferable to the Moslem in Bengal, though we do not attach so much value to the tranquillity, which is the result of English sway, for, as an author remarks : “We have given the Hindus tranquillity—but it is the tranquillity of *stagnation*, agitated by no living spring, ruffled by no salutary breeze.” It cannot be questioned that even an imperfect native government may be much better for a country on the whole, than a foreign one, though the latter be theoretically better constituted we do not, however, apply this remark to India ; the Hindus have, by the English Government, been delivered from the caprice of such monsters as Suraj-ud-daula, who did not scruple to bury one of his mistresses alive between walls at Múrshidabad, and was so profligate, that no woman’s virtue was safe. Golam Hussein gives a faithful and lively picture of the licentiousness and despotism that prevailed at Múrshidabad Múrshid Kúli used to compel defaulting zemindars to put on loose trousers, into which were introduced live cats. Suraj-ud-daula murdered persons in open day in the streets of Múrshidabad.

There are, however, some bright features in this dark picture, and which it would be well were the English Government to imitate. The Musalman sway in Mūrshidabad reminds us that among the results were—wealth was scattered over the country : the courts of the Rajahs formed the centre of influence within their respective domains : the Musalmans made India their *home*, they forgot the country whence they came, and made themselves *part of the people* ; though they plundered the people, they did not send away the money to *foreign* lands ; their wealth chiefly circulated in India, in which they invited their countrymen to settle and increase the population the Nawabs mixed with the people and allowed them *access*. The Seir Mutakherim (written 1786) remarked—"of all the English that have carried away princely fortunes from this country, not one of them has ever thought of showing his *gratitude* to it, by sinking a well, digging a pond, planting a public grove, raising a caravanserai or building a bridge." The revenue collected from the people circulated among them : large jagirs were granted to nobles, on which they *settled* ; armies of horse were maintained for show, the buildings in Bengal now are not equal to the old ones in magnificence, "the remains of stupendous causeways, ruins of bridges, and of magnificent stairs on the banks of rivers, not replaced by similar undertakings of modern date, suggest melancholy reflections on the decline of the country ;" these observations are not so applicable *now* however. Numbers of learned Arabic scholars came from Persia and received endowments and patronage. Forster in his travels remarks on this subject, "the native princes and chiefs of various descriptions, the retainers of numerous dependants, offered constant employment to a vast number of ingenious manufactures, which supplied their masters with gold and silver stuffs curiously flowered, plain muslins, a diversity of beautiful silks, and other articles of Asiatic luxury." In 1742 the court was removed from Rajmahal to Mūrshidabad by Ali Verdy Khan, in order to watch the English better, as also to be enabled to contend to more advantage with the Mahrattas.

The great FAMINE of 1770 caused dreadful havoc at Mūrshidabad ; in April 1770 desolation spread through the provinces : multitudes fled to Mūrshidabad ; 7,000 people were fed there daily for several months ; but the mortality increased so fast, that it became necessary to keep a set of persons constantly employed in removing the dead from the streets and roads. At length those persons also died, and for a time dogs, jackals, and vultures were the only scavengers. The dead were placed on rafts and floated down the river, the bearers died from the

effluvia, whole villages expired, even children in some parts fed on their dead parents, the mother on her child. Government has been blamed by a certain existing society as the cause of this famine : how could they prevent the effects of the rains of heaven and the overflowing of the rivers which caused a deficiency of crops ? It is vividly described by Macaulay, "the whole valley of the Ganges was filled with misery and death. The Hoogly every day rolled thousands of corpses close to the porticos and gardens of their English conquerors ;" Múrshidabad is memorable as the residence of the SEATS, the bankers of the Bengal Government, respecting whom Burke remarked in the House of Commons "that their transactions were as extensive as those of the Bank of England." The Emperor of Delhi conferred on one of them the title of Jagat Seat, *i. e.*, the banker of the world ; Jagat Seat kept all the revenue of Bengal in his treasury at Múrshidabad ; he was the Rothschild of India, and though plundered of two millions of money by the Mahrattas, when they *luted* Múrshidabad, the loss seemed scarcely to be felt by him ; we find in 1680 the Seats were a great family and employed in supplying piece-goods to the English merchants. Jagat Seat helped Múrshid Kúli Khan to purchase the continuance of his office as Nawab of Bengal after the death of Arangzeb. Clive proposed Jagat Seat as arbiter of the dispute between him and the Nawab : he was one of the Council of three to the Nawab in Clive's time, and had charge of the receipts and disbursements of the Government. The Seats were great friends to the English, in whose integrity in commercial transactions they had the strictest confidence ; there is a tradition that they, in common with many other natives, were so indignant with Suraj-ud-daula for his cruelties, ripping open pregnant women through curiosity, and drowning persons in order to see their dying struggles—that they lent money to the English to enable them to carry on the war with the Nawab, and through their money and influence they contributed very much to the transfer of the supreme power from Suraj-ud-daula to Mír Jaffir. They used to lend Government a crore at a time. In 1717 there was a family of the Seats in Calcutta, who were very instrumental in bringing it into the form of a town : but the transfer of the seat of Government from Múrshidabad to Calcutta led to their decay, a descendant of Jagat Seat lives at Múrshidabad, he occupies the residence of his ancestors which is in a dilapidated state ; for some time the members of the family subsisted by the sale of the family jewels, but lately Government has granted the representative of the family a pension of 1,200 Rs. monthly, all the family

papers were destroyed some time ago by a fire. The Seats were Jains, and built several Jain temples in Múrshidabad. Todd states, "more than half the mercantile wealth of India passes through the hands of the Jain laity; the majority of the bankers are the Jains from Lahore to the Ocean."

There are now few ancient edifices in Múrshidabad, though a tax of 8,000 Rs. annually was levied for permitting bricks to be brought from Gaur for buildings in Múrshidabad. These bricks were enamelled, and *the natives of Bengal now cannot make bricks* equal to those that were manufactured at Gaur. The greater part of the nobles have gone to Delhi or have returned to Persia, there is not a nobleman there now who is not connected by blood or marriage with the Nawab Nizam, excepting Mohamed Reza Khan, who is independent and possesses a respectable competency: he is a descendant of the famous Muzafir Jang, who lived in the time of Warren Hastings. There was a mint here, where silver was coined in the name of the Emperor: it yielded a revenue of three lakhs annually, and was erected by Múrshid Kúli Khan in 1704. "The East India Company in 1746 paid Múrshid Kúli 25,000 Rs. for permission to establish a factory at Kasimbazar, for the convenience of having the bullion, which they sent from Europe, coined into rupees at the mint," which reminds us of what Zelm Sing said to Colonel Todd, "the time will come when there will be but one sikka throughout India." On the right bank of the river in former times there were many houses; the Nawab's palace stood there. The Sadak Bag was famous in 1800 for the Nawab's garden and the College of Fakírs near it called Akara Munsaram. The palace of Mír Jaffir stood on the right bank of the river, and had accommodation enough for three European monarchs. That of Suraj-ud-daula was on the left, both were fortified with cannon. There are many Karta Bhojas to the east of Múrshidabad. Forster in 1807 remarks that at the entrance to the town was a large and magnificent gateway and a parapet pierced with embrasures for cannon, it was probably the remains of a fortification erected in 1742 against the Mahrattas, who in Ali Verdy's time plundered the suburbs of Múrshidabad. In 1839 when a meeting was held at Berhampúr in favor of steam communication between England and India, twenty members of the Nawab's family were present, and the first resolution passed was—that every Mahommedan was interested in its success, as shortening the period of going to, and returning from Mecca—and yet when the first river steamer passed Múrshidabad the natives thought it was a *bhút* or goblin breathing out flames, that was come to devour their children.

MUTIJIL or the lake of pearl (a favorite name applied to a lake in Kashmír and another in Lahore), is a lovely spot, south of Múrshidabad ; there are only a few arches now left of the magnificent palace erected here of black marble brought from Gaur ; it was built by Suraj-ud-daula at an enormous expense in order to "indulge his vicious pleasures beyond the reach of control," he quitted this palace in order to fight the battle of Plasi ; and from the same place, 1766, Clive wrote a letter making over five lakhs bequeathed to him by Mir Jaffir, to a fund since called Clive's fund. Hamilton states the Mutijil was "one of the windings of the former channel of the Kasimbazar river ;" others, however, think it was commenced for the purpose of making bricks for the houses, which at one time covered the piece of land surrounded by the Mutijil some years ago the Nawab was induced at the recommendation of the Hon'ble W. Melville, the resident, to establish an experimental agricultural garden there. Tieffenthaler writes : "The Governor of Bengal resides at Coleria, and one mile from it is a great and magnificent palace, called Mutijil, from the clearness of its waters." When the building was nearly ready, Suraj-ud-daula invited Ali Verdy to see it, he locked up Ali Verdy in a room and refused to release him unless the zemindars there paid a fine from their lands, Ali Verdy was obliged to grant it, as also to give Suraj-ud-daula the privilege of erecting a granary, which the inhabitants called Munsurganj or the granary of the victorious, *i e.*, of Suraj-ud-daula who outwitted his grandfather. The piece of land surrounded by the Mutijil in the form of a horse-shoe, was formerly covered with houses. In its neighbourhood Lord Teinmouth once lived, he devoted his days there to civil business and his evenings to solitude, studying Urdú, Persian, Arabic and Bengali ; after dinner when reposing, an intelligent native used to entertain him with stories in Urdú · he carried on an extensive intercourse with the natives and superintended a small farm : he writes of it, "here I enjoy cooing doves, whistling blackbirds and purling streams, I am quite solitary, and, except once a week, see no one of Christian complexion." He amused himself in improving the Nawab's grounds and enjoying the recreation of music during the years 1771-2-3. The PUNA was the annual settlement of the revenue of Bengal, when the principal zemindars and all the chief people of the country assembled at Mutijil in April and May : it was abolished in 1772, because it was found that the amils or contractors rack rented : the zemindars used to come to the Puna with the state of amrahs, it was viewed as an act of fealty or homage to the Nawab of

Múrshidabad, and the annual rent roll of the provinces was then settled ; Khelats were distributed each year ; in 1767 the Khelat disbursement amounted to 46,750 Rs. for Clive and his Council : 38,000 Rs. for the Nizamat : 22,634 Rs. for the people of the treasury : 7,352 Rs. to the Zemindar of Nudiya : to the Raja of Birbhum 1,200 Rs. of Bishenpúr 734 Rs. : the sum expended on Khelats that year amounted to 216,870 Rs. The practice of distributing these Khelats was of long standing, as they were given to the zemindars on renewal of their sunnuds and as a confirmation of their appointment ; to the officers of the Nizamat they were an honorary distinction ; the people held the Puna in great esteem, and Clive, regarding it as an ancient institution, raised a special revenue collection to defray the expenses of it, but in 1769 the Court of Directors prohibited the giving presents at the Puna. In 1767 at the Puna the Nawab was seated on the Musnud, Verelst, the Governor-General, was on his right, and recommended in the strongest manner to all the ministers and landholders, to give all possible encouragement to the clearing and cultivating of lands for the mulberry. It must have been a splendid sight when amid all the pomp of oriental magnificence Khelats were presented to the Rajahs or Nawabs of Dhaka, Dinajpúr, Húgly, Púrnea, Tippera, Silhet, Rangpúr, Birbhúm Bishenpur, Pachete, Rajmahal, and Bhaglipúr, a form like the Puna is still kept up at each Zemindar's Kacheri. Newish Mahomed, nephew of Ali Verdy, is buried at Mutijil in a mosque built by him ; at his funeral there was great lamentation of the people, as he was very charitable, he could not bear to be on bad terms with any one. Ecramed Daula, the brother of Suraj-ud-danla, is also buried here, "on his death the city of Múrshidabad looked like an immense hell filled with people in mourning." The East India Company's Political Residents lived at Mutijil, and several of them made large fortunes there ; one of them returned to Europe in 1767, having, as is said, during his three years Residency, accumulated property to the amount of nine million of stivers.

On the right bank of the river, opposite Mutijil, is the burial place of the Nawabs ; here Suraj-ud-daula and Ali Verdy are buried side by side. Forster in 1781 mentions that mullahs were employed here to offer prayers for the dead, and that the widow of Suraj-ud-daula used often to come to the tomb and perform certain ceremonies of mourning in memory of her deceased husband : the expenses of the burial ground are defrayed by Government ; the river, two miles south of Mutijil, formerly took the shape of a

horse-shoe, until the neck was cut through at considerable expense. To the North-East of Mutijil is the *Kutiera* described by Hodges, a traveller of 1780, as "a grand seminary of Musalman learning, 70 feet square, adorned by a mosque which rises high above all the surrounding building;" near it is the *Topkhand* where the Nawab's artillery was kept, it formed one of the entrances to Múrshidabad, a cannon was placed between two young trees; they have grown up, and their branches have lifted the cannon from the ground. It has two splendid minarets 70 feet high; Jafir Khan was an humble man, and is buried at the foot of the stairs leading up, so as to be trampled on by people going up:" this mosque was constructed after the model of the great mosque at Mecca.*

At *Kalkapúr*, a long straggling village to the south of Mutijil, are the few remains of what was once the Dutch factory, and the scene of gaiety. In 1757 Vynett was the chief of it, he was very kind to the English when the factory of Kasimbazar was taken by the Musalmans: the burial ground still remains. The river formerly flowed by Kalkapúr; now it is at a considerable distance: it also ran behind Berhampúr, the Dutch had a mint there. A visitor to it, 1825, writes, "Kalkapúr is now in a neglected state, the court yard is overrun with jungle, and the barking of the paria dogs were our only greeting on entering a place, which for many years was a scene of gaiety, in the evening and of incessant application to business during the hours of every returning day." Stavorinus describes the Dutch in 1770 as rising at 5, then breakfast, then business until noon, after which dinner, and the afternoon *siesta* or nap until 4 o'clock, from that to six business again, from six to nine relaxa-

* In a Persian MSS. is the following short account of this Mosque: "Jafir Khan, sometimes also called Múrshid Kúli Khan, having a presentiment that his death was approaching, commissioned Mirad, the son of Ismail, a Furrash, (a servant whose business it is to spread carpets) to erect a tomb, a Musjid, and Kuthrub to be called after him, and directed that it should be completed in six months. This man on receiving the commission, requested that he should not be called to account for any acts that he might think necessary to adopt in the execution of his work. On his request being granted, he immediately called upon the zemindars to supply him with artisans and labourers to raise the building. He fixed for the site a piece of ground which belonged to the Nawab to the east of the city. For the materials for the work he pulled down all the Hindu temples that he heard of in or near the city, and seized all the boats in the river. The Hindu zemindars wished to preserve their temples and offered to furnish all the materials at their own cost, but this Mirad refused, and it is said that not a Hindu temple was left standing within four or five days' journey round the city. He also exercised oppression in other ways, and even pressed respectable Hindus while travelling in these suwaras to work at the building. By this means the work was finished in twelve months. It consisted of a Kuthrub, a Musjid, and Minars, a Hour and Boali and Well—and Jafir Khan endowed it in such a manner as to ensure its being preserved after his death."

tion, when supper was taken and they went to bed at 11. Tavernier, in 1666, visited Kasimbazar and was well received by Van Wachtendonck, Director of the Dutch factories in Bengal; the Nawab then lived at Múrshidabad the present Nawab's family is of Arab origin. The Dutch had intercourse with Bengal at an early period; Warwick, the founder of the Dutch East India Company, made an alliance with several Rajahs of Bengal in the beginning of the 15th century: they settled in Bengal about 1625. In Tavernier's time the Dutch kept up to 800 natives employed in their factory at Kalkapúr.

Tieffenthaler, 1770, describes Múrshidabad as having an immense number of brick stucco houses, adorned with a great number of gardens and fine buildings, and that the Ganges there had an astonishing number of barks and boats on it. Even as late as 1808 Mr. Ward thus writes of it, "Múrshidabad is full of Moors, very populous, very dusty, except a few large brick houses and a few mosques, the rest of the town consists of small brick houses or huts into which an European creeps; for near two miles the river was lined with trading vessels." Now all is in rapid decay, and the chief object to attract the traveller is the New Palace, which is 425 feet long, 200 wide, 80 high; it has a splendid marble floor, the banqueting hall is 290 feet long, with sliding doors encased in mirrors. Colonel Macleod was the architect of it, and the *only European* engaged, the *natives* executed the work. The trade of Múrshidabad was formerly very great; the Pachautra or Custom office books state, that, as late as Ali Verdy's time, 875,000 lbs. worth of raw silk were entered there, exclusive of the European investments, which were not entered there, as being either duty free or paying duty at Húgly. Múrshidabad is now famous for the manufacture of ivory toys and chessmen; in 1838, an English newspaper was begun there called the *Múrshidabad News*, it met with a good circulation, the Court of Directors subscribed for 10 copies of it, but afterwards it became scurrilous and indulged in personal abuse, the consequence of which was that it became extinct in 1839.

Múrshidabad was noted in former times for the profligacy of its court, we dare not pollute these pages with a description of the vile impurities of Serferez Khan. The Seir Mutakherim describes the court of Múrshidabad as a kind of Sodom; the women of the court talked *publicly* of subjects which should never pass the door of the lips. A regard to the feelings of survivors prevents us from referring to the orgies of late

occupants of the Musnud. We trust the present Nawab will set a different example; the length of his title "Mantizum Ul Malak Moshen Ud Daula Faridau Jan Syad Munsur Ali Khan Bahadur Narset Jang," fully rivals Spanish titles. May he imitate the example of a former Nawab, Suja Khan, "who supported at Múrshidabad all travellers of intellectual and moral worth, and encouraged merit in every way." Ali Verdy also is a worthy object of imitation in the attention he paid to developing the resources of Bengal.

The present court has about 50 eunuchs attached to the Nazim and the female relatives living within the Kela or the enclosure; inside which the authority of the civil officers of Government does not extend, these eunuchs come from different places in Abyssinia, from Tigra, Dancali, Nubia and the Galla country.

Suraj-ud-daula kept in his seraglio a female guard composed of Tartar, Georgian, and Abyssinian women, armed with sabres and targets. Múrshidabad is noted on account of the festival of the *Beira* which was introduced by Suraj-ud-daula, who used to have boats large enough to hold 100 men, filled with earth and flowers, and floated down the river with lamps, while the shores were illuminated. Little could be expected of him, his mother was a notorious adulteress, and himself, when governor of Katak, plundered the rich and shocked all decency, so that a conspiracy was formed against him.

TERETKONA lies on the right side of the river facing Múrshidabad; it has an image of Cintua, a goddess worshipped there in the temple of Kriteswari or Durga; it has declined after the withdrawal of Government patronage; it is mentioned in the Bhabishyat Purana. *Debpára* opposite to Múrshidabad had a Mosque and Mausoleum erected by Shuja Adin, in which he was buried, A. D. 1739. He was a man of general philanthropy and unbounded liberality. He made a beautiful garden at *Debpára*, which he called *Ferreh Bag* (the garden of happiness) to which he retired in the summer with his seraglio in order to indulge in every luxury.

AZIMGANJ is also opposite Múrshidabad, the city formerly extended on the west bank of the river from this to Suraj-ud-daulah's tomb. Du Perron describes the river as dividing the city into two parts. There are several fine *Jain* temples here: the Jains are a most enterprising mercantile race, and many of them here emigrated from Jaudpúr, Marwar, and Hariana; some have settled as far east as Assam: the north of Múrshidabad is occupied chiefly by Jain merchants, who speak Hindi;

the middle is occupied by Musalmans, and the south by Bengalis.

BHAGWANGOLA is divided into old Bhagwangola and new Bhagwangola, twelve miles distant from each other; the former was the port of Múrshidabad in Ali Verdy's time, and supplied the city with provisions from the districts to the east of the Ganges. The Ganges anciently flowed to the west of it; now it is five miles west of the river. In 1760 Clive sailed down the Ganges to Bhagwangola and then crossed to Múrshidabad. Oats, gram, and rice are brought to it from Rangpúr, Dinajpúr, &c., &c. Surup Dút, the ghat mangi here, was for many years the leader of the thugs of Dhaka, Furidpúr, &c., &c., he used to embark travellers in the boats of his comrades and then have them murdered. In former times the neighbourhood of Bhagwangola must have been exceedingly populous, as there are evident remains of a very extensive town or a series of large villages, now overgrown with forests, and dotted with numerous tanks and other signs of population. Several English officers were buried here, but their tombs have been swept away by the river.

JANGIPUR or Jehangipúr, because founded by Jehangir the Emperor, was long a seat of the silk manufacture of the East India Company: the Company's factory was sold to a Mr. Larulletto in 1835 for 51,000 Rs, the silk filatures were erected in 1773. The first attempt of the East India Company was at Budge Budge, which did not succeed. Grant in his Essay on India adduces the silk manufacture as an instance that the Hindus are not *unchangeable*; the East India Company introduced the Italian mode of winding silk, and the natives have altogether dropt *their own* method: in 1757 the East India Company sent out to Bengal, a Mr. Wilder, well acquainted with the silk manufacture, to examine into the different qualities of the Bengal silk; he resided at Kasimbazar, then the Company's chief silk manufactory, where he died in 1761: in 1765 Mr. Ponchow was appointed to Kasimbazar to carry on the improvements begun by Mr. Wilder: Italians were sent out first: Lord Valentia in 1802, describes Jangipúr as the greatest silk station of the East India Company and employing 3,000 persons. The west bank of the river is best for the mulberry cultivation, as it requires a black soil. The East India Company's filatures did not extend beyond 26° N. Lat., as in a more northerly direction the soil and air become too dry for the mulberry and silk worms. Napoleon's Berlin Decrees, prohibiting the exportation of silk from Italy to England, gave a great stimulus to the cul-

tivation of the Silk Trade in Bengal : a meeting was immediately held in London, and a request was made to the East India Company to supply England with silk direct from India. Mr. Williams was resident here and died in 1822, he was a great friend to education. Jangipúr was formerly famous for "its pretty English garden;" in 1808 the river near it was dried up, so that gharis crossed it, owing to a chur at the mouth of the Bhagirathi, which caused the Ganges to flow into the Jellinghi, the lowest depth of water here in the dry season is about two feet : in the Jellinghi, in 1832, a *thousand* boats were waiting at the mouth to be lightened before they could proceed on account of the shallowness of the water—and yet Government levy a tax of 150,000 Rs. per annum on boats passing up this river in order to keep it clear, the same sum on the Matabanga and Jellinghi, while little trouble is taken by Government officers to keep the river clear. Allowing 3 Rs. as the average toll for each boat, this shews that on an average above 50,000 boats pass Jangipúr annually.

SÚTI is memorable for the battle of Gheria fought near it, 1740, in which Ali Verdy defeated Serferez Khan at the head of 30,000 cavalry and infantry, and a numerous train of artillery ; and for a battle in 1763, which lasted 4 hours, and in which Mír Kasim was defeated, though at the head of 12 battalions of sipahis, 15,000 horse and 12 cannon ; had the English lost this battle they would have been driven out of Bengal, as Mír Kasim's troops were drilled according to European discipline. Three thags were arrested here in 1836 by Capt. Louis, two were father and son. One man confessed, that in one expedition he and his gang had committed fifty murders between Múrshidabad and Bar. Near SÚTI an excavation has been made to join the Ganges and Bhagirathi ; when first made it was only a few yards wide, but the stream was no sooner admitted than it quickly expanded to as many hundred yards : in the year after its completion not a trace of its existence remained, the middle of one of the principal streams of the Ganges is now pointed out as the spot where the excavation was made ; between SÚTI and Kalgang forty square miles of land have been washed away by the river in a few years, Suraj-ud-daula alarmed at the capture of Chandernagar and afraid that the English would bring their ships up the Padma and into the Bhagirathi, sunk vessels near SÚTI to prevent it. In 1839 it was proposed to Government to form a new zillah, of which SÚTI was to be the capital, six thannahs from Múrshidabad and eight from Bhagalpúr were to form it. Tavernier, the

celebrated traveller, who visited Kasimbazar in 1665, mentions that there was 'a sand bank before Súti, which rendered it impassable in January, so that Bernier was obliged to travel by land from Rajmahal to Húgly. In Du Perron's time Súti was famous for the tomb of a Fakír, Morte Zeddin.

The extent to which this article has reached forbids us to take notice now of *Gaur* with all its interesting associations connected with the history of 2000 years. The banks of the Bhagirathi in 1846 present widely different scenes from what they did in 1746. Since that period the crescent has waned and Moslem pride has been laid low—the Sati fires have been extinguished and Ganga's stream is no longer polluted with infanticide—the fame of Nudiya and its Sanskrit colleges is passing away and yielding the palm to the superior influence of western science and literature—there are no longer Kazis to sentence men to death for abusing fakírs, or governors like Múrshid Kúli Khan to send Korans of their own writing with valuable offerings to Mecca and Medina—travellers now pass the banks of the Bhagirathi by night, and defenceless women may travel from Calcutta to Delhi without fear of molestation. The future opens out a bright scene on the banks of the Bhagirathi,—when Brahmanism will be in Bengal, as Buddhism is now, "a thing of the past,"—when Gospel light and its handmaid the English language and literature shall be diffused far and wide,—when Municipal Institutions, Colleges, Agricultural Societies, Zillah and Town Libraries shall have dispersed the torpor of Mofussil life,—when railroads intersecting the country shall have helped to scatter to the winds all local prejudices—and when the banks of the Bhagirathi, like the banks of the Rhine or the Thames, shall be ornamented with villas, country seats, and all the indications of a highly civilized state of society,—when the upper classes of English Society in Calcutta—instead of being crowded together in their aristocratic mansions in Chowringi, the hot bed of Anglican prejudice and the focus of all those who cherish their irrational exclusiveness towards the natives of this land—shall enjoy the quiet and retirement of their dwellings along the course of the sacred stream, living thirty or fifty miles from Calcutta, but coming daily to it to do business through the wonderful facilities of travelling which will then be afforded.

THE SINDH CONTROVERSY—NAPIER & OUTRAM.

DRS. MURRAY AND DUFF.

1. *Correspondence relative to Sindh, 1838—1843. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, 1843.*
2. *Supplementary correspondence relative to Sindh. Presented to Parliament, 1844.*
3. *The Conquest of Sindh, by Major General W. F. P. Napier : Parts I. and II., 1845.*
4. *The Conquest of Sindh, a Commentary. Parts I. and II., by Lieutenant-Colonel J. Outram, C. B., 1846.*

WE are now in a position to enter on a full and final examination of the British conquest of Sindh. A sufficient length of time has elapsed, and we are far enough removed from the scene of the transaction, to enable us calmly and dispassionately to review the history of that much controverted measure, while the materials for our inquiry are both copious and authentic. There are now before us two volumes of official correspondence relative to Sindh, presented to Parliament; we have an eloquent defence of the conquest from the practised pen of the conqueror's brother, and we have a most minute commentary upon that defence, by an officer who possessed unequalled opportunities for acquiring a thorough knowledge of the country and its people, and whose name is an ample guarantee for the scrupulous accuracy of his statements. Reserving to the sequel the few observations we shall have to offer on the respective merits of these publications, we shall at once proceed, with the aid of the historical materials which they supply, to lay before our readers a brief narrative of the events which immediately led to the subjugation of Sindh, together with an examination of the justice and policy of the measure.

The valley of the lower Indus, which forms the scene of the transactions we are about to record, has of late years been rendered familiar to all our Indian readers. Bordered, like the kindred valley of the Nile, by a range of mountains on one side and by a desert on the other, it is traversed throughout its entire length by the classic river from which it takes its name. The country on both banks of the river, from near the point where it receives the waters of the Punjab to its junction with the sea, formed the territory of the Amírs or rulers of Sindh, and was divided into two principal shares—the Southern division forming the principality of Lower Sindh, and the Northern, that of Upper Sindh: leaving, towards the Kutch frontier, a third and inconsiderable division, that of

Mirpúr, the affairs of which we will scarcely have occasion to notice.

At the period at which our narrative opens,—the early autumn of 1842—five Amírs held independent but associate rule at Hyderabad, the capital of Lower Sindh; namely, Mír Nússír Khan, his two cousins Mírs Mír Mahommed Khan and Sobdar Khan, and his two nephews Mír Shadad Khan and Hússen Ali. At Khyrpúr the seat of the Upper Sindh Government, the venerable Mír Rústum Khan was the acknowledged Rais, or supreme ruler; with whom were associated, as subordinate partners in the Government, his two younger brothers Mírs Ali Morad and Mahommed Khan, and his nephew Mír Nússír Khan. One Amír, Mír Sher Mahommed Khan, ruled the small principality of Mirpúr.

Our political relations with the Amírs of Sindh at that time, were those established by Lord Auckland's treaties of 1839, which, as our readers are aware, were forcibly imposed upon these Princes at the commencement of the first Affghan campaign. In Lower Sindh, separate treaties, identical in their provisions, were concluded with each of the Hyderabad Amírs which contained, among other less important particulars, the following stipulations;—First, the maintenance of a British subsidiary force in Lower Sindh, either at Tatta or at some other station west of the Indus, towards the cost of which an annual tribute of three lakhs of Rupees was to be paid in equal proportions by three* of the Amírs—the fourth (Mír Sobdar Khan) being exempted on account of his early submission;—Secondly, the protection of their territories by the British Government against foreign aggression, and the arbitration of all complaints of aggression which the Amírs might make against each other;—Thirdly, non-interference by the British Government in the internal administration of the Amírs, or in any complaints made against them by their subjects;—Fourthly, the prohibition of all negotiation on the part of the Amírs with foreign states, unless with the sanction of the British Government;—Fifthly, the abolition of tolls on trading boats passing up or down the Indus;—Sixthly, the payment of the usual duties on merchandize landed from such boats for sale, with the exception of goods sold in a British camp or cantonment.

In Upper Sindh one treaty only was considered necessary,

* One of these shares was now divided between Mírs Shadad Khan and Hussen Ali, the sons and heirs of the deceased Mír Núr Mahommed, one of the original parties to the treaties.

which was exchanged with Mír Rústum Khan as the acknowledged "Chief of Khyrpúr." Its engagements were analogous to those concluded with the Lower Sindh Amírs with the following differences ;—First, no stipulation was made for the payment of a subsidy ;—Secondly, there was no engagement for the permanent location of a British force : permission being only given "to occupy the fortress of Bukker as a depôt for treasure and munitions in time of war ;"—Thirdly, no stipulation was made for the abolition of river tolls : the Amírs merely promising "co-operation with the other powers" in any measures which might be thought necessary for extending and facilitating the commerce and navigation of the river Indus. Lastly, short "Agreements" were at the same time concluded with each of the other three Amírs of Upper Sindh, whereby the British Government engaged "never to covet one reá of the revenue of their shares of Sindh, nor to interfere in their internal management." The treaty entered into with the Amír of Mírpúr, in the following year, was similar in its provisions to that of Lower Sindh, and included an engagement for the payment of a subsidy of Rs. 50,000 per annum as the price of British protection.

It is unnecessary, for the purpose of our present inquiry, to examine either the justice or the policy which dictated these compulsory treaties. They formed a part (and, it may be, a necessary part) of that ill-advised and disastrous "Affghan policy," which forms the one disfiguring blot on Lord Auckland's otherwise beneficent administration : and it was only by the unconquerable firmness, and extraordinary personal influence, of the distinguished diplomatist* who conducted the negotiations, that the Lower Sindh Amírs were induced to yield a tardy and reluctant assent to their harsh provisions, and thereby preserved, though but for a season, the sovereignty of their kingdom.

Having been thus reduced from independent Sovereigns to tributary allies of the British Government, it was not to be expected but that some degree of alienation and a distrust of our future measures would take possession of the minds of the Amírs. Whatever may have been the real state of their feelings, their acts, even during the disasters of 1842, evinced no appearance of hostility : for it is a remarkable fact, that, under the able management of Major (now Lieutenant Colonel) Outram, Sindh continued in a state of profound tranquillity ; robberies were unknown ; British subjects of all classes, unattended by a single armed attendant, traversed the country without danger or molestation ; and carriage and supplies were

* Major General Sir Henry Pottinger, Bart. G. C. B.

liberally furnished for the support of our armies in Southern Afghanistan.

Such was the condition of Sindh, and such were our relations with its rulers, when Major General Sir Charles Napier, then Commanding the Puna Division of the Bombay Army, was invested by Lord Ellenborough with the military and political control of Sindh and Belûchistan. The veteran soldier hastened to Sindh (we are told) with all the alacrity of a young warrior; and on the 9th September landed at Kurrachi. Before we accompany him on his diplomatic and military career, it is desirable that we should first become acquainted with his character, and that of the political functionary whom he was about to supersede.

The name of Colonel Outram will ever be associated, in this country, with some of the finest and noblest qualities of the soldier. His character exhibits a remarkable union of calm, steady, resolute valour, with a passion for daring and chivalrous enterprise, and an energy and determination of purpose which no danger or difficulty can daunt. These qualities, added to an open, ardent, generous disposition, and a quiet, unassuming courtesy of demeanour, have deservedly rendered him the pride of the Bombay Army, and appear to have attracted, in a rare degree, the personal attachment and esteem of those who have served under his orders, or have been otherwise associated with him in public duty. But it were an unnecessary, though a pleasing task, to dwell upon these features of his character. The conqueror of Sindh himself has, with a just discernment, awarded to him the appropriate and expressive title of "*The Bayard of India*;" and twelve hundred British officers of the Indian services have publicly recorded their admiration of his heroic achievements in India, Affghanistan, and Sindh.

Colonel Outram's experience of native character is extensive and varied. In common with the majority of officers who have known the natives long and well, who are conversant with their languages and customs, and who judge them by an Indian, and not by a British standard, he appears to have formed a generally favourable opinion of them. His intercourse with them seems to have been marked on all occasions by a considerate attention to their social usages and feelings: and his interest in their welfare is evinced by a desire to preserve and improve the more innocuous of their institutions, rather than precipitately to subvert them, in order to introduce the systems and usages of Europe in their place. Like all functionaries who have been guided by such principles

and feelings he has acquired in a high degree the confidence and good will of the people over whom he has been placed : and we need scarcely add, that the possession of such influence over the minds of the natives, particularly of those in high rank and stations, is one of the most important qualifications which a British diplomatist can possess ; and is calculated, more than any measures of abstract wisdom, to reconcile the Princes and people of India to our rule, and thereby to preserve the peace, and promote the best interests of the country.

Lest any of our readers should consider such political accomplishments as antiquated and worthless, we will supply a more practical test of Colonel Outram's diplomatic qualifications, and try them by the magnitude and importance of the services which he rendered to his country, during the eventful year that immediately preceded his removal. At that memorable crisis, when disasters unparalleled in our history clouded the past, and gloomy apprehensions overcast the future—when the storm of insurrection, which had burst with such fatal fury at Kabul, threatened to endanger the safety of our armies at Quetta and Kandahar—Lord Auckland, amid the general panic, turned to Colonel Outram with the assured confidence that he would hold his dangerous post with a firm and steady hand, and that by his prompt and zealous assistance, he would enable the Government also to weather the storm.* And the result shewed that the Governor-General's confidence was neither exaggerated nor misplaced. Within the three preceding years, we had imposed a subsidiary tribute and a subsidiary force upon the Amirs of Sindh ; we had stormed the capital and slaughtered the ruler of Belúchistan, and we had waged a sanguinary warfare upon the neighbouring mountain tribes. Yet—smarting though they were under these grievous injuries, and instigated by Affghan emissaries to raise the standard of insurrection in the common cause of Islam—such was Colonel Outram's wondrous activity, vigilance and zeal, that he not only with a small and detached military force, preserved tranquillity throughout these vast countries, which formed both the base and the line of our military communications with Kandahar ; but he also furnished and forwarded, from these very countries, the carriage and supplies which enabled General Nott to accomplish his triumphant march to Kabul, and General England to retire in safety on the Indus. These were, in truth, services which, to cite the words and the authority of the honorable

* Outram's Commentary, 21.

Mountstuart Elphinstone, "it would be difficult to parallel in the whole course of Indian diplomacy : " and they had just been brought to an honourable and successful termination, by the safe descent of General England's army beneath the passes, when their author was summarily, without warning and without reason assigned, removed by Lord Ellenborough from his high political appointment.*

And what were the peculiar qualifications of the officer selected to supersede a man who had, at so perilous a crisis, conferred such signal services on his country? On Sir Charles Napier's eminent military talents it were now superfluous to dwell. Long before his appearance in Sindh, his high reputation as a soldier had been inscribed on the page of history ; the numerous scars with which he was furrowed attested his heroic valour on the sanguinary fields of Corunna and Busaco : and though untried as a General, he soon proved himself worthy of a place in the first rank of British Commanders. With a military experience of half a century, he had, moreover, deeply studied the art of war :—strict and stern in discipline, but ever watchful of the interests and attentive to the wants of his men, he was peculiarly the soldier's friend. Though bending somewhat under the weight of threescore years and one, yet did he retain all the vigour and energy of youth, with a capacity for the endurance of fatigue which the youthful soldier might well have envied.

But, though unquestionably a brave and accomplished soldier, he was singularly deficient in the particular qualities required for the safe and beneficial exercise of political authority in India. He was not only ignorant of the language, the character, the customs, and the institutions of the natives but he seemed to look upon such knowledge as unnecessary, if not prejudicial. He was, moreover, apparently imbued with strong prejudice against the princes of Sindh, and disposed to regard his mission, as that of a Military Dictator appointed to overawe and control a "barbarous durbar," rather than that of a political agent deputed to maintain the relations of amity and friendship subsisting between a protecting and a protected State. Disregarding, in short, the maxims of sound practical wisdom so strenuously recommended, and so successfully practised by

* It is any thing but creditable to the Government that no honors should have been conferred on Colonel Outram and Mr. George Clerk for the important political services they rendered at that critical juncture ; while analogous services performed on the same scene four years before, by Sir Henry Pottinger and Sir Claude Wade, were respectively rewarded, (and justly rewarded) by the honors of a Baronetage and Knighthood.

Munro, Malcolm, and Elphinstone, and by other distinguished statesmen of the same eminent school—Sir Charles soon betrayed a determination to open up a new political path for himself. The progress and results of this novel diplomacy we now proceed to examine.

Sir Charles Napier, as has been stated, landed at Kurrachi on the 9th September 1842, and on the 17th of the same month he started for Sukker. On his passage up the Indus he paid a visit to the Amírs of Lower Sindh at their fortified capital of Hyderabad. The established courtesy uniformly observed by the Indian Government towards the Native States, of formally announcing any change in the British Representative at their courts, does not seem to have been observed towards the Amírs on the present occasion: nor does Sir Charles Napier appear to have been furnished by the Governor-General with any credentials of his appointment. Such an omission may be considered by the English reader to be of trifling import, but will be very differently viewed by those acquainted with the importance that Native Princes attach to all these matters of etiquette. Notwithstanding the neglect, however, on the part of the Governor-General, of the customary forms of courtesy, Sir Charles Napier was received by the Amírs of Hyderabad with every demonstration of respect due to his rank and station. Before leaving the capital, he addressed to them a letter regarding certain alleged infractions of the treaty, committed under their orders, or with their knowledge. These charges will pass under our review when we examine those preferred against the Amírs of Upper Sindh: but we must not omit to notice the style and tone used by the British Commander in this his first communication with Princes, wielding the absolute power of sovereignty within their own territories. It is characterised by the historian as an "austere, but timely and useful warning," given in the prosecution of "a fair and just, but stern and unyielding policy." We willingly pay Sir Charles the compliment of assuming that this extraordinary document, which will be found in the Parliamentary Papers (page 358) was merely the first rough draft of the letter, and that in the process of translation it received a form and phraseology better suited to the station of the Princes to whom it was addressed. But, even under this favourable interpretation, there will remain much in the tone and tenor of the letter that is deserving of the strongest censure, and in complete opposition to the letter and spirit of Lord Ellenborough's judicious circular instructions to his political agents, directing them "on all occasions to manifest the utmost personal consideration and respect to the

several Native Princes with whom they might communicate; to attend to their personal wishes; to consider themselves as much the representation of the *friendship*, as of the *power* of the British Government; and to be mindful that even the necessary acts of authority may be clothed with the veil of courtesy and regard." We shall find, as we proceed, that the whole tenor of the General's political administration in Sindh, of which this was the commencement, was an exact antithesis of those admirable maxims.

Sir Charles Napier, having addressed this arrogant and offensive letter to the rulers of Hyderabad, continued his journey up the Indus, and on the 5th October arrived at Sukker, the head quarters of the British force then stationed in Upper Sindh. There, as the historian informs us, he "forthwith commenced a series of political and military operations, which reduced the Amírs to the choice of an honest policy or a terrible war."* These operations, with their fatal results, it is now our duty to record.

On his first nomination to the military and political control of Sindh, the General had been officially informed, that if "the Amírs, or any one of them, should act hostilely, or evince hostile designs against the British forces, it was the Governor-General's fixed resolution never to forgive the breach of faith, and to exact a penalty which should be a warning to every Chief in India." This communication, it will be observed, intimated the Governor-General's determination to punish *future* hostility: but the following instructions, which awaited Sir Charles on his arrival at Sukker, shewed that his Lordship had modified his intentions, and was now determined to inflict retributive punishment for *past* offences, should the General, on inquiry, discover satisfactory grounds for such a procedure. "Should any Amír or Chief, with whom we have a treaty of alliance and friendship, *have* evinced hostile designs against us during the late events which may have induced them to doubt the continuance of our power, it is the present intention of the Governor-General to inflict upon the treachery of such ally and friend so signal a punishment as shall effectually deter others from similar conduct: but the Governor-General would not proceed in this course without the most complete and convincing evidence of guilt in the person accused. The Governor-General relies entirely on your sense of justice, and is convinced that whatever reports you may make upon the subject, after full investigation, will be such as he may safely act upon."

* Napier's Conquest, 23.

The first political duty, therefore, which devolved upon Sir Charles, was to inquire into certain alleged breaches of treaty and hostile intrigues charged upon some of the Amírs, with the view of deducing from these past offences "a pretext" for remodeling the existing treaties, and inflicting a "signal punishment" upon their authors. And this brings us at once to the consideration of what proved to be the remote cause of the Sindh conquest. And as there has been much misapprehension and misstatement on this subject, it is necessary to trace the origin and history of the revised treaties, to the imposition of which, the General's investigation ultimately led.

In the early part of the year (1842) Major Outram appears to have come to the conclusion that our intended withdrawal from Affghanistan would render some change in our relations with the Amírs of Sindh very desirable, in order to remedy the errors of our Military position in that country; to define more clearly the commercial provisions of the existing treaties; and to ensure an adequate supply of fuel for the steamers composing the Indus flotilla. About the end of May of the same year he had received an intimation of Lord Ellenborough's wish to exchange the payment of tribute for "the continued occupation of Kurrachí and Sukker," including the fortress of Bukker: He therefore only awaited a favourable opportunity for opening a negociation with the Sindh Government. In the meantime he received information from his assistants in Sindh, which gave him grounds for suspecting that certain of the Amírs, taking advantage of our Affghan disasters, and instigated by Affghan emissaries, had engaged in some petty intrigues inimical to the British Government. They were considered by Major Outram to be in themselves puerile: nevertheless, he conceived that they evinced an unfriendly feeling on the part of the Amírs, and furnished good grounds for proposing, and would materially assist the negociation for the required changes in the treaties, which, under other circumstances, would most probably be resisted.

In accordance with these views, he submitted to Government on the 21st of June, a draft-treaty embodying the proposed changes. The following were its principal stipulations.*

- 1st. The cession to the British Government, in perpetuity, of the city and cantonment of Sukker (including the fortress of Bukker) and of the town and harbour of Kurrachí; 2nd. Free transit for commerce between Kurrachí and Tatta on the Indus; 3rd. Permission to cut wood within a hundred yards

* Sindh Parl: Pap. p. 343.

of each bank of the Indus; 4th. The total abrogation of river tolls, and 5th. In consideration of the above cessions the British Government engaged to release the Amírs from all pecuniary obligations whatever.*

Such were the provisions of Major Outram's proposed treaty—a treaty which stipulated for territorial and other privileges of the estimated annual value of Rs. 3,16,500,† to be ceded by the Amírs to the British Government, in exchange for a total release from the future payment of tribute which (exclusive of arrears) amounted to Rs. 3,50,000 per annum.‡

The objects proposed to be attained by this new arrangement were in themselves of great importance to British interests; and the pecuniary price to be tendered for their purchase was just and liberal: but, in the absence of any pressing necessity for the change, it became matter of regret that the subject should have been mooted at that particular juncture. The minds of the Amírs, who had on all occasions shewn themselves determinedly averse to any alteration in their relations with our Government, were at that time peculiarly distracted with apprehensions in regard to our future measures; in addition to which, Major Outram was himself at Quetta,—whither he had gone for the purpose of aiding General England's force in its retreat upon the Indus—and was consequently deprived of the opportunity, by personal negotiation, of exerting his great influence over the Amírs, by which alone could any hope be entertained of reconciling their minds to the contemplated changes. Nor were the grounds assigned as the basis of negotiation of clear and unquestionable validity. The hostile intrigues alleged against the Amírs, were considered by Major Outram at the time neither important nor dangerous; while the evidence in support of them, forwarded by

* A negotiation had previously been entered into at the instance of Lord Auckland's Government, for the cession of the district of Shikarpúr; but Major Outram reported that this must be abandoned under Lord Ellenborough's contemplated occupation of Kurrachí, and the proposed river arrangements.

† Territorial Cessions	Rs. 1,06,500
Abolition of transit duties and river tolls	„ 10,000
Compensation for cutting wood	„ 2,00,000

Total annual value... ..	Rs. 3,16,500
‡ Annual tribute from the Amírs of Hyderabad.....	Rs. 3,00,000
Ditto ditto of Mírúpúr.....	„ 50,000

Total Rupees..... 3,50,000

This was exclusive of certain claims against Mír Nússír Khan of Khyrpúr, the heir of the late Mír Múbaruk Khan, consisting of about three years tribute of Rs. 1,00,000 per annum, in addition to Rs. 7,00,000 claimed in behalf of the late Shah Shúja.

his assistants, and which he had not the means of testing, was any thing but conclusive of the guilt of the Amírs, even if it had been as unimpeachable as it subsequently proved to be worthless and false.

But while we make these observations, we readily admit that the treaty, as originally proposed by Major Outram, was framed in a spirit of perfect fairness towards both Governments, and there is every reason to believe, that had the negotiation for its settlement been committed to that officer, it would have been brought to an amicable and successful termination. Little could it have been foreseen, that a proposal to negotiate the equitable purchase of certain privileges by an equivalent remission of tribute, would be made the groundwork—and even, in some quarters, the justification—of the oppressive and retributive penalties which were subsequently imposed upon these Princes

Lord Ellenborough, who had only a few weeks before signified his intention of continuing to hold military command of the Indus, seems now to have hesitated regarding the line of policy which it was desirable to follow. In acknowledging the receipt of the draft treaties, he stated that he “did not see the necessity for pressing negotiation upon them (the Amírs) precipitately, and on the contrary would rather desire to leave their minds in tranquillity for the present;”^{*} and that it would be “a matter for future consideration whether any probable benefit to be ever derived from the treaties, could compensate for the annual expenditure which would be brought upon the Government of India by the maintenance of a large force at Sukker and Kurrachi” Here, therefore, terminated the discussion regarding Major Outram’s Treaty, which was never presented to the Amírs.

On his return from Quetta to Sukker, three months afterwards, Major Outram was directed, before leaving Sindh, to lay before Sir Charles Napier, “the several acts, whereby the Amírs or Chiefs may have seemed to have departed from the terms or spirit of their engagements, and to have evinced hostility or unfriendliness towards the Government of India.” In obedience to these instructions, he submitted to the General two “Returns of Complaints” preferred respectively against two of the Amírs of Upper Sindh, and against four of the Hyderabad Amírs, together with the documentary evidence in support of these charges. Having done this, he resigned into Sir Charles Napier’s hands the political powers which he

* Sindh Parl : Pap. p. 381.

had wielded with so much credit to himself and with such signal benefit to the public service, and left Sindh on the 12th November, carrying with him the regrets of every officer in the country.

We now resume the narrative of the proceedings of his successor.

Sir Charles lost no time in commencing the investigation of these charges, the establishment of which was to form the ground-work for the imposition of a new treaty; nor was he long in bringing it to a conclusion. In the course of twelve days after his arrival at Sukker, and a week before he had received the charges against the Amírs of Lower Sindh, he completed his report—that report which was to be Lord Ellenborough's guide in his Sindh policy, and to decide the fate of the Sovereign Princes of that country. We have perused this remarkable document with much pain. Passing by the sneering allusion to "sticklers for abstract rights;" the undisguised admission that "we want only a pretext to coerce the Amírs;" the uncalled for remarks on the "barbarism of those Princes and their fitness to govern a country," the (too true) prophecy that "the more powerful government will at no distant period swallow up the weaker;" and the opinion that it would be better to come to this result at once, "if it could be done with honesty:"—setting aside these, and many similar unseemly doctrines, as well as the palpable inaccuracy of the statement, that under existing treaties we were authorized to maintain our camps permanently in Upper Sindh, we proceed at once to examine the specific accusations, and the evidence by which they were verified.

The charges prepared against the Amírs are reducible to two heads:—First, certain acts of constructive hostility attributed to Mír Rústum Khan, the chief Amír of Khyrpúr, and Mír Nussír Khan, the Senior Amír of Hyderabad; and Second, certain infractions of the existing treaties alleged against these two Amírs, as well as against Mír Nussír Khan of Khyrpúr, and Mírs Mír Mahommed Khan, Shahdad Khan, and Hússen Ali of Hyderabad.

1. The first charge, under the first of these heads, alleged against Mír Rústum Khan, was a breach of treaty, of a hostile character, in having written a letter to the Maharajah Shír Singh of Lahore, the purport of which was to negotiate for the renewal of an alliance between that sovereign and certain of the Amírs of Upper and Lower Sindh. The letter, though intimating in vague and ambiguous language that the parties to the negotiation entertained unfriendly feelings towards the

British ("that tribe") did not indicate any hostile designs against our Government, and seemed to have principally in view an engagement to secure the succession of Mír Rústum's son to the chieftainship after *his own death*. It was intercepted by Agents of Mír Ali Morad (Rústum's brother), who was inimical to Rústum, and a rival candidate for the chieftaincy.

The authenticity of this intercepted letter rested exclusively on the supposed fact, that it bore Mír Rústum's seal, and was in the handwriting of His Highness' Minister. We need scarcely remind our readers that this species of judicial evidence is received with great distrust in this country. The forgery of letters and the fabrication of counterfeit seals are of very common occurrence, and had been recently and successfully exemplified in Sindh. Colonel Outram informs us* (and the Amírs in their final conference at Hyderabad reminded that officer of the fact) that in the preceding year he had occasion to complain to the Amírs of frequent forgeries of his own seal which, affixed to letters professed to be written by him, had so far imposed on their Highnesses as to procure grants of land for those who presented them; and in September of the same year several forged seals of the Amírs were found in the possession of a man apprehended in the Sukker bazar. These circumstances, combined with the fact that the parties through whose agency the letter was intercepted were hostile to Mír Rústum, and, as we shall afterwards find, were interested in embroiling him with the British Government, ought to have shewn the necessity of care and caution in pronouncing a final decision. Major Outram, having latterly entertained considerable doubts as to the authenticity of the letter, forwarded it to Mr. George Clerk, the Envoy at Lahore, in the hope that from his official relation to the sovereign to whom it was addressed, he might be able to determine the question. That most eminent public officer, however, after retaining it six months in his possession, reported to Lord Ellenborough, that its "authenticity was still a matter of doubt to him as it had been to Major Outram in sending it."† But the doubts which were entertained by Major Outram and Mr. Clerk were very summarily disposed of by the General's Political assistant. On the very day, the 23rd November, on which he received back the letter from Mr. Clerk, Sir Charles Napier wrote to Lord Ellenborough that Lieutenant Brown had assured him that there could not

* Out. Com. 74.

† Sindh Parl : Pap. p. 478.

be the slightest doubt of its authenticity.* And thus, on the simple assurance of an officer, who neither spoke nor wrote the language in which it was written, and without any opportunity being given to the accused party to rebut the charge, was the authenticity of the letter summarily decided. Nor was there the slightest attempt to prove that the seal, even if genuine, had been affixed with His Highness' sanction, while there were strong reasons for suspecting that it had been used without his knowledge. Mohun Lall informs us,† that, during the negociation of the treaties of 1839, Mír Ali Morad surreptitiously obtained possession of Mír Rústum's seal, with the intention of using it for the furtherance of his own perfidious schemes, but was defeated in his object by the penetration of Sir Alexander Burnes. This fact, combined with our knowledge of Ali Morad's subsequent treachery, renders it by no means an improbable supposition that that "arch-intriguer" had now a second time possessed himself of his brother's seal, and that he was the real author of the secret letter which his own agents were instructed to intercept.

The second accusation preferred against Mír Rústum consisted in having, through his Minister Futteh Mahommed Ghorí, compassed the escape of a British prisoner. This charge appears to have been established against the Minister but there was no proof or even suspicion of the Amír's implication in the matter. The substantiation of such an offence would have justly warranted the British Government in requiring the punishment or banishment of the Minister by whom it was committed, but certainly never could be held to justify the forfeiture of Mír Rústum's territory.

The last charge under this head was preferred against Mír Nussír Khan of Lower Sindh,—and consisted in his having authorised the writing of a letter to Bíbuk Búgty, the chief of the Búgty hill tribes, containing some general expressions of hostility towards the English ("some people") and calling upon him and his brother Belúchís to hold themselves in readiness. The authenticity of this letter was unsupported by a tittle of evidence that could be considered as conclusive; and in this instance, as in the former, no opportunity was afforded the suspected Prince of disproving the charges.

The principal infractions of the treaty, constituting the second division of charges, consisted in the levy of river tolls on boats belonging to subjects of Sindh. These accusations affected

* Sindh Parl. Pap p 427.

† Life of Dost Mahommed Khan, p. 78.

Mír's Nussír Khan, Mír Mahommed Khan, and Hússen Ali of Hyderabad, and Mír Rústum Khan of Khyrpúr, all of whom admitted the facts, but denied that they were in contravention of treaty. It was argued by the Hyderabad Amírs that the treaties exempted British and foreign boats from duty, but were not considered by them to interdict the levy of duties on their own subjects, over whom, under the 3rd Art. of the treaty, they possessed "absolute" jurisdiction : and that, in point of fact, they had levied these tolls from them without hindrance up to 1840. Lord Auckland's Government, however, decided against their construction of the engagement, and the Amírs had recently issued perwannahs granting an entire exemption from tolls ; upon which the Assistant Political Agent expressed a confident hope that the question would now be set at rest.

On the part of the Khyrpúr Amírs it was urged with great truth, that the treaties concluded with them contained no stipulation whatever for the abolition of tolls—the Amírs simply promising "co-operation with *the other powers* in any measure which may be thought necessary for extending or facilitating the commerce and navigation of the Indus." Now "the other powers" holding territory on the Indus, were the Maharajah of Lahore, the Nawab of Bhawulpúr, and the Amírs of Hyderabad ; the arrangements with the two former "powers," permitted them to levy a small stated duty ; while the latter, on account of their hostile opposition to the British Government, were compelled, without receiving any pecuniary or other equivalent, to abolish all tolls. On the general principles of equity and justice, therefore, the *friendly* Amírs of Khyrpúr, whose adherence to our cause had elicited the enthusiastic admiration of the negociator of the Treaty,* had a right to expect the terms which we concluded with the *friendly* "powers" of Lahore and Bhawulpúr, and not those which were imposed on the then *hostile* "powers" of Hyderabad, between whom and themselves a marked line of distinction had professedly been drawn throughout the whole of the negotiations. But apart from these grounds, there were special reasons for guiding the Government to the more favourable interpretation of the engagement : for Sir Alexander Burnes

* "With such adherence (says Sir Alexander Burnes) I feel quite at a loss to know how we can either ask money or any favour of this family. I have never doubted their disposition to cling to us : but in their weak state, I had not expected such promises in the day of trial." And in a marginal note to the Treaty the same officer observes : "I might have easily abolished the toll for ever : but this would be a hazardous step. The toll binds the Mír to protect property, the release from it would remove this duty from his shoulders."

had received specific instructions from Lord Auckland to put Khyrpúr on the same footing as Bhawulpúr, and with that view had been furnished with the Bhawulpúr treaty for his guidance.* Finally, it has been considered an established maxim with the most eminent of our Indian statesmen, that "when any article of an engagement is doubtful, it should be invariably explained with more leaning to the expectations originally raised in the weaker, than to the interests of the stronger power.† Notwithstanding all these considerations, Lord Ellenborough decided that the treaty must be construed as binding the Khyrpúr Amírs to acquiesce in the same arrangements as those subsequently imposed on "their kindred Amírs," of Hyderabad; and he intimated that he should expect them to be observed with the same strictness as if they had been expressly inserted in the treaty. This opinion, pronounced by the paramount power, finally decided the prospective operation of the contested article but that it was not intended to authorise the infliction of a penalty for duties previously levied under a different, and, we think, a more equitable construction of the treaty, may be inferred from the fact, that a clause explanatory of the article in question was introduced into the revised treaty.

It is unnecessary to notice the other trifling charges of breach of treaty, the more particularly as it was distinctly admitted by the Governor-General,‡ that the right to make any demand, extending to the cession of territory, depended upon the truth of the three offences specified under the first head. The proposed treaty, writes Lord Ellenborough to Sir Charles Napier, "rests for its justification upon the assumption, that the letters said to be addressed by Mír Rústum to the Maharajah Shir Singh and by Mír Nussír Khan to Bábúk Búgty, were really written by the chiefs respectively, and that the confidential minister of Mír Rústum did, as is alleged, contrive the escape of Syed Mahommed Shurríp,*** I know (he added) that you will satisfy yourself of the truth of these charges before you exact the penalty of the offences they impute."§

The final decision on these three important questions having been then remitted to Sir Charles, "on whose word, as the historian truly states, the fate of Sindh now depended,"

* Sindh Parl. Pap. p. 61.

† Sir John Malcom's Institutions.

‡ Sindh Parl. Pap. p. No. 387, p. 437.

§ Sindh Parl. Pap. No. 389, p. 440.

he lost no time in pronouncing a verdict of guilt against the two Amírs, on each of the accusations.* The Governor-General, in confirming the decision, stated that if Government were to wait in every case of suspected hostility until it obtained such proof as should be sufficient to convict the person suspected in a court of justice, it would in most cases expose itself at once to disgrace and disaster.† It may readily be conceded, that in the investigation and settlement of international questions arising between a paramount State and its tributary allies, we cannot expect either the technical procedure or the scrupulous nicety of evidence of a criminal court: but we have clearly a right to require that, in such an inquiry, the principles of substantial justice should not be violated. Every one who is practically conversant with the elements of judicial evidence will concur with us in opinion, that the *ex parte* evidence of an intercepted letter, written in a language unknown to those who decided upon its authenticity, and intercepted by interested and hostile parties, was altogether insufficient, in the absence of any corroborative testimony, to establish the accusation preferred against these two Princes.

Before we examine the exactions of the revised treaties which Lord Ellenborough determined to impose as the punishment of these alleged offences, it will be necessary to inquire into the proceedings and position of the parties affected by them.

The condition of the Amírs at this period was a very painful one. Their minds were agitated and alarmed by the current rumours of our intention to impose new treaties upon them, if not to subjugate their country; they had seen the Bengal portion of General England's force detained at Sukker, instead of proceeding to their own provinces, the political agency, heretofore their sole medium of communication with the British Government had been abolished; and an unknown Military Commander exercised arbitrary sway in the heart of their country. No official intimation of these changes had been vouchsafed to them; no reason had been assigned for the detention of the troops, although such detention was unauthorized by treaty: and instead of endeavouring to allay their fears by personal intercourse and friendly explanation—a duty which had been expressly enjoined by the Governor-General—it seemed as if the General's object was to confirm

* Sindh Parl. Pap. Nos 409, 410 & 414.

† Sindh Parl. Pap. No. 414. p 457.

and increase their apprehensions by an insulting arrogance of demeanour, and by an ostentatious display of military strength. Surely, under such suspicious and menacing demonstrations, it cannot be wondered at that the Amírs should have adopted some defensive measures for the protection of their interests.

If the British Government deemed it justifiable, after the abandonment of Affghanistan, to concentrate a large army in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital of Upper Sindh, at a time when, under the provisions of the treaty, we had no right to station a single soldier within the limits of that country, on what grounds of abstract justice, or under what clause of the existing treaties, can we dispute the right of the Upper Sindh Amírs to take the precautionary measure of assembling their armed dependants within the precincts of their capital? Ours were the offensive, their's strictly defensive measures. On the 6th November, Major Outram reported in regard to the Khyrpúr Amírs, that all their measures and preparations were defensive, and would lead to nothing offensive; and a week later his assistant at Hyderabad writes: "I cannot learn that the Amírs meditate collecting any troops in consequence of the large assemblage of British force at Sukker: but their Highnesses continue very uneasy on the subject, and impute any but friendly motives to it."

Lord Ellenborough's revised draft treaties bear date the 4th of November, and were received by Sir Charles Napier on the 12th of that month. On examining their provisions, we find that the following terms were common to the Hyderabad and the Khyrpúr treaties:—

1. The relinquishment of all tribute payable by the Amírs to the British Government.
2. The introduction of a British currency throughout Sindh, and the relinquishment, by the Amírs of the privilege of coining.
3. The right to cut wood within a hundred yards of both banks of the Indus.
4. The cession, in perpetuity, to the Khan of Bharribpúr of the rights and interests of the Amírs in the districts of Subzulkote, and all the territory intervening between the present frontier of Bhawulpúr and the town of Rorí.

The Khyrpúr treaty stipulated in addition, for the cession to the British Government of Sukker, Bukker and Rorí; while the Hyderabad treaty exacted, in like manner, the cession of Kurrachí and Tatta, with free transit between those places, and the cession to Mír Sobdar Khan of territory producing half a lakh of revenue, in consideration of his share of Kur-

rachí, "and as a reward for his good conduct." It was finally provided that a British Commissioner should apportion, by mutual exchanges, the cession of each Amír in Lower Sindh, according to the amount of tribute payable by each; and in the event of the cessions falling short of the amount of tribute, lands yielding an annual revenue equivalent to the balance were to be appropriated to the indemnification of such Amírs of Upper Sindh, other than Mírs Rústum and Nussír Khans, as were called upon to cede territory under these new arrangements.

The imposition of these treaties proved the remote cause of the Sindh Revolution. The oppressive severity and injustice of their exactions will be at once understood, when it is stated that the pecuniary value of the confiscated territory and the other forfeited privileges, amounted to the sum of Rupees 10,40,500* per annum; of which two-thirds (being about one-third of their entire revenues) fell upon the Amírs of Khyrpúr. We have seen that the object of Major Outram's proposed treaty was to commute, on equitable terms, the payment of tribute for the cession of territory, and to make the territorial possessions thus acquired, available for securing the military command of the Indus and the efficient protection of its navigation. Lord Ellenborough's treaties on the other hand, in addition to these and other stipulations, had in view the infliction of a signal punishment upon the Amírs, and the grant of "a great reward to our most faithful friend and ally," the Khan of Bhawulpúr.

Without stopping to discuss the expediency or otherwise of retaining military possession of both banks of the Indus (after the withdrawal of our troops from Affghanistan) the impolicy of which had been so strongly denounced by Lord Ellenborough in his celebrated Simla Manifesto only a month before, we will confine our present observations to the injustice and the folly of the proposed confiscation to Bharrib Khan. We have already expressed our conviction that the evidence adduced in support of the already hostile intrigues, upon the proof of

* Territorial cessions to the Nawab of Bhawulpúr...	Rs	6,40,000
Ditto Ditto to the British Government . . .	"	1,90,500
Free transit from Kurrachee to the Indus at Tatta . .	"	10,000
Right of cutting wood on the banks of the Indus... ..	"	2,00,000
Compensation to Mír Sobdar Khan.	"	50,000

10,90,500

DEDUCT.

Amount of tribute remitted	Rs.	3,50,000
Balance Rupees.	"	7,40,500

which the justification of the treaty was declaredly made to rest, was altogether insufficient to establish the accusation. But let us admit for the sake of argument, that the authenticity of the secret correspondence had been satisfactorily proved, and there will still remain the important question, whether the imputed offence justified the penalty inflicted. If it be admitted that nothing can warrant a Paramount State in sequestrating the territory of one of its allies, excepting such acts on the part of the latter as placed it in the position of a public enemy, and imparted to the former all the rights of war, no one, we think, will venture to assert that the intercepted letters justified such a measure. They indicated, it is true, an unfriendly feeling towards the British, and they pointed to measures of defence—in the one case by a foreign alliance, and in the other by the collection of troops—against our expected hostility: but there was not one hostile act either committed or apparently meditated. They were also in contravention of the existing treaties which prohibited negotiation with other States and therefore furnished grounds for remonstrance, or even for precautionary measures of self defence, had any real danger been actually apprehended: but in no point of view, could they be held to warrant either a public declaration of war, or a public confiscation of territory. Viewing their alleged offences in this light, we would next proceed to inquire, whether such petty and childish intrigues on the part of the Amírs, had placed them beyond the pale of mercy, or whether there were not some extenuating circumstances to plead, at least in mitigation of their punishment, if not for their entire forgiveness. On the part of the Amírs, it might have been urged that the British Government had itself contravened one of the most important provisions of the former treaties with these Princes, by transporting troops and military stores up the Indus—that we had forced the existing treaties upon them at the point of the bayonet, in pursuance of a policy the original grounds of which had just been publicly announced to be visionary and impolitic,* and which we had now been compelled to abandon—that we had given an illiberal, and, as appears to us, an unjust interpretation to an ambiguous clause of the treaty with Mír Rústum, and compelled him to abolish all river tolls without any recompense for the pecuniary loss it entailed—that notwithstanding our solemn pledge to Mír Rústum that we would not “covet a dam or drain of his territories nor the fortress on this bank or that bank of the Indus,” the Governor

* See Lord Ellenborough's Proclamation of the 1st October, 1842.

General had intimated his intention to retain possession of the fortress of Bukker and the town of Sukker nearly five months before the inquiry into the charges against that Prince commenced—that we were at this very moment directly infringing our engagements with the same Prince by retaining Bukker, which we had especially engaged to restore after the Affghan campaign, and by concentrating a large army at Sukker, when we had no authority, under the treaty, to station any troops whatever in Upper Sindh*—and finally, that the Governor-General's Military Commander in Sindh was then meditating other and more flagrant violations of national justice and of public faith. It might have been further urged in behalf of these Princes, that they had not derived from these treaties any of the advantages, political or commercial, which we had led them to expect—and that they had substantially befriended us at a time when even their passive friendship or neutrality would have been most injurious to our interests, and when their active hostility would have endangered the safety of our armies, and perilled the whole of our Indian possessions. Under such a combination of aggravating circumstances on the one side, and of extenuating considerations on the other, we cannot but think, that if ever there was an occasion when complete forgiveness would have been an act not merely of generosity but of justice, it assuredly was in the case we are now considering.

But if the declaration of an amnesty for all past offences, whether real or alleged, was deemed to be either impolitic or undeserved, surely no one will contend that either the demands of justice or consideration of sound policy required that the Amírs should be punished by such an arbitrary and indiscriminate spoliation of territory as the revised treaties contemplated. Was it not enough for the purposes of "just punishment," and for the efficient protection of British interests, that we should exact the perpetual cession of Sukker, Bukker, Rorí, and Kurrachí, and occupy these stations with our troops at pleasure? Was there occasion to humiliate and oppress them still further by gratuitously and recklessly confiscating one-third of the Upper Sindh territory, as if it had been a conquered province, for the purpose of conferring it on an obscure ally whom the Governor-General, for reasons only known to himself, delighted to honor and enrich, at the expense of other States?

* "It will be remembered (writes Lord Auckland in December 1839) that we are under special engagement to restore Bukker to the Khyrpúr Amírs, and that we have no absolute right under treaty to station our troops within the Khyrpúr limits."

If the punishment denounced against Mír Rústum Khan of Khyrpúr and Mír Nussír Khan of Hyderabad was thus arbitrary, oppressive, and unjust, how inexpressibly flagrant was the injustice inflicted on the other Amírs, who had not even been accused of any participation in these puerile intrigues—on Mírs Mír Mahommed Khan and Shadad Khan of Hyderabad, against whom there were only some trivial charges of evasions of treaty on the part of themselves or their officers—on Mír Nussír Khan of Khyrpúr, with whom we had not even the semblance of a written engagement—and on Mír Hússen Ali of Hyderabad, and Mírs Mahommed Khan and Ali Morad of Khyrpúr, against whom there was no sort of complaint*. And yet these Princes, equally with the two former, were despoiled of their territories and sovereign rights, in defiance of every principle of honesty, justice and good faith.

While we thus strongly reprobate this unrighteous act, it is just to Lord Ellenborough to record, that at the time he directed its execution, he was obviously not aware of the full extent of the injustice he was committing. In the letter of instructions to Sir Charles Napier which accompanied the draft treaties, he expressly avowed his ignorance of the precise value, position and ownership of the districts which he had ordered to be confiscated: and indeed, so vague and utterly erroneous was his information, that he made provision for the disposal of the *surplus tribute* to be surrendered by us *in excess* of the annual value of confiscated territory, when, in point of fact, the latter exceeded the former, as we have shewn, by upwards of seven lakhs of rupees. Seeing the grievous error which had been committed, Major Outram, on perusing the treaties when on the eve of leaving Sindh (on the 12th November), strongly urged Sir Charles Napier to make a reference to the Governor-General before tendering them to the Amírs; which, indeed, he was authorized to do by the discretionary instructions just referred to.† Notwithstanding the imperfect information avowedly possessed by Lord Ellenborough, and heedless of Major Outram's advice and of Mír Rústum's subsequent remonstrances, he delayed making the reference until the 30th of January—two months and a half after he received the treaties, and nearly two months after he had presented them to the Amírs. This fatal delay is the

* Mír Sobdar Khan (of Hyderabad) "our friend" was alone exempted from these exactions

† Sindh Parl. Pap. No. 388.

more deeply to be regretted, because on the day of its receipt, his Lordship intimated, that, while he wished all the territory which had been conquered from Bhawul Khan to be restored, his object in confiscating the country between the Bhawalpur frontier and Rorí was "to establish a communication between our territories on the Sutlej and Rorí through a friendly State, rather than to inflict any further punishment on the Amírs of Khyrpúr," and therefore, that, if Sir Charles was of opinion that the cessions originally demanded, pressed too heavily upon the Amírs, he was directed to submit any suggestion he might have to offer for its modification. These instructions, however, arrived too late, they came not until the battle of Mianí had sealed the fate of Sindh and its rulers.

The conduct of Sir Charles Napier in this matter betrayed a most culpable neglect of duty, both towards his own Government and to the Princes of Sindh, and is deserving of the severest condemnation. But this constitutes only a part of his guilt in this painful transaction. Sir Charles had assured the Governor-General that *he himself* would present the treaty to the Amírs, and that he would "spare no pains to convince them that neither injury nor injustice were meditated, and that by accepting the treaties they would become more rich (!) and more secure of power than they now were." Instead of pursuing this course, which a sense of duty no less than his promise so clearly prescribed, he deputed his assistant, neither to explain, to advise, nor even to negotiate, but to present the treaties and to admit of no remonstrance. They were tendered to the Amírs of Upper Sindh on the 4th, and to those of Lower Sindh on the 6th of December, accompanied by letters from the Governor-General as well as from Sir Charles to these Princes, and were verbally accepted on the 7th by the deputies of both Provinces, who at the same time remonstrated against their injustice. The hostile attitude and menacing tone of the General had previously induced the Amírs of Upper Sindh to adopt the precautionary measure of collecting some of their troops at their capital; but the perusal of the draft treaties, harsh and humiliating though they were, and the (fictitious) report made to them by their Vakils that the General had now abandoned his intention of marching on their capital, and was about to send away the Bengal force, seems to have, in some degree, reassured them; and, in the apparent hope of being able to procure by negotiation some remission of the terms, they began to disband their troops. The General's hostile measures, however, soon led to their recall.

Having crossed the Indus in hostile array, he, on the 8th,

publicly proclaimed the districts between Rorí and the Bhawulpúr frontier to be confiscated to the British Government from the first day of the ensuing year, and ordered that thenceforth "one cowree shall not be paid to the Kamdars of the Amírs." On the 18th he issued a second irritating proclamation, annexing these districts to the Nawab of Bhawulpúr, and prohibiting the Amírs, under threats of amercement, from collecting their revenues : and on the same day he sent the Bengal column to occupy the confiscated territory. The possessions, be it remarked, thus summarily and illegally seized, were the districts regarding which, he was at the moment withholding such official information, as in all probability would have induced the Governor-General to modify his orders for their sequestration : and these districts were now seized on the plea of a treaty which was still unratified, and which remained so for nearly two months afterwards. Well might the chronicler of the conquest affirm ; that "the sword was now raised, and the negotiation became an armed parley."*

While he was thus forcibly appropriating the territory of Mír Rústum, which he had been authorized only to negotiate for, by treaty, he on the 12th thus abruptly addressed that Amír, "I must have your acceptance of the treaty immediately—yea or nay." And again in the same arrogant strain : "The Governor-General has occupied both sides of your Highness' river, because he has considered both sides of your Highness' argument. But I cannot go into the argument,—I am not Governor-General ; I am only one of his Commanders. The Governor-General has given to you his reasons, and to me his orders ; they shall be obeyed."† We will venture to state, that the annals of Indian diplomacy do not present a picture of more overbearing haughtiness than this. To have treated a conquered enemy in this manner, would have been deemed an act of barbarous inhumanity : but to address such language to a sovereign Prince, with whom we were at peace, argued a scandalous dereliction of public duty. Well might the venerable Rústum say : "You have issued a proclamation, that in accordance with the new treaty, my country, from Rorí to the boundary of Subzulkote shall be considered as belonging to the British Government from the 1st January. As yet I have not entered into a treaty to this effect : * * * moreover, be it known that I have distributed the districts above alluded to among my kindred and chiefs of Belúchistan." Such was the series of unjust and oppressive acts

* Napier's Conquest, p. 156.

† Suppl. Sindh : Pap. No. 3.

which proved the remote occasion of the Sindh Conquest ; its proximate cause is now to be noticed.

Mír Rústum Khan, the Rais or Prince Paramount of Upper Sindh, the spoliation of whose territory has just been described, was now above eighty years of age. The succession to the sovereignty after his death was claimed, on the ground of prescriptive usage, by his younger brother Mír Ali Morad ; while Rústum, on the other hand, claimed the right of bequeathing the turban (or crown) to his eldest son Mahommed Hússen, and even of placing it on his head during his own life.

Of these two rival candidates, the ablest and the most unprincipled was Ali Morad, whose guilty intrigues were so soon to involve his kindred and country in ruin. His first object was to obtain from the British Government an acknowledgement of his title to the succession, and a promise of support, if necessary, in establishing his claim after Rústum's death : and this object being attained, he meditated the extortion of the turban, if practicable, during his brother's life. In furtherance of these objects, he persuaded Mír Rústum and the Khyrpúr Amírs to invest him with full powers as their representative to conduct all communications with Sir Charles Napier, and on the 23rd of November he succeeded in obtaining a personal interview with the General. At this memorable conference—memorable from the disastrous consequences to which it ultimately led,—Sir Charles having decided, on what ground is not stated, that Ali Morad had "the right" to the turban after the death of Mír Rústum, promised, on the part of the Governor-General, to protect him in that right, provided "he continued to act loyally towards the British Government." He further assured him that Mír Rústum would not be permitted by the Governor-General to invest his son with the dignity in question during his own life, because he said, "it would be against the treaty for any one Amír to defraud another of his right."* Without presuming to decide, in the absence of any recorded data, whether the abstract right to the turban rested exclusively with Ali Morad as was authoritatively announced by Sir Charles, or whether the claims on that ground were equally balanced between the two candidates as had previously been decided by Major Outram,† we are clearly of opinion that, under the existing treaty, which acknowledged the supremacy of Rústum and his absolute control within his own territories, we should have had no grounds for interference had Rústum carried into effect his

* Sindh Parl Pap. No. 413, p. 45

† Outram's Commentary, p 104.

intention of investing his son with the turban during his life ; although, in the event of a disputed succession after his death, its settlement might have rested with the British Government.

While Sir Charles thus guaranteed to Ali Morad the eventual succession to the sovereignty of Upper Sindh on Rústum's death, he indiscreetly, though perhaps unconsciously, intimated that the turban would be preserved to Rústum during his life "*unless he forfeited the protection*" of the Governor-General : an intimation which Ali Morad appears to have determined to turn to his personal advantage, even before he left the General's presence : for he at once indirectly accused Mír Rústum of hostility, by stating that he (Ali Morad) and Mír Sobdar Khan of Hyderabad, were "the only friends of the English," and by proposing that they two should make a secret treaty to stand by each other. It seems passing strange that such a proposition, coming from a Chief who had expressly solicited the interview as the accredited deputy of Rústum, should not have excited any suspicion of his perfidy in the mind of the General.

Having thus attained, and more than attained, the secret object of his visit, this bold and unscrupulous Prince hastened to compass the immediate deposition or compulsory abdication of his brother : and Sir Charles appears to have heartily seconded him in his guilty ambition. "The next step, (writes the General*) after giving Ali Morad a promise of the succession to the turban after Mír Rústum's death, was to *secure him the exercise of its power now, even during his brother's life.*"* How this was accomplished is now to be shewn.

At the very time when a British General was confiscating Mír Rústum's territory, and a perfidious brother was secretly meditating his deposition, domestic troubles had befallen "the good old man." On the 18th December—the day on which the General threatened to march on his capital and proclaimed his districts to be confiscated to the Khan of Bhawulpúr—he sent a secret message to the General, to the effect that he was in the hands of his family and could not act as his feelings of friendship for the English nation prompted him to do, and that if the General would receive him he would escape and come to his camp.† Surely, under such an appeal, it would have been an act of friendship and humanity peculiarly befitting, if not absolutely incumbent upon the British General, whose duty it was "to represent the friendship as well as the power" of his Government, to have promptly responded to so

* Sandh Parl. Pap. No. 445, p 483.

† Supp. Sindh Pap. No. 15.

reasonable a request. But setting all such feelings aside, a just regard to political consideration should have dictated a ready compliance; for if it really was the wish of the General to secure an amicable settlement of the treaties, no better opportunity for effecting this object could have been desired than this spontaneous offer on the part of the Amír to place himself under British protection. And, be it remembered, that the request emanated from the Sovereign Prince of the Province, at whose court he was the delegated British representative, and within whose territories he had resided for two months and a half, but with whom he had not yet had an interview.* To have invited the aged Amír to his camp would most probably have effected the settlement of the treaties and secured the peace of the country, as it would have unmasked the character of Mír Ali Morad; and it was therefore a duty which Sir Charles owed both to that Chief and to his own Government. But we shall shew how different was the course of policy which he followed "The idea struck me at once (he writes to the Governor-General two days afterwards,) that Rústum might go to Ali Morad, who might induce him, as a family arrangement, to resign the turban to him:" and accordingly in pursuance of this "idea," he sent a secret letter through Ali Morad to Rústum, recommending him to take refuge in his brother's fortress, trust himself to his care, and be guided by his advice. Bewildered and alarmed by the hostile proceedings of the General and by the dissensions within his own family, he fell into the snare, and on the 19th fled to Dejí-ka-kote. Having thus "thrown himself into his brother's power" by the General's advice, he was placed under restraint, deprived of his seals, and compelled on the following day to resign the turban to Ali Morad.† The great object of his policy having been successfully accomplished, Sir Charles thus laconically and exultingly reports its results:—"This (the transfer of the turban) I was so fortunate to succeed in, by persuading Mír Rústum to place himself in Ali Morad's hands. This burst upon his family and followers like a bombshell,"‡

Although the General was not acquainted at the time with the precise circumstances under which the turban had been fraudulently extorted from Mír Rústum, he, from the first, sur-

* Mír Rústum had solicited an interview with Sir Charles on a previous occasion, but postponed it on the plea of sickness, though, in reality, he was dissuaded from it by his intriguing brother. He repeated his request, but was refused

† Sindh Parl. Pap., p 503.

‡ Sindh Parl. Pap No 445, p. 483.

mised that Ali Morad had "bullied his brother into making it over to him:" and now his suspicions as to the honesty of the proceedings were increased by the fact, that a determination was obviously manifested in some quarter to prevent his having personal access to Rústum. This he resolved to counteract, and on the 27th, he intimated to Ali Morad his intention of visiting Rústum on the following day. But before the morning's sun had risen, the aged Prince had fled in dismay to the desert.

The intelligence of Rústum's flight, viewed in connection with the extraordinary transactions of which it was the consummation, could not fail to stagger the General, and to augment his former well-grounded suspicions. Accordingly, in reporting the matter to the Governor-General, he attributed it either to the aged Prince's dread of his (the General's) making him a prisoner—a dread, he adds, which had all along haunted him—or to his having been frightened into the foolish step by Ali Morad, who, in order "to make his possession of the turban more decisive," might have told him that he (the General) intended to seize him.* The accuracy of his conjectures was amply confirmed by the receipt of a communication, written on the following day from Mír Rústum himself, disavowing the validity of the cession of the turban, as having been extorted from him, and stating that he had been induced to flee into the desert, and to avoid a meeting with the General, in consequence of the representation of Ali Morad that he (the General) wished to make him a prisoner. Rústum further intimates in his letter, that he had sent ambassadors to the General to explain every thing, and concludes by expressing a hope that his case may be examined "by the scales of justice and kindness," and that he may receive his rights according to the treaty. The correctness of his statement was a week afterwards confirmed by the deputies just referred to, in presence of Ali Morad's own minister, as well as of Major Outram and Captain Brown.†

With such an array of circumstances and facts, all affording the strongest presumption that Ali Morad had fraudulently extorted his brother's birthright, and that, in the accomplishment of his wicked purpose, he had dared to stain the British name by imputing meditated treachery to the British representative,—it was the bounden duty of that officer to lose not an instant in instituting a full and searching inquiry into the whole circumstances of the transaction. An inquiry was due to the Sovereign Ally, whose rights we had guaranteed—it was due to the

* Sindh Parl. Pap No 446.

† Outram's Commentary, p 126.

personal character of the General himself—and it was, above all, due to the vindication of the faith and honor of the Government whom he represented. We grieve to record that no investigation whatever was made, either then or at any subsequent period, though thus imperatively required for the credit of the British name, and repeatedly and urgently solicited by the Amirs both of Upper and Lower Sindh. On the contrary, on the very day (the 1st of January) on which he received from Rústum the confirmation of his own previous suspicions, the General, with incredible inconsistency and in violation of every consideration of political prudence and moral justice, issued an arrogant and offensive Proclamation, addressed to the Amirs and people of Sindh, in which he gives a short but inaccurate outline of what had occurred; asserts that Mír Rústum, by his flight, had insulted and defied the Governor-General; and declares his intention to “protect the chief Amír Ali Morad in his right, as the justly constituted Chief of the Talpúr family.”* On the following day he addressed a letter of similar purport to Rústum,—charging him with misrepresentation, subterfuge and double dealing; and concluding with these words: “I no longer consider you to be the Chief of the Talpúrs, nor will I treat with you as such, nor with those who consider you to be Rais.†

Ali Morad having been thus formally proclaimed as the justly constituted Rais of Upper Sindh, the General, without waiting for instructions from the Governor-General, did not hesitate to pledge the British Government to grant to the usurper all lands said to appertain to the turban, without knowing or inquiring what those lands were. Supported by the General, Ali Morad appropriated territory at his pleasure, and resumed, on the plea of the turban, lands which had passed into the possession of feudatory chiefs, thereby creating general disaffection and alarm.

The aggregate annual value of the territory left to the Amirs of Upper Sindh, under the exactions of Lord Ellenborough's yet unratified treaties, was only Rs 14,29,000 of this amount Ali Morad's share was Rs. 4,45,500, leaving to the other Amirs Rs. 9,83,500. Now Sir Charles had not only pledged to Ali Morad, in virtue of his usurpation of the

* Suppl Sindh Pap p. 6.

† Suppl Sindh Pap. No. 17 We have deemed it to be quite unnecessary to enter into an examination of the discordant and contradictory statements to be found in the different versions given by Sir Charles Napier of this very discreditable transaction, but refer our readers to the fifth chapter of Colonel Outram's Commentary, where they will find the whole subject of the compulsory abdication of the turban analyzed and exposed with much minuteness and ability.

turban, one-fourth of the aggregate revenues of Upper Sindh, but had moreover stipulated that this fourth should be deducted, not from the aggregate revenues of the Province (Ali Morad's, own revenues included), but from the revenues of the other Amírs. Thus these unfortunate Princes were called upon to pay, not the fourth of their own possessions, *viz*, Rs. 2,40,000, but a fourth of the entire revenues of the Province, or Rupees 3,57,250, which, added to the sum of Rs. 1,50,000 to be paid to Ali Morad as an indemnity for his possessions confiscated to Bhawul Khan, swelled the total exactions made by the usurper to Rs. 5,07,250—leaving a balance of little more than six lakhs of Rupees for the support of no less than eighteen Amírs, with their families, dependants and feudatory chiefs, who had up to that period enjoyed an annual revenue of Rs. 17,44,000.

In the meantime, while these startling events were in progress, Major Outram, who was on the eve of embarking for England, was recalled to act as a British Commissioner, under Sir Charles Napier, for settling the details of the Ellenborough treaties. That officer, disregarding all personal considerations, promptly repaired to Sindh, to act as a subordinate in the countries where he had so recently held supreme political control. He accepted the situation in the hope that he might yet be enabled to save the ill-fated Princes of that devoted country: but their doom was fixed, and he was unable to avert it. What Sir Alexander Burnes was in Affghanistan under Sir William Macnaghten, Major Outram was in Sindh under Sir Charles Napier. Both were powerless for good and both must have appeared, in the eyes of the Princes and people of the country, as countenancing and approving a system of policy which was utterly at variance with their known characters and with their former opinions. This is painfully exemplified in the final conferences, when the Amírs pour forth their remonstrances and complaints against the cruelties and injustice which they had suffered, and the Commissioner, in consequence of the instructions he had received, has not the power of holding out the slightest hope that their grievances would even be inquired into. We are, however, anticipating the regular course of our narrative.

Major Outram joined the General's camp at Deji-ka-kote, the fortified residence of Ali Morad, on the 4th of January (1843)—three days after the proclamation of that Prince as the supreme ruler of Upper Sindh. He used every effort to check the General in the course on which he had so unfortunately entered. He pointed out the palpable treachery and extortion by which Ali Morad had possessed himself of the turban; his unwarrantable and indiscriminate resumption of

lands alleged to appertain to the Rais-ship; the consequent injury and injustice it would entail on the other subordinate Princes and Chiefs, and the general disaffection, if not insurrection, it would create throughout Sindh. But the warning was disregarded: the General, deaf alike to the voice of reason, to the calls of justice, and to the solemn obligations of treaty, pursued his impetuous career. Having without any declaration of war, marched in hostile array upon the capital of Upper Sindh, with whose Chief we were at peace, and at whose hands we had received such signal benefits; having taken military possession of an extensive tract of country on the plea of a yet unratified treaty; having unauthorizedly lent the sanction of the British name to the usurpation of the turban by a crafty and unprincipled chief, under circumstances—to which he himself had been a party—that involved the strongest suspicions of treachery and violence; and having sanctioned his indiscriminate appropriation of lands on the pretext of their appertaining to that turban which he had usurped,—the General proceeded in the name of the usurper, to seize and make over to him all the fortresses in Upper Sindh. One of the first of the strongholds invaded was Emaunghur, the name of which must be familiar to all our readers.

Emaunghur, let it be observed, was the private property of Ali Morad's nephew, Mir Mahommed Khan, a chief against whom no charge of "hostility or unfriendliness" had even been preferred, and whose possessions were guaranteed to him, by a separate agreement, under the treaties of 1839. The sole object which the General seems to have first had in view, when he determined on capturing this "Sindhian Gibraltar" as he terms it, was the moral effect likely to be produced by so daring an achievement: and we find him writing to the Governor-General on the 27th December: "I have made up my mind, that though war has not been declared (nor is it necessary to declare it) I will at once march upon Emaunghur, and prove to the whole Talpúr family of both Khyrpúr and Hyderabad, that neither their deserts nor their negotiations can protect them from the British troops." But as this might be considered, and justly considered, an unwarrantable invasion of private rights, he some days after bethought himself of calling in question Mir Mahommed's title to the fort, and here, as on former occasions, we are again startled by the General's contradictory statements. In one place we find him describing it as "belonging to Mir Mahommed Khan, but becoming the property of Ali Morad by his election to be

chief"* But if the fort appertained as of right to the turban, why was it not in possession of Mir Rústum who wore the turban? In another place he states that "it *was* Ali Morad's, but he gave it to one of his relatives (Mir Mahommed Khan) three years ago." If it did really belong at some antecedent period to Ali Morad—which we merely assume for the sake of argument—we would ask, how came he, not only to be the proprietor of it, but to alienate it to another chief, while Rústum wore the turban, to which Sir Charles had just told us it of right belonged. Again, on a third occasion, he shifts his ground of defence, and rests the justification of its seizure on the allegation that the owner was "in rebellion" against Ali Morad. But it is painful to dwell on such contradictions. Nothing but an inward conviction of the injustice of the measure could have drawn forth such a defence.

Sir Charles marched on Emaunghur with a light detachment on the night of the 5th of January, saw no enemy on his route, and on his arrival at his destination found the fort deserted. Before setting out on this expedition he had intimated to the Governor-General his intention of sending word to the Amírs in Emaunghur that he would neither plunder nor slay them if they made no resistance. These chiefs, however, apparently distrusting the General's good faith, abandoned the fort; and the latter, in breach of his solemn promise, destroyed and plundered it, after having obtained with difficulty the consent (not of "the owner" but) of Ali Morad. Before quitting this subject, we must prominently notice, that while Sir Charles affects to have taken possession of this fortress in support of the authority of Ali Morad, we find that he had resolved on placing all the forts in the hands of his puppet, even before he had usurped the turban. "I will place their forts (he wrote before Rústum's abdication) in the hands of Ali Morad, nominally in those of Mir Rústum."†

Having accomplished this unprovoked inroad into the heart of the territory of an allied Prince, and having completed the spoliation and destruction of the fortress in direct violation of the treaty, and of his own plighted word, the General retraced his steps towards the Indus. He, at the same time, deputed his Commissioner Major Outram to Khyrpúr to meet the Amírs of Upper and Lower Sindh, with a view to the arrangement of the intricate details of Lord Ellenborough's treaties.

* Sindh Parl. Pap. No. 448.

† Sindh Parl. Pap. p. 47.

In a circular letter addressed to them by the General, the several Amírs were directed to attend at Khyrpúr, either personally or by Vakíls, adding that, if any one of them failed to furnish his deputy with full powers, he would not only exclude him from the meeting but would "enter the territories of such Amír with the troops under his orders, and take possession of them in the name of the British Government." Notwithstanding this threatening letter, none of the Khyrpúr Amírs made their appearance within the stipulated period. Having been distinctly informed that no alteration could be made in Sir Charles's arrangements with Ali Morad,—whose usurpation of the turban, with all its attendant territorial exactions, was to be considered a closed question,*—Mír Rústum proceeded in the direction of Hyderabad to join his fugitive relations.

Finding it impossible to avert the ruin which was befalling the Amírs of Upper Sindh, Major Outram asked the General for permission to proceed to Hyderabad without delay, in the hope of reaching that capital in time to prevent its Princes from giving aid or refuge to their fugitive kinsmen, and also of being enabled, by their means, to procure the submission of the latter. The General's reply, acceding to his application, was intercepted, it is believed, by Ali Morad's Minister, and never reached Major Outram. Two days after this, Vakíls, bearing the seals of the Amírs of Hyderabad, arrived at Sir Charles's head-quarters, with full authority to affix them to the treaties. Instead of procuring the signature of the Vakíls to their unconditional acceptance (leaving the details for future adjustment) he injudiciously desired the deputies to return to Hyderabad to meet Major Outram on the 6th of February. This was certainly an unfortunate decision: but, with a still more lamentable want of judgment and of consistency, he in a letter to the Hyderabad Amírs apprizing them of what he had done, expressed a hope that the Khyrpúr Amírs would also proceed to Hyderabad to meet his commissioner, adding, "if they do not, I will treat them as enemies:"—thereby advising and directing the adoption of the very measure which Major Outram so much deprecated, and the prevention of which was the main object of his proposed visit to Hyderabad.

* Notwithstanding the obviously imperfect information under which Lord Ellenborough drew up the draft treaties, and the discretionary power which he gave the General to refer all doubtful points the latter persisted to the last in carrying out these oppressive exactions to the uttermost. "Whether such arrangement," he writes to Major Outram, "leaves the former (the opposed Amírs) one rupee or one million, does not, in my view of the case, come within our competence to consider."

The interception of the General's letter and other unavoidable causes prevented Major Outram's departure from Sukker till the 4th of February, and on reaching Hyderabad on the 8th, he found that Mír Rústum, acting in obedience to the General's orders, had arrived there four days before him. Thus Sir Charles Napier had completely embroiled the Amírs of Hyderabad in the misfortunes of their cousins of Khyrpúr, and had succeeded, most effectually, in frustrating the very object for which his Commissioner had been deputed to Lower Sindh—a result which the Hyderabad Chiefs themselves had all along dreaded and had heretofore prevented, and to which they attributed all their subsequent misfortunes.

Having entered so much at length into the remote and proximate causes that led to the subjugation of Sindh, it will be unnecessary to dwell upon the memorable occurrences which marked its final accomplishment. In the conferences which Major Outram held at Hyderabad with the Amírs of both Provinces, they solemnly denied the truth of the charges on which the new treaties were imposed, and complained that they had never been allowed an opportunity of disproving them. The great subject of earnest and repeated remonstrance however, was the unjust extortion of the turban from Mír Rústum. That chief reiterated his previous allegations, that in conformity with the General's express directions, he had sought refuge with Ali Morad, who placed him under restraint, made use of his seals, and compelled him first to resign his birthright, and then fly from Dejí-ka-kote on the General's approach. Although they strongly protested against the harshness and injustice of the exactions of the revised treaties, the Amírs agreed to sign them, upon condition that Mír Rústum should be restored to his hereditary rights.

Finding that the Commissioner was unauthorized to give them any assurance, or even to hold out any hope of Rústum's restoration, they then endeavoured to exact a promise, that an *inquiry* should be instituted, and that in the event of their substantiating the truth of what they had alleged against Ali Morad, the turban should be restored to Rústum, and the lands which had been wrested from his kindred and feudatories on the plea of belonging to the turban, should be given back to them; or, should this request not be complied with, they entreated that they themselves might be allowed to settle their dispute with Ali Morad without British interference. They urged a promise of inquiry, not only as an act of justice to Rústum, but also as the only means of allaying the excitement of the Belúchís; who had been flocking into the capital

during that day and the preceding night, and who had refused to disperse until Rústum's wrongs should be redressed.* Major Outram's instructions, however, were peremptory and left him no discretionary power: he could only promise to forward to the General any representation they might have to make on the subject; and in the meanwhile urged upon them an immediate compliance with the terms of the treaties.

At length, on the evening of the 12th, the Amírs formally affixed their seals to the draft treaties in open durbar. On their way back to the Residency, Major Outram and his companions were followed by a dense crowd of Belúchis, who were only prevented from attacking them by "a strong escort of horse sent for their protection by the Amírs, under some of their most influential chiefs." On the following day the Amírs sent a deputation to Major Outram to intimate that, after his departure from the durbar on the preceding evening, all the Belúchi Sirdars had assembled, and learning that, notwithstanding the acceptance of the treaties, the commissioner had given no pledge whatever for the redress of Rústum's grievances, they took an oath on the Koran to oppose the British troops, and not to sheath the sword until that chief and his brethren had obtained their rights. The Amírs further stated, that they had lost all control over their feudatories, and that they could not be answerable for their acts, unless some assurance were received that the rights of Rústum would be restored. On that and the following day, they forwarded repeated verbal and written messages to Major Outram to the same purport,—entreating him, should he not be empowered to grant the required assurance, to leave the Residency, as they could not restrain their exasperated followers. Notwithstanding these warnings he determined to remain at his post at all risk, lest his departure should precipitate hostilities.

While these events were in progress, Sir Charles Napier was marching with his small army upon Hyderabad. He had intended and pledged himself, as late as the 12th, to halt and embark the troops for Kurrachí, as soon as he received the Amírs' acceptance of the treaties; but, ere it arrived, he was within two or three days' march of the capital, and had obtained information that the Belúchis were assembling in large numbers in the town and neighbourhood of Hyderabad. Under these circumstances, which had been brought about by his own acts, the safety of his army, and other military considerations

* The Belúchis were further exasperated at the moment by the intelligence of the seizure of Hyat Khan, a Muri and Sindhian Chief.

determined him, instead of halting as he had promised, to continue his march. The news of this determination was brought to the Amírs by the camel rider who had conveyed Major Outram's despatch announcing the acceptance of the treaties.

War was now inevitable, and both parties appear to have arrived at this conclusion at the same time. At 9 A. M. on the 15th, Sir Charles wrote to Major Outram, "I am in full march on Hyderabad, and will make no peace with the Amírs. I will attack them instantly, whenever I come up with their troops." At the very hour, when the British General thus formally *declared* war—for he had practically been carrying on warlike operations for two months—hostilities were commenced by the Amírs' troops in their attack on the British Residency, the heroic defence of which by Major Outram, with his small honorary escort under the command of Captain Conway, against eight thousand Belúchís, formed, perhaps, the most extraordinary achievement of that brief but memorable campaign. Then followed, in rapid succession, the brilliant victory of Mianí, won by the gallantry of our troops and by the military genius and intrepid valor of their General, against the united forces of Upper and Lower Sindh—the surrender of the Amírs, and the capitulation of Hyderabad—the hard-fought battle of Dubba, in which our troops defeated the army of Mir Sher Mahommed of Mírpúr, who escaped after the battle—the public notification of the annexation of Sindh to the British dominions,—and finally, the captivity and exile of all the Amírs. It does not fall within our present purpose to give a detailed narrative of these transactions, but there are a few points connected with them which require special notice.

The first of these relates to the attack on the Residency. That measure was characterised by Lord Ellenborough in his notification of the 5th March, as "a treacherous attack upon a representative of the British Government," and as a "hostile aggression prepared by those who were in the act of signing a treaty:" the character thus affixed to this hostile measure being based upon Sir Charles Napier's official report, that the Amírs signed the treaty on the night of the 14th, and that they attacked the Residency on the following morning. On this we would remark, 1st. That the treaty was signed on the 12th, and not on the 14th, as erroneously reported by the General; 2nd. That during the two days and three nights which intervened between the execution of the treaty and the commencement of hostilities, the Amírs, as has been shewn, sent repeated messages, verbal and written, to Major Outram,

urging his departure on the ground that they could not restrain their feudatories, and that they themselves would be compelled to join with them, unless the General should halt, and promise an inquiry into Mír Rústum's grievances. To designate the attack on the Residency, after such repeated warnings, as a "treacherous" attack, was a direct perversion of language and of fact. It was in truth the first reciprocation, on the part of the Amírs, of hostilities which the British General had commenced two months before, and which before the commencement of the attack, he had resolved to prosecute with vigour.

The second point which requires notice is the suppression by Sir Charles Napier of the notes of the conferences between the Amírs of Sindh and Major Outram, in violation of his official duty and of his promise to forward them to Government. An examination of these documents by the Governor-General was absolutely necessary to his acquiring a just knowledge of the points at issue between the Amírs and his representative. The perusal of them would have acquainted his Lordship that the Amírs had unreservedly acquiesced in the terms of his treaties, harsh and oppressive as they were, but that they protested against the fraudulent exactions from Mír Rústum, which formed no part of their stipulations, and the unjust and unauthorized enforcement of which, by his General, proved the immediate cause of the war. The shifting and contradictory reasons subsequently assigned for withholding these important documents are melancholy exemplifications of the subterfuges to which it becomes necessary to resort in support of an indefensible act.

A third point to which we would advert, regards the terms on which the Amírs surrendered on the day after the battle of Míaní. Having previously received, through their Vakíls a promise of honorable treatment, those Amírs who were present in the battle, (*viz.*, Mír Rústum, Nussír, and Mahommed Khans of Khyrpúr, and Mír Nussír, Shahdad, and Hússen Ali Khans of Hyderabad) entered the British camp, and surrendered to the General, who returned their swords, and intimated that they would be treated with consideration, until the receipt of the Governor-General's instructions for their ultimate disposal. Under this guarded stipulation, Sir Charles could not be held responsible for the fate of any of these six Princes, with the exception of Mír Hússen Ali, Major Outram's ward. As no charge had ever been preferred against this young Prince, who was only sixteen years of age, except that of being present in the battle, Major Outram interceded

In his behalf, and obtained his release, and as was inferred, his pardon. Notwithstanding this, he was soon afterwards arrested without any assigned reason and imprisoned with the others. That there may have been a misconception of the General's precise meaning when he set him at liberty, is extremely probable; but as the misapprehension was entertained not only by the Prince himself and the whole of his family, but also by the British officer at whose intercession he was released, his subsequent imprisonment, without any known cause, cannot be reconciled with the strict principles of justice and good faith.

But whatever difference of opinion may have existed regarding the treatment of Mír Hússen Ali, there can be but one opinion as to the injustice perpetrated on Mírs Sobdar Khan and Mír Mahommed Khan. The former of these had, up to the outbreak of hostilities, been recognized by all parties as the "old and ever faithful friend and ally" of the British Government, the latter had on all occasions been employed as a mediator between contending chiefs, and neither of them had been present at Mianí. It was in consequence intimated to them by the General after the battle, that no harm should befall them, if they remained quietly in their houses. Under this assurance they peaceably surrendered the fort of Hyderabad, which Sir Charles admitted he could not have captured without reinforcements; and three days afterwards they were arrested and condemned to share the fate of their kindred. The treatment of these two Princes has left an indelible stain upon the humanity, justice, and good faith of the British Government.

The next question which arises, and which has been the subject of much angry discussion, refers to the property seized in the fort of Hyderabad, and subsequently appropriated as prize. As the fortress was surrendered and not captured, it follows that whatever treasure or other property was found therein, that could justly be considered lawful prize, belonged of right to the British Crown, or the East India Company, and not to the army. But the complaint chiefly insisted on by the Amírs was, that they had been deprived by the prize agents acting under the General's orders, not only of the State property, but also of their personal and private property, including personal ornaments, clothing and articles of household furniture. Another complaint urged by them under this head, was that the privacy of the female apartments was violated; that the Princesses were compelled to throw away their ornaments, rather than undergo the shameless scrutiny to

which they knew they would be subjected ; that jewels and other property were actually taken from the persons of their female attendants ; and that the houses of some of their servants were plundered. These alleged acts of spoliation were aggravated by the circumstance of their having been committed, not in the immediate excitement of a siege, but at an interval of two or three days after the peaceful surrender of the fort. There may possibly have been some exaggeration, and misstatement in these accusations, but their substantial truth has never been publicly disproved.

It is scarcely necessary to notice, except for the purpose of denouncing the apparently vindictive spirit in which Sir Charles Napier, with the aid of his brother, the historian, has traduced the public and private characters of the Amírs. There is something, to our thinking, at once unmanly and ungenerous in the seeming virulence with which the conqueror of Sindh has thus endeavoured to embitter the exile of the unfortunate victims of his power and his injustice. If he had even established the truth of the monstrous crimes and vices which he has laid to their charge, he would not in the slightest degree have thereby diminished the political and moral injustice which led to their dethronement, but when we find that these charges are either utterly devoid of truth, or to say the least, grossly exaggerated, we feel as if the original injustice of the conquest were almost obliterated by the atrocity of the subsequent libels upon the conquered Princes. In vindication of the character of the Amírs, however, Colonel Outram has adduced the written testimony of several British officers who, from their official relations to these Princes during the later period of their rule, and since their exile, have had peculiar opportunities for acquiring a correct opinion, and whose characters are a sufficient guarantee for the scrupulous accuracy of their evidence. From the concurring testimony of the officers, we are bound to exonerate their private character from some of the more revolting vices which have been laid to their charge, and to rank them as rulers rather above than below the ordinary level of the *Mahomedan Princes of India*.

We have already, in the course of our narrative, anticipated most of the observations that naturally arise from a review of the transactions which have been detailed. But before we conclude, it seems right that we should endeavour to apportion to Lord Ellenborough and to his General their respective shares in the responsibility of these proceedings.

The first great error which Lord Ellenborough committed in the management of our relations with the States on the

Indus, was the supercession of Major Outram, the British representative, by Sir Charles Napier, and the subsequent entire abolition of the political agency in that country. We are fully aware of the advantages which result from an union of political and military control in the person of one officer, both on account of the additional weight and influence with which it invests him, and also because it tends to prevent the delays, jealousies, and consequent injury to the public interests which may arise, in cases of emergency, from a divided and conflicting authority. But where the officer selected for the duty does not possess the requisite union of political and military qualifications, then there is no measure more hazardous to the public peace, or calculated to be more detrimental to the public interest. Lord Ellenborough selected for the discharge of these united functions in Sindh, an officer who was as admirably fitted for the one duty as he was utterly disqualified for the other. He superseded an incapable Commander by the ablest General in India ; but at the same time he displaced a political functionary of tried efficiency to make room for an inexperienced officer, whose utter incompetence for the duty has been made apparent in almost every page of the foregoing narrative. In this arrangement his Lordship evinced either a want of discernment of character, or a more culpable awkwardness of disposition, to the indulgence of which the public interests were sacrificed.

The second objectionable measure, for which he must be held responsible, was the imposition of the Revised Treaties, which, as we have shewn, proved the remote cause of the revolution. It has been seen that, had the General not culpably withheld official information which it was his duty to have communicated, the details of the measure might have been modified and rendered less oppressive to the *Amirs* : but, after making the necessary deduction on this ground, there will remain much that is censurable both in the terms of the treaties and in the grounds upon which they were imposed. In the first place, he acted unwisely in entrusting to an inexperienced subordinate agent the power of passing a final decision upon a matter which was to involve in its consequences the forfeiture of the sovereign rights, and of a large proportion of the territorial possessions of an allied State. But even if the General's decision upon the questions referred to him had been supported by clear and undeniable evidence—a supposition very remote from our real conviction—we should still consider the treaties which Lord Ellenborough based upon them to be most impolitic. Independently of all other objectionable clauses,

the indiscriminate sequestration of the territory of the different associate rulers of Sindh, and its cession to the neighbouring chief of Bhawalpûr, not only immediately involved all these rulers in the punishment avowedly inflicted for the alleged offences of only a portion of them, but was calculated to perpetual future discord between the rulers and people of the two States, and to provoke a feeling of bitter and lasting animosity against the British Government.

Lastly, it is to Lord Ellenborough alone that we are to ascribe the dethronement, captivity, and exile of the Amîrs, and the annexation of Sindh to the British dominions.

Along the more prominent errors and faults committed by Sir Charles Napier, during the few eventful months of his diplomatic career in Sindh, the first to be noticed is the general mode in which he performed the political duties of his office.

The functions of a British representative at the court of a protected native State, if we understand them aright, involve the two-fold duty of upholding the authority and interests of his own Government, and of conciliating the friendship and watching over the interests of the durbar to which he is accredited. He represents a Government which has engaged to protect as well as to control ; and if he neglects the performance of either of these offices, he must be considered to have failed in the fulfilment of the responsible duties committed to his charge.

If we apply this test to the political services of Sir Charles Napier in Sindh, we shall find how grievously and how fatally he failed in their performance. Of the two branches of political duty just referred to, he altogether neglected the one, and he performed the other with unnecessary and unjustifiable harshness. The former political agents, as the historian admits,* had gained the friendship of these Princes, and there appears no reason to doubt but that Sir Charles would have been equally successful had he evinced a similar desire to obtain it. Instead of attempting to conciliate their confidence, he evinced in all his communications with them a degree of arrogance and harshness, that was altogether unprecedented in the official intercourse between allied States, and that was calculated to have a most injurious effect upon the interests of both Governments. Almost every page of the Sindh blue books confirms this fact. He, moreover, exercised an interference in their internal affairs that was not only unauthorized, but was expressly prohibited by the treaties.

The second point to which we have to advert is his inexcusa-

ble omission in not supplying the Governor-General with full and correct information on points where his Lordship's knowledge was declaredly defective or obviously inaccurate; and in not forwarding to him such representations and remonstrances as the Amírs repeatedly made against the measures which were in progress or were about to be enforced. This is perhaps to be ascribed, in part, to forgetfulness, but it seems also to have arisen in some degree from a mistaken conception of the duties of his office. He appears to have looked upon himself as the Governor-General's "commander," delighted to carry his orders into rigorous effect, rather than as his Lordship's political agent, whose duty it was to supply him with full and accurate information on every point connected with the duties of his office. The grievous results of Sir Charles Napier's ignorance or heedlessness or culpable neglect of this duty have been fully detailed.

His hostile invasion of the dominions of the Princes of Upper Sindh, with whom we were at peace, and were then negotiating a treaty, and his military occupation of extensive districts on the plea of that yet unratified engagement, constitute his third great offence. The injustice of this, however, must be shared by the Governor-General, who when issuing instructions to the General for an amicable negotiation, intimated at the same time, in no unintelligible terms, his wish that the Amírs should feel the force of our arms.

The fourth measure chargeable against Sir Charles Napier is one of which the conception and execution rested entirely with himself. We allude to the unjustifiable capture and demolition of Emaunghur—a fortress belonging to a chief who had never even been accused of any participation in the hostile intrigues alleged against some of the others.

The greatest, however, of his numerous offences was his having, in conjunction with Mír Ali Morad, compassed the forcible deposition of Mír Rústum Khan, the Prince paramount of Upper Sindh, at whose court he was at the time the British representative. In furtherance of this intrigue, as has been shewn, he counselled Mír Rústum to put himself into the power of Ali Morad; he publicly proclaimed the usurper's accession to the throne without the Governor-General's authority for so doing, and in utter disregard of Mír Rústum's solemn protest against the illegality of his abdication, as having been forcibly and fraudulently extorted from him, he publicly notified his determination to treat as rebels all who refused to acknowledge the authority of the usurper; he officially sanctioned the usurper's unwarrantable and indiscriminate

appropriation of territory in the possession of the other Amírs; and lastly, he obstinately refused to institute or sanction any inquiry into the circumstances of the usurpation. This series of impolitic, unjust, and discreditable acts, proved the proximate cause of the Sindh Revolution, and has left an ineffaceable stain on Sir Charles Napier's reputation as well as on the good name of the British Government.*

Such is a very imperfect sketch of the leading particulars of the conquest of Sindh—a conquest which, whether it be viewed in reference to the political and moral injustice in which it originated, or to the unjustifiable proceedings which marked its progress and its close, has happily no counterpart in the history of British India during the present century. If we would find a precedent for the spoliation of the Amírs, we must go back to the times of Warren Hastings, and to the injuries inflicted on Cheyte Singh by that able but unscrupulous statesman. In the revolution of Benares, as in the revolution of Sindh, the paramount authority imposed unjust and exorbitant demands (pecuniary in the one case, territorial in the other) on its tributary allies—answered respectful remonstrances by insolent menaces and hostile inroads—treated defensive preparations as acts of aggressive hostility—rejected all overtures for amicable negotiation—goaded them to resistance in defence of their sovereign rights—defeated them in battle—confiscated their territories—and finally drove them into exile. While there was this general resemblance, however, between the atrocities committed on the banks of the Ganges in 1781, and those enacted in the valley of the Indus in 1843, the impelling motives, and the ultimate results of the policy pursued by the two Indian rulers, were widely different. In the one case, there was an exaction of money demanded, on the urgent plea of State necessity, to relieve the pressing financial embarrassments of the Government; in the other, there was a spoliation of territory, originating in a whimsical solicitude to enrich a favourite ally, who had no claims whatever upon our bounty:—the one Governor-General, by his unjust policy, acquired a district yielding a considerable addition to the permanent revenues of the State—the other, by a similar course of injustice, bequeathed to his country a province burdened with what has hitherto proved a ruinous,

* The venerable ill-requited Chief who was the victim of such unparalleled injustice, has been released by death from the sorrows of his exile. He expired at Púna on the 27th of May last, and the grave closed, soon after, over another victim of British oppression—Mir Sobdar Khan, the "ever faithful friend and ally" of the British Government.

and may prove a permanently ruinous annual expenditure to the State.

While the present century nowhere furnishes a precedent or a parallel to our recent proceedings in Sindh, it is a subject of congratulation that the current year supplies us with a most remarkable and instructive contrast. The spotless justice of the recent war on the Sutlej, and the deep-stained guilt of the war on the lower Indus—the forbearance of Lord Hardinge, who scrupulously maintained peace until a wanton and unprovoked invasion compelled him to draw the sword, and the unjust aggressions by which Sir Charles Napier goaded the Princes and people of an allied State to resistance in defence of their sacred rights—the generous moderation which closed the triumphs of the former, and the oppressive and retributive severity with which the latter followed up his victories—all furnish points of contrast so striking and so extraordinary, that posterity will hardly credit the fact, that the chief actors in these two campaigns lived in the same century, and were brought up in the same military school.

It only remains to say a few words regarding the two works whose titles are placed at the head of this article.

The “Conquest of Sindh” presents the same characteristic peculiarities which we alternately admire and regret in the previous writings of the historian of the Peninsular war. We find the same spirited and graphic narration of military operations; the same clearness of topographical delineation; the same vivid and thrilling descriptions of the battles. But these merits, great as they undoubtedly are, are disfigured by even more than the usual proportion of his characteristic faults. A turgid extravagance of diction pervades the general narrative; many of his statements and opinions are singularly distorted by personal and party prejudice, and the direct perversions of facts are so many and so serious, as irretrievably to mar its character for trustworthiness. These misrepresentations are rendered subservient on every occasion, either to the undue exaltation of Lord Ellenborough and Sir Charles Napier, the unjust depreciation of Lord Auckland and Colonel Outram, or the indulgence of a feeling of what we fear must be regarded as malignant hostility towards the Ex-Amírs of Sindh.

Many of the misstatements to which we have alluded are exposed with unsparing freedom, but in a tone of great moderation in Colonel Outram’s Commentary, which presents, in many respects, a remarkable contrast to the work upon which it comments.

We regret that our limits do not admit of our furnishing

any adequate specimens of the earnest, truthful, straightforward and business-like style in which the author has treated every department of his intricate and voluminous subject. Our anxiety has been to disentangle, for the benefit of the general reader, the main thread of the narrative of leading facts, from the multitudinous details which are apt to weary or repel those who are neither personally nor officially concerned in the evolutions of the Sindhian tragedy. In this way we have endeavoured to contribute our mite to the diffusion of sound and accurate views respecting its real character and merits, since an undistorted retrospective view of what has actually occurred can alone effectually pave the way to healing prospective measures. And we are very sure, that to the noble-minded author of the Commentary, any service calculated to exhibit *the truth, the plain undisguised truth*, as respects the memorable series of events which led to the subversion of the Talpúr dynasty in Sindh, must prove far more gratifying, than any elaborate attempts to illustrate his own personal merits, or those of his recently published work.

Towards the conclusion however of the work, there is one passage so well fitted to display the moral grandeur of his sentiments, that we must find room for it :—

“Reverentially I say it, from my first entrance into public life, I have, thought that the British nation ruled India by the faith reposed in its honour and integrity. Our empire, originally founded by the sword, has been maintained by opinion. In other words, the nations of the East felt and believed that we invariably held treaties and engagements inviolate ; nay, that an Englishman's word was as sacred as the strictest bond engrossed on parchment. Exceptions, no doubt, have occurred ; but scrupulous adherence to faith once pledged was the prevailing impression and belief, and this was one of the main constituents of our strength. Unhappily this charm has, within the last few years, almost entirely passed away. Physical has been substituted for moral force—the stern, unbending soldier for the calm and patiently-enduring political officer ; functions incompatible—except in a few and rare cases—have been united ; and who can say for how long a space—under such a radical change of system, such a departure from all to which the Princes and People of India have been accustomed and most highly value and cherish—the *few* will be able to govern the *millions* ?

* * * * *

The moral effect of a single breach of faith is not readily effaced. “I would,”—wrote the Duke of Wellington, on the 15th of March 1804,—“I would sacrifice Gwalior, or every position in India, ten times over, to preserve our credit for scrupulous good faith, and the advantages and honour we gained by the late war and peace ; and we must not fritter them away in arguments drawn from overstrained principles of the laws of nations, which are not understood in this country. *What brought me through so many difficulties in the war, and the negotiations for peace ? The British good faith and nothing else ?*

It is another great misfortune, that acts like those I am deploring, pre-

vent those who are really imbued with pacific views and intentions, from acting upon and carrying them out. The present Governor-General, to his honour be it said, has endeavoured to carry out his wise and pacific intentions to the utmost verge of prudence and forbearance. Who shall however venture to say that his measures, which we know to have been purely defensive, have not, under the warning of Sindh, been regarded by the Sikhs as indicative of meditated aggression on the first favorable opportunity, or that the bold step they adopted of invading our borders, is not to be attributed to the distrust and suspicion excited in their minds by the subjugation of the Princes and People of Sindh?

If in the performance of the necessary duty of self-vindication, I have read a warning to those in power to retrace their policy before it is too late, may it not be neglected; for nations require occasionally to be reminded that "the love of Conquest is national ruin, and that there is a power which avenges the innocent blood." Our interests in the East require consolidation, and not extension of our dominion."

With this single but characteristic quotation, however, we must conclude. Of the Commentary, it may in brief be said, that without displaying the fitful eloquence or the practised literary skill of the military historian, it evinces a thorough mastery of the subject on which it treats, and it is written in clear, forcible and unaffected language, with an earnestness that bespeaks the author's honesty of purpose, and with a scrupulous accuracy to which his opponent can lay no claim. Colonel Outram has most fully and triumphantly vindicated his hitherto unsullied reputation from the aspersions which have been so ungenerously and so unjustly thrown upon it; he has cleared Lord Ellenborough's character from much of the guilt heretofore imputed to him in connection with the injuries inflicted on the Amirs; he has taken down the conqueror of Sindh from the political eminence on which the historian had so indiscreetly placed him, and fixed on him a brand of political dishonesty which, it is to be feared, he will find it difficult to efface; and he has exposed, in General Napier's history of the Conquest, a series of misstatements so numerous and so flagrant, as must for ever damage its claims to historical accuracy.

DOST MAHOMMED KHAN.

BY SIR JOHN KAYE, K.C.S.I.

Life of the Amír, Dost Mahommed Khan of Kabul; with his political proceedings towards the English, Russian and Persian Governments, including the victories and disasters of the British Army in Affghanistan. By Mohan Lal, Esquire, Knight of the Persian Order of the Lion and the Sun; lately attached to the Mission in Kabul. 2 vols. Longman and Co. 1846.

* * * * *

We had purposed to have given a few specimens of Mohan Lal's style, which he assures us is Persian, and which is certainly not English—but we think that we shall better carry out the objects of this journal by taking advantage of the present opportunity to compile, from the different authorities,—more or less trustworthy—at our command, a memoir of the eventful career of Dost Mohammed, which if not entirely free from error, will, we trust, be as close an approximation to the truth, as can be attained in the absence of all authentic records of the varied incidents of the Amír's life. Much is, necessarily, mere tradition, and must be received with liberal allowances for the exaggerations of oriental retailers of court-gossip, through whom the greater number of the anecdotes, which illustrate the biography of the Amír, have been received. We may sometimes be tempted, as we proceed, to throw into a note an original passage from Mohan Lal's volumes.

Dost Mohammed Khan is the son of Poyndah Khan, and the grandson of Hadji Jamal Khan, Barukzye. The latter was in his days a noble of high repute, and chief of the Barukzye tribe. On his death, Taimur Shah, who then ruled

in Affghanistan, bestowed, with due regard to primogeniture, the dignity of the chiefship upon Rahimdad Khan, the eldest of the four sons of the deceased Hadji. But this man had not the qualities necessary to control or conciliate his tribe. He was sordid and morose. He shut himself up in his house ; seldom associated with his equals without offending them, or with his inferiors without injuring them. He wanted courtesy—he wanted hospitality ; he had a bad temper and a bad heart. The Barukzyes rose up against him and appealed to the king. Taimur Shah responded to the appeal ; Rahimdad Khan was degraded, and the second brother, Poyndah Khan, became chief of the tribe.

Poyndah Khan was a man of a widely different character and temperament. He was liberal and chivalrous—hospitable to his equals, affable to his inferiors, faithful to his sovereign ; a brave soldier and a popular chief. He appears first to have distinguished himself by joining an expedition sent to coerce a recusant Governor of Kashmir, and exhibiting on this occasion, consummate gallantry in the field. The refractory Governor was beaten at all points ; and the leader of the expedition on his return to Kabul, brought the distinguished services of the Barukzye chief to the notice of his sovereign who conferred new honours upon him, appointed him to offices of emolument and trust, and bestowed upon him many signal marks of personal favor and friendship.

When Prince Abbas rebelled against his father, Taimur Shah selected Poyndah Khan to command the expedition against the insurgent hosts ; and the Barukzye chief, with characteristic energy, put himself at the head of his troops, and moved down upon Salpúrah, where the rebels had taken up a strong position. The river flowed between him and the enemy, but disregarding such an obstacle, he rode down to the water's edge and plunged into the stream, calling upon his men to follow him. The energy and devotion of the chief filled his soldiers with enthusiasm, and they followed him to a man. The whole party arrived in safety on the opposite

side of the river, and at once proceeded to the attack. The rebels were ignominiously defeated, and Poyndah Khan returned in triumph to his sovereign. New honors were lavished upon him, and the title of Sarfraz (or "the exalted") was bestowed upon him, in consideration of his glorious achievements.

His services were soon again in requisition. A disturbance on the Usbeg frontier so alarmed the Shah, that he had determined on quitting the capital and flying to Herat, when Poyndah (now Sarfraz) Khan implored his sovereign not to betray his apprehensions, but to retain his right place in the regal palace, and trust to that energy and skill which had before been so serviceable to him. Taimur Shah consented to remain in Kabul, and Sarfraz Khan set out for Balkh. Here the diplomacy of the Barukzye chief was as effectual as before his gallantry had been. He returned to Kabul without striking a blow; but opposition to the Dourani sovereign was at an end. His reputation, after this statesmanlike achievement, continued rapidly to increase.

Taimur Shah died in 1793. There was a disputed inheritance. Prince Abbas had his adherents; others supported the claims of Mahmud, but a stronger party, headed by Sarfraz Khan who, it is said, had been won over by the favorite queen of Taimur Shah, sided with Prince Zemaun. Zemaun was the successful candidate. In no small measure did he owe his elevation to the influence of Sarfraz Khan, and the Barukzye chief, for a time, was even a greater favorite with Shah Zemaun than with his predecessor.*

* Mohan Lal here takes occasion to observe, "As soon as Dost Mahommed Khan gained distinction and became chief of Kabul, he stamped the following verse on his coin, and this honoured and gave prominence to the name of his affectionate father —

Sim o tila he shams o qamar medahad naved
Vaq te ravag sikhai Poyndah Khan vasid

"Silver and gold give the happy tidings to sun and moon that the time has arrived for the currency of Poyndah Khan's coin." "It would certainly be wonderful if Sarfraz Khan could hear with his own ears that his enterprising

But the favorites of kings are ever surrounded by peril. Shah Zemaun, who made the great mistake of his life when he elevated Wuffadar Khan to the wuzirship, was induced by the minister to suspect the fidelity of the man to whom he owed his throne. The wuzir poured poison into the ears of the Shah. The overthrow of Sarfraz Khan was accomplished. The wiles of the false minister prevailed, and the favorite of two monarchs was disgraced. The strong-minded Barukzye chief was not one to remain quiet under the injustice that had been done him. He had been suspected without cause; he now gave cause for suspicion. He conspired, with other powerful chiefs, to destroy Wuffadar Khan and to depose Shah Zemaun. The conspiracy was discovered, and the leaders were seized. An officer was sent to the house of Sarfraz Khan, charged with the apprehension of the rebel chief, and was received by his son the celebrated Futteh Khan. The youth alleged that his father was absent and undertook to summon him. He then presented himself before Sarfraz Khan, warned him of his danger, and offered to assassinate the officer and seize the guard. The foul proposition was rejected. Sarfraz Khan went out, and surrendered himself to the representative of the king. On the following morning he was executed, and the other conspirators shared his fate*.

Sarfraz Khan died leaving twenty-one sons, of whom Futteh Khan was the eldest, and Dost Mahommed the twentieth†. The former, on the death of his father, fled to Ghireck, but was soon compelled to abandon his sanctuary and fly from the pursuing wrath of his enemies. "These," says Mohan Lal, "were the days in which the descendants and family of "Poyndah Khan suffered most miserably. They were beg-

"son, Dost Manommed, had become as celebrated as one of the kings, and that "the ambassadors of the Russian, the Persian and the Turkistan Governments "waited in his court. It happens seldom in this sad and changing world that "parents are alive to derive pleasure from the prosperity of their promising sons; "and if they ever happen to be alive, still, when the child has gained dignity, it is "to be regretted that he seldom pleases them entirely, by performing his filial duties "according to their expectation."

* Mohan Lal seems to assume the innocence of the alleged conspirators. He says, that they were all unjustly massacred. That the injuries they had received at the hands of the minister incited them to rebellion is true, but that they did actually conspire against their sovereign is not to be denied.

† Mohan Lal, determined that there should be no mistake about the matter, says—"If I did not mention that they had different mothers it might puzzle the "reader to consider that so many children were born from one mother." He adds, "I must safely say, that the mother of Dost Mahommed was the favorite "wife of Sarfraz Khan. She accompanied him in the various campaigns, and would "not allow him to rise early and march long after sunrise. For this she was "blessed by the troops and camp followers who did not like to start earlier in "cold."

"ging from morning to night for pieces of bread. Many were "prisoners and others had taken shelter in the mausoleum of "the late Ahmad Shah, with the view of gaining food, which "was daily distributed for charity's sake." But their trials were only for a season. The Barukzye brothers soon emerged from the clouds which had environed them. There was no power in the Dourani empire which could successfully cope with these strong and determined spirits

In Affghanistan, revenge is a virtue. The sons of Sarfraz Khan had the murder of their father to avenge; blood cried aloud for blood, and the appeal was not made in vain. Futteh Khan had fled into Persia and there leagued himself with Mahmoud, the brother of Shah Zemaun. The ambition of this prince, failure had not extinguished. His prospects at this time were gloomy in the extreme, but the arrival of Futteh Khan, whose extraordinary energy of character had gained him the highest reputation among his countrymen, inspired the exiled prince with new courage, and he resolved, under the direction of the son of Sarfraz Khan, to strike another blow for the throne of Kabul

With a few horsemen they entered Affghanistan, and raising the standard of revolt, were joined by thousands of their countrymen. The result is well known. Shah Zemaun and his detested Wuzir made but a feeble stand against the irresistible energies of Futteh Khan. The Shah was seized, the eyes of the unfortunate monarch were punctured with a sharp lancet, and he was cast, a blind and hopeless prisoner, into the Balla Hissar. Wuffadar Khan and his brother were executed, the revenge of the Barukzyes was accomplished, and their triumph complete.

At this period (the first year of the present century) Dost Mahommed was a boy. According to Mohan Lal he was then twelve years of age. This statement must be received with caution. It is alleged, upon good authority, that Dost Mohammed was born in the year 1793. If this assertion be correct, on the ascension of Shah Mahmoud, he was only seven years old. We should be sorry to stake our character for accuracy on any statement relative to the precise year on which the Amir was born; but we may question whether he has lived fifty-eight years in the world. We feel inclined to accept neither statement, but rather to believe that Dost Mahommed was born between the two dates indicated—1788 and 1793.

The early years of Dost Mahommed were years of absolute servitude. His mother, though much beloved by Sarfraz Khan,

was not a woman of condition. She belonged to the Kuzzilbash tribe, and by the other wives of her lord—high-born Dourani ladies—was regarded with contempt. It is related by General Harlan that “by an honorary or devotional vow of his mother he was consecrated to the lowest menial service of the sacred cenotaph of Lamech... This cenotaph is known, in the colloquial dialect of the country, by the appellation of Meiter Lam. In conformity with the maternal vow, when the young aspirant become capable of wielding a brush, he was carried to Meiter Lam by his mother and instructed to exonerate her from the consequences of a sacred obligation, by sweeping, for the period of a whole day, the votive area included within the precincts of the holy place enclosing the alleged tomb of the antediluvian, the father as he is termed, of the prophet Noah.” At a later period, the boy attached himself to his enterprising brother Futteh Khan—becoming his personal attendant, first in the character of *Abdar* or water bearer, and afterward in the higher office of *hukah-bardar*, or bearer of the great man’s pipe. His ministrations appear to have been incessant. He was always in the Wuzirs presence, following his every movement and often watching him when wrapt in sleep.*

This is the history of the boyish life of Dost Mahommed in which we would fain repose our belief. A neglected younger brother, slighted by powerful relatives, because the child of a woman of inferior condition, but his high spirit not crushed by contumely—patiently biding his time, dreaming of the future, and only lacking opportunity to show the strength of his mind and the temper of his courage—such a picture we may look upon with pleasure. There is another and a darker one. Among the twenty brothers of Dost Mahommed, was one named Summund Khan. Profligate among the profligate, his life was one of debauchery most revolting. His vices were of that dark hue, which though not unknown at oriental Courts, in Christian countries is viewed with abhorrence even by the most licentious. The extreme beauty of the young Dost Mahommed is said to have attracted the attention of the profligate Nawab; and the boy soon found himself the most favored of the many youthful minions who polluted his brother’s house. The story is not wanting in probability. Uneducated, neglected, contaminated by the all-surrounding

* Mohan Lal says, “this promising young man was in attendance upon him at all times, and never went to sleep till Futteh was gone to his bed. He stood before him all the day with his hands closed, a token of respect among the Affghans. It was not an unusual occurrence, that when Futteh Khan was in his sleeping room, Dost Mahommed Khan stood watching his safety.”

debauchery—evil influences of every kind assailing him, the boy may have fallen a victim to the wickedness of men, and yet excite rather pity than loathing.

From this horrible pollution he was soon rescued. The Othos of the East are not always sunk in sloth and effeminacy. His was no woman's nature. Whilst yet a boy he had all the daring resolution, the impetuous courage, of manhood. His first achievement as a man was one unhappily but too characteristic of *Affghan* manhood—it was an act of deliberate murder. He had long sought an opportunity of recommending himself to the especial favor of his powerful brother—long sought an opportunity of showing the "sterner stuff" of which he was made. The Wuzir happened one day, in durbar at Peshawur, to express some apprehensions of the designs of a personal enemy, whom he named, and to indicate, by some indirect allusions, the satisfaction he should feel, if the man were removed from a proximity to the court, which seemed to threaten so much danger. The words sunk deep into the mind of young Dost Mahommed—then a stripling of fourteen—who was in attendance on his brother, and brooding over them, he left the durbar, mounted his horse, and had scarcely struck into the street, when he found himself face to face with the object of the Wuzir's hatred. Dost Mahommed was armed with a rifle, both parties were mounted—he had but to raise the weapon and rid his brother at once of a dangerous enemy. The resolution was formed in an instant. It was broad day; they were in the public streets. the townsmen were passing to and fro, and the man, whom he had marked as his victim, was attended by a band of followers. The lion-hearted stripling saw all this, but no personal fears could turn him aside from the task he had set himself; he raised his rifle and fired. The enemy of Futteh Khan fell a corpse at his horse's feet, and Dost Mahommed rode home to announce to his brother the death of his dangerous rival. The suddenness of the act must have paralysed the followers of the murdered man; for, the youthful assassin escaped in the midst of the confusion which the daring act created in the streets of Peshawur. From this time his rise was rapid. Various are the roads which led to fame and fortune. In the East, cruelty and lust are the darling vices of the great. Whatever ministers to these brutal passions, is sure to meet with favor in the sight of the magnates of the land. Dost Mahommed had now approved himself a hero.

That he did not pay the penalty of his murderous act—that the relatives of the man he had slain, did not in accordance

with national usage, and in fulfilment of the duties of Affghan consanguinity, demand blood for blood, we must attribute to the immense power of Futteh Khan, who during the reign of the indolent and licentious Mahmoud, was the virtual monarch of Affghanistan! He was protected, indeed, by something nearly akin to that

—sealed commission of a King,
Which kills and none dare name the murderer.

He was the brother, and now the favorite of Futteh Khan—the Warwick of the East—the King-maker of Affghanistan.

From the period of the accession of Shah Mahmoud to the date of Mr. Elphinstone's mission to Affghanistan in 1809, the country appears to have been almost incessantly rent by intestine convulsions. The strife between Shah Mahmoud and Shah Sújah was distinguished by the alternating successes of the two brothers; first one, then the other was uppermost, the war of succession deluged the country with blood, and ended in the dispersion of the royal family. Dum singuli preliantur, universi vincuntur. Seven years of warfare between the Suddozye brothers prepared the way for the rise of the Barukzyes. Mahmoud Shah was weak and unprincipled—but he was a puppet in the hands of Futteh Khan, and as such, his party was a strong one. The grand error of Shah Zemaun's life had been his treatment of Sarfraz Khan. His brother Shah Sújah appears to have been equally unfortunate in his failure to propitiate Futteh Khan, the powerful son of a powerful father. But the latter had an enemy nearer home, in the son of Shah Mahmoud—the Prince Kamran, subsequently well known as the ruler of Heart, who accomplished the destruction of the powerful Wuzír.

We need not follow in detail the intricate history of Affghan politics, throughout the early years of the present century. Much has been written on the subject, but for the most part, with such an utter contempt for the value of dates, that the student who would endeavour to derive from these varied narratives, a clear, comprehensive, chronological view of the annals of Suddozye warfare, is pretty sure to be fairly bewildered. It is enough for us, that Dost Mahommed Khan followed the fortunes of his warlike brother, and at an early age was renowned as one of the most distinguished of the chivalry of Affghanistan. That whilst yet in his teens, he was a warrior of no mean repute, is certain, but making every allowance for eastern precocity, we still find it difficult to believe, that he could have performed the various exploits ascribed to him

during the life time of Futteh Khan, if the date of his birth be correctly fixed at so recent a period as the year 1793. From his very boyhood he was accustomed to a life of adventure, and being trained to arms and familiar with scenes of battle, he early acquired the power of handling considerable bodies of troops, and was at once, after his kind, a skilful leader and a dashing soldier, when yet scarcely a man. He was bold, reckless, and it is to be feared, wanting in those qualities which most command respect. His scruples were few; his errors were many, and as he often acknowledged, in after life, his youthful career was stained by many acts not to be looked back upon, without shame and contrition.

It was one of these errors—to use no stronger word—which led, it is supposed, to the inhuman treatment to which Futteh Khan was subjected by the Suddozyes. The Dost accompanied his brother on an expedition against Herat; the place was taken, and the young warrior, to use the language of Mr Vigne “signalised himself, not in action, but in the zenana “of Feroz-ud dîn, which he forcibly entered, and amongst “other pranks, gave chase to Tokya Begum, daughter of “Taimur Shah and sister to Shah Mahmoud, pursued her “into a bath where she had taken refuge, tore off by force “from her person the bund-i-pajama or waist-band of her “trowsers, which was studded with very valuable pearls, and “escaped with his prize to his brother in Kashmir. Futteh “Khan wrote to Mahommed Azim Khan, telling him to seize “Dost Mahommed, and a guard was placed over him; but “before any further steps were taken, news arrived that Futteh “Khan had been blinded by Kamran, son of Mahmoud. The “insulted Begum sent her dress, torn and bandless to her “cousin Kamran, at Herat, who forthwith followed Futteh “Khan, took him prisoner as he returned from Khorassan, “where he had been defeated by the Persian prince, Alî Mirza, “and on the principle which considers that what is done by “one man is done by his family, put out Futteh Khan’s eyes, “to avenge the insult offered by Dost Mahommed to his own “cousin”*. What followed is well known. Enraged by so gross an outrage on a member of the Suddozye family, alarmed at the growing power of the Barukzyes, and further irritated

* Mohan Lal says, that the lady was sister of the Shah-zadah Kamran: but it is obvious that if she was the daughter of Taimur Shah, and sister of Shah Mahmoud (Kamran’s father), she was neither the sister nor the cousin, but the aunt of the Prince. The Dost appears to have acted throughout recklessly and unscrupulously. He massacred the palace-guard; seized Feroz-ud-dîn; plundered the palace, and violated the harem. On hearing that his conduct at Herat had given offence to Futteh Khan, he fled to Kashmir, where his brother Azim Khan was employed; and there, Azim Khan, instructed by Futteh Khan, seized him.

by the resolute refusal of Futteh Khan to betray his brothers, who had effected their escape from Herat, Kamram and his father, Shah Mahmoud, agreed to put their noble prisoner to death. They were then on their way from Kandahar to Kabul. The ex-minister was brought into their presence, and again called upon to write to his brothers, ordering them to surrender themselves to the Shah. Again he refused, alleging that he was but a poor blind captive; that his career was run; that he had no longer any influence, and that if he had, he could not consent to betray his brethren. Exasperated by the resolute bearing of his prisoner, Mahmoud Shah ordered the unfortunate Wuzir—the king-maker to whom he owed his crown—to be put to death before him; and there, in the presence of the Shah and the Shah-zadah, Futteh Khan was, by the attendant courtiers, literally hacked to pieces. His nose, ears, and lips were cut off; his fingers severed from his hands; his hands from his arms; his arms from his body; limb followed limb, and long was the horrid butchery continued before the life of the victim was extinct. Futteh Khan raised no cry; offered no prayer for mercy. His fortitude was unshaken to the last. He died, as he had lived, the bravest and most resolute of men—like his noble father, a victim to the perfidy and ingratitude of princes. The murder of Sarfraz Khan shook the Suddozye dynasty to its base. The assassination of Futteh Khan soon made it a heap of ruins.

From this time, the rise of Dost Mahommed was rapid. He had the blood of kindred to avenge. The ingratitude, the cruelty of Mahmoud and his son, were now to be signally punished by the brother of the illustrious sufferer. Azim Khan, who ruled at Kashmir, counselled a course of forbearance; but Dost Mahommed indignantly rejected the proposition, and declaring that it would be an eternal disgrace to the Barukzyes not to chastise the murderers of the Wuzir, asserted his willingness to march upon Kabul, at the head of an army of retribution. Azim Khan, liking neither to enter personally upon so perilous an undertaking, nor to appear in such a juncture wholly supine, presented the Dost with three or four lakhs of rupees to defray the charges of the expedition—a sum, which was exhausted long before the sirdar neared Kabul. But in spite of every obstacle, Dost Mahommed Khan reached Kúrd-Kabul—two marches from the capital, and there encamped his army.

The Shah-zadah, Jehangir, the youthful son of Kamran, was then the nominal ruler of Kabul: but the management of affairs was entrusted to Atta Mahommed Khan—a man of

considerable ability, but no match for Dost Mahommed, and one who was now guilty of the grand error of underrating an adversary. This man had acted a conspicuous part in the recent intestine struggles between the Suddozye brothers. He had no love for the Royal family—none for the Barukzyes—but he had ambitious projects of his own, and to advance these, he was willing to betray his masters and league with their enemies. Whether the proposal came, in the first instance, from him or from Dost Mahommed, appears to be somewhat doubtful; but a compact was entered into between the two chiefs, and the cause of the Suddozye was sacrificed. Atta Mahommed marched out of the Balla Hissar, with the ostensible object of giving battle to the Dost. Nothing was wanted to complete the delusion. At the head of a well-equipped force, the Bamzai chief, proclaiming death to the rebels, moved upon Beh-meru. Drawing up his troops on commanding ground, he addressed them in language of well-simulated enthusiasm, invoking God to pour forth the vials of His eternal wrath upon the heads of all who should desert the cause of Mahmoud and Kamran. "With the same breath," says M. Masson, "in a style peculiarly Affghan, he turned round, and in whispers inquired for a Koran. The sacred book was produced; Atta Mahommed Khan, sealed, and with renewed oaths despatched it to Dost Mahommed Khan." Then followed a series of mock skirmishes, whilst the agents of the two parties were arranging preliminaries. A meeting between the principals was then arranged, it took place secretly and by night. The treaty by which it was agreed that the force under Dost Mahommed should be suffered to enter the Balla Hissar without opposition, was then sealed by Atta Mahommed and all the Barukzye brothers then present, with one exception. Pir Mahommed stood aloof. His brothers pleaded his extreme youth in justification of his unwillingness to enter into a business of such weighty import, and he was accordingly excused. A second meeting was then agreed upon. The chiefs met in the Búrj-i-wuzír—a garden-house of the murdered Futteh Khan—and there on a given signal, Pir Mahommed rushed upon the Bamzai chief, threw him to the ground, and blinded him. Atta Mahommed was fairly caught in the toils of his own treachery. It is alleged that he was, at the very moment of his overthrow, endeavouring to compass the destruction of the Barukzye brothers.* Be this as it may, the game was one of treachery

* Masson says, "The friends of the Barukzye chiefs pretend that the Muktabar intended to have blown them up; others wholly deny this statement, and regard the occurrence as naturally arising in a contest for power between desperate and

against treachery ; and though we cannot palliate the offences of one party, it is difficult to compassionate the sufferings of the other.

Having thus removed a dangerous rival—whether friend or foe—the seizure of the Balla Hissar was speedily effected. The Shah-zadah was surrounded by treachery. The delight, as he was, of the women of Kabul, for he was very young and beautiful, he had few friends among the Affghans of the sterner sex, and was little capable of distinguishing the true from the false. He was easily persuaded to withdraw himself into the upper citadel, leaving the lower fortress at the mercy of Dost Mahommed. The sirdar made the most of the opportunity, ran a mine under the upper works, and blew up a portion of them. Death stared the Shah-zadah in the face. The women of Kabul offered up prayers for the safety of the beautiful prince. The night was dark ; the rain descended in torrents. To remain in the citadel was to court destruction. Under cover of the pitchy darkness, it was possible that he might effect his escape. Attended by a few followers, he made the effort, and succeeded. He fled to Ghuzni and was saved.*

Dost Mahommed was now in possession of Kabul, but his occupancy was threatened from two very different quarters. Shah Mahmoud and Prince Kamran were marching down from Herat, and Azim Khan was coming from Kashmir to assert his claims, as the representative of the Barukzye family. But the spirit of legitimacy was not wholly extinct in Afghanistan. The Barukzyes did not profess to conquer for themselves. It was necessary to put forward some scion of the royal family, and to fight and conquer in his name. Dost Mahommed proclaimed Sultan Ali, king of Kabul ; whilst Azim Khan invited Shah Sujah to assert his claims to the throne. The Shah consented, an expedition was planned ; but the covenant was but of short duration, for the contracting parties fell out upon the road ; and, instead of fighting a common enemy, got up a battle among themselves. The Shah, who never lived to grow wiser, gave himself such airs, and asserted such ridiculous pretensions, that a quarrel arose ; and on being defeated in the conflict which ensued, he was driven back into ignominious privacy. Another puppet being called for, Prince Ayub, for want of a

reckless men. The deprivation of sight was in retaliation of the injury inflicted on the Wuzir, owing somewhat, it is said, to Atta Mohammed Khan's instigation. It is remembered that when Governor of Kashmir, the plucking out of eyes was one of his ordinary punishments."

* Masson,

better, was elevated to this dignity, and the new friends set out for Kabul.

In the meanwhile the Royal army, which had marched from Herat under Shah Mahmoud and Prince Kamran, approached the capital of Affghanistan. The Dost was in no measure prepared to receive so formidable an enemy. Weak in numbers, and ill supplied with money and materials, he could not, with any hope of success, have given battle to Mahmoud's forces. The danger was imminent. The royal troops were within six miles of the capital. Dost Mahommed and his followers prepared for flight. With the bridles of their horses in their hands, they stood waiting the approach of the enemy. But their fears were groundless. A flight ensued; but it was not Dost Mahommed's, but Mahmoud's army that fled. At the very threshold of victory, the latter turned back and flung himself into the arms of defeat. The causes of this extraordinary and most unexpected proceeding, have been variously explained. It is alleged by some writers, that Dost Mahommed, finding himself unable to cope with Mahmoud on the field of battle, resolved to accomplish that by artifice which he could not achieve by force of arms. Accordingly, he forged numerous letters, purporting to be written by and to bear the seals of Mahmoud's most influential supporters, and declaring their intentions of deserting the Shah and espousing the cause of Sultan Ali. These letters, it is alleged, were thrown, as though by accident, into the hands of Mahmoud and Kamran. The discovery of the supposed treachery of their principal supporters, so wrought upon their fears, that they determined not to risk an engagement before the walls of Kabul, but to fall back at once upon Herat. Another, and more probable story is that, finding when near the capital, that Fúr Díl Khan with four others of the Barukzye brothers were between them and Herat, and apprehending that these chiefs were about to lay siege to that place, they deemed it more prudent to fall back, for the security of a city already in their possession, than to advance for the purpose of attempting the seizure of a city in the possession of another. The Barukzyes were now dominant throughout Affghanistan. The sovereignty, indeed, of Azím Khan's puppet, Ayub, was proclaimed; but the country was in reality divided among the Barukzye brothers. By them the superior claims of Azím Khan were generally acknowledged; Kabul, therefore, fell to his share. Dost Mahommed took possession of Ghuzni. Fúr Díl Khan, Kohan Díl Khan and their brothers occupied Kandahar. Jubbar Khan was put

in charge of the Ghiljī country. Yar Mahommed and his brothers succeeded to the Government of Peshawur. And the Shah-zadah Sultan Ali, Dost Mahommed's puppet, sunk quietly into the insignificance of private life.

But this did not last long. Shah Sújah had begun again to dream of sovereignty. He was organising an army at Shikarpúr. Against this force marched Azím Khan, accompanied by the new king Shah Ayub. No sooner were the Shah and his Wuzír fairly on the march, than Dost Mahommed stepped forward, again proclaimed Sultan Ali, and re-seated him in the Balla Hissar. Upon this Azím Khan returned to Kabul, and Sultan Ali vacated the royal apartments. What followed is eminently characteristic of Affghan history. Dost Mahommed advised Sultan Ali to murder Shah Ayub, and Azím Khan advised Shah Ayub to murder Sultan Ali. Sultan Ali indignantly rejected the proposal; Shah Ayub consented, on condition that Azím Khan would return the compliment by assassinating Dost Mahommed. This was agreed upon. Sultan Ali was strangled in his sleep. Shah Ayub then called upon Azím Khan to perform his part of the tragedy, but the Wuzír coolly asked, "how can I slay my brother?" and recommended a renewal of the expedition to Shikarpúr. The Barukzye forces again left Kabul, and proceeded southward, by the western route; but the army of Shah Sújah soon disappeared—melting away without a struggle; and Azím Khan, being in the neighbourhood of the Amírs, employed himself in the collection of the Sindh tribute. The immense quantity of treasure in camp, principally derived from the revenues of Kashmir, so excited the cupidity of Dost Mahommed, that he concerted with Sher Díl Khan to seize it,—a plot, which so alarmed Azím Khan, that he broke up his camp and incontinently returned to Kabul.

Azím Khan next planned an expedition against the Sikhs. He had no fear of Runjit Singh whom he had once beaten in battle. Dost Mahommed accompanied his brother, and they marched upon the frontier, by Jellalabad and the Karapa Pass. Runjít was on the look out for them. He well knew the character of the Barukzye brothers—knew them to be avaricious, ambitious, treacherous: the hand of each against his brethren. He thought bribery better than battle, and sent agents to tamper with Yar Mahommed and the other Peshawur chiefs. They listened to his overtures, hoping to be enabled in the end to throw off the supremacy of Azím Khan. Dost Mahommed received intelligence of the plot, and signified his willingness to join the confederacy. His offer was

accepted; and this important accession to the Sikh party communicated to Runjît Singh. Everything was soon in train. Azîm Khan was at Minchini—with his treasure and his harem, neither of which, in so troubled a state of affairs, could he venture to abandon. Yar Mahommed wrote to him from the Sikh camp that there was a design upon both. The intelligence filled the Sirdar with consternation and grief. He saw plainly the treachery of his brothers; shed many bitter tears; looked with fear and trembling into the future; saw disgrace on one side, the sacrifice of his armies and treasure on the other, now resolved to march down upon the enemy, now to break up his encampment and retire: night closed in upon him whilst in this state of painful agitation. The disastrous intelligence soon spread through the camp, though its precise nature was scarcely known beyond his own tent. His followers lost confidence in their chief. They knew that some evil had befallen him; that he had lost heart; that his spirit was broken. The nameless fear seized upon the whole army, and morning dawned upon the wreck of a once formidable force. His troops had deserted him, and he prepared to follow, with his treasure and his harem, to Jellalabad. Runjît Singh entered Peshawur in triumph, but thought it more prudent to divide the territory between Dost Mahommed and the brothers of Yar Mahommed, than to occupy on his own account, and rule in his own name. The division was accordingly made. In the meanwhile Azîm Khan, disappointed and broken spirited, was seized with a violent disorder, the effect of anxiety and sorrow, and never quitted the bed of sickness until he was carried to the tomb.*

On the death of Azîm Khan, (in 1823), Ishmael, the son of Shah Ayub—the youth who had murdered Sultan Ali—persuaded his father to seize the wealth of the deceased Wuzîr. The Shah called him a blockhead for his pains; but the Prince was not to be convinced by the contumelious rhetoric of his father. He still cherished the design of possessing himself of Azîm Khan's treasure; but Sher Dîl Khan, one of the Kandahar brothers, came to Kabul, entered the Balla Hissar, with a party of adherents, found Ayub and

* Azîm Khan does not appear to have recognised the strength of Dost Mahommed's character; and to this great mistake of his life, his premature death must be attributed. Shortly before the expedition to the Sikh frontier, he had not only contemptuously declared that he did not require the services of the Dost, but had actually laid siege to Ghuzni. Azîm Khan's batteries caused great slaughter, but Dost Mahommed could not be persuaded to open the gates of the fortress. A negotiation took place, and the brothers embraced; but they never forgave each other.

the Shah-zadah together, murdered the latter, and carried off the Shah.* By the assistance of Zimah Khan, the unfortunate monarch was enabled to make his way in safety to Lahore, where Runjít Singh allowed him a monthly stipend of a thousand rupees.

In the meanwhile Habib-úllah Khan, son of Azím Khan, had succeeded nominally to the power possessed by his deceased parent. But he had inherited none of the Wuzír's intellect and energy, and none of his personal influence. Beside the death-bed of his father, he had been entrusted to the guidance of Jubbar Khan, but he had not the good sense to perceive the advantages of such a connection. He plunged into a slough of dissipation, and when he needed advice, betook himself to the counsels of men not much better and wiser than himself. The ablest of his advisers was Amín-úllah Khan, the Loghur chief—known to the present generation as "the infamous Amín-úllah"—he who played so distinguished a part in the recent tragedies at Kabul. This man's support was worth retaining, but Habib-úllah having deprived the "good Nawab" of his government, attempted to destroy Amín-úllah Khan; and thus, with the most consummate address, paved the way to his own destruction. Dost Mahommed, ever on the alert, appeared on the stage at the fitting moment. Alone he had not sufficient resources to compete with the son of Azím Khan, but the Nawab speedily joined him; and soon afterwards, in the midst of an engagement in the near neighbourhood of Kabul, the troops of Amín-úllah Khan went over bodily to the Dost, and Habib-úllah sought safety within the walls of the Balla Hissar.

Dost Mahommed having occupied the city, invested the citadel, and would, in all probability, have carried everything before him, if the Kandahar brothers, alarmed by the successes of the Dost, and dreading the growth of a power which threatened their own extinction, had not moved out to the ostensible assistance of their nephew. Dost Mahommed retreated into the Kohistan; but the unfortunate Habib-úllah soon found that he had gained nothing by such an alliance.

* "One Haji Ali," says Mr. Mason, "who is reported to have shot the prince, despoiled the Shah of his raiments and clad him in his own; then by the sirdar's orders, placed him behind himself on a horse, and carried him off to the Bary Vazír. A singular spectacle was offered to the people of the city as Haji Ali bore the degraded monarch along the streets, but they had become familiar with extraordinary events and regarded them with apathy. The Sirdars when they had given the orders consequent on the feat they had performed, returned to their dwellings in the city with the same composure after the deposition of a monarch, as if they had been enjoying a morning's ride."

His uncles enticed him to a meeting outside the city, seized him, carried him off to the Loghur country; then took possession of the Balla Hissar and appropriated all his treasure. Dost Mahommed, however, was soon in arms again, and the Peshawur brothers were before Kabul. The affairs of the empire were then thrown into a state of terrible confusion. The Barukzye brothers were all fighting among themselves for the largest share of sovereignty; but, according to Mr Masson, "their followers have been engaged in deadly strife when the rival leaders were sitting together over a plate of cherries." To this fraternal cherry-eating, it would appear that Dost Mahommed was not admitted.* Sitting over their fruit, the brothers came to the determination of alluring the Dost to an interview, and then either blinding or murdering him. The plot was laid, everything was arranged for the destruction of the sirdar; but Hadji Khan Khakur, who subsequently distinguished himself as a traitor of no slight accomplishments, having discovered in time that Dost Mahommed was backed by the strongest party in Kabul, gave him a significant hint at the proper moment, and the sirdar escaped with his life. After a few more brotherly schemes of mutual extermination which, although eminently characteristic we must pass by unnoticed, the brothers entered into a compact by which the government of Ghuzni and the Kohistan was secured to Dost Mahommed, whilst Sultan Mahommed of Peshawur succeeded to the sovereignty of Kabul. The truce was but of short duration.

Sher Dil Khan, the most influential of the Kandahar brothers, died. A dangerous rival was thus swept away from the path of Dost Mahommed. The Kuzzilbashs soon afterwards gave in their adherence to the sirdar, who now felt himself in a position to strike another blow for the recovery of Kabul. Sultan Mahommed had done nothing to strengthen himself at the capital; and, being summoned either to surrender or to defend himself, he deemed it more prudent to negotiate. Consenting to retire on Peshawur, he marched out of one gate of Kabul, whilst Dost Mahommed marched in at another, the followers of the latter shouting out a derisive adieu to the departing chief.

From this time (1826), to the day on which his followers deserted him at Urghandi, after the capture of Ghuzni by the British troops, Dost Mahommed was supreme at Kabul.

* Mr Vigne says, that Dost Mahommed and Sher Dil Khan were the cherry-eaters. We do not pretend to determine the point.

His brothers saw that it was useless to contest the supremacy ; and at last they acknowledged the unequalled power of one whom they had once slighted and despised. And now was it that Dost Mahommed began fully to understand the responsibilities of high command and the obligations of a ruler both to himself and his subjects. He had hitherto lived the life of a dissolute soldier. His education had been neglected, and in his very boyhood he had been thrown in the way of pollution of the foulest kind. From his youth he had been greatly addicted to wine, and was often to be seen in public, reeling along in a state of degrading intoxication, or scarcely able to sit his horse. All this was now to be reformed. He taught himself to read and to write, accomplishments which he had before possessed scantily, if at all ; he studied the Koran ; abandoned the use of strong liquors ; became scrupulously abstemious, plain in his attire, assiduous in his attention to business ; urbane and courteous to all. He made, and without exposing himself to a charge of hypocrisy, a public acknowledgment of his past errors and a profession of a reformation. "The days," says General Harlan, and the truth of the statement is not to be questioned, "that Dost Mahommed ascended the musnud, he performed the "Toba," which is a "solemn and sacred formula of reformation, in reference to any "accustomed moral crime or depravity of habit. He was "followed in the Toba by all his chiefs, who found themselves "obliged to keep pace with the march of mind—to prepare for "the defensive system of policy, this assumption of purity, "on the part of the prince suggested. The Toba was a sort "of declaration of principles ; and the chiefs viewing it in "that light, beheld their hopes of supremacy in imminent "hazard....In later life the Amír became sensible of the "advantages arising from learning. Although knowledge of "literature among Mahommedan nations is confined to a "contracted sphere, at least the reputation of theological "science was essential to the chief, on whom had been conferred the title of Amír-ul-Mominín, or commander of the "faithful. To escape the humility of dependence upon "subordinate agents, more especially the secretaries necessarily "employed in all revenue and judicial transactions, he tasked "his mind with the acquisition of letters, and became worthy, "by his industry and success in the pursuit, of the greatest "respect of the great, as he commanded the admiration of "the vulgar, who are ever accustomed to venerate the divinity "of wisdom."

It is not to be questioned that there was, at this time, in

the conduct of Dost Mahommed, as a ruler, much that may be regarded with admiration and respect even by Christian men. Power does not seem to have elated him with pride. Simple in his habits, remarkably affable in his manner, he was accessible to the meanest of his subjects, ever ready to listen to their complaints and to redress their grievances. He seldom rode abroad without being accosted in the public streets or high-ways, by citizen or by peasant, waiting to lay before the Amír a history of his grievances or his sufferings, and to ask for assistance or redress. And he never passed the petitioner—never rode on; but would rein in his horse, listen to the complaints of the poorest of his subjects, and give directions to his attendants to take the necessary steps to render justice to the injured, or to alleviate the sufferings of the distressed. Such was his love of equity, indeed, that people asked, "Is Dost Mahommed dead that there is no justice?"

He is even said by those who knew him well, to have been kindly and humane—an assertion at which many who have read the history of his early career will smile. But no one who fairly estimates the character of Affghan history and Affghan morals, and the necessities, personal and political, of all who take part in such stirring scenes as those which we have endeavoured faintly to describe, can fail to perceive that his vices were rather the growth of circumstances, than of any extraordinary badness of heart. He was not by nature cruel; but once embarked in the strife of Affghan politics, a man must either fight it out or die. Every man's hand is against him, and he must turn his hand against every man. There is no middle course open to him. If he would save himself, he must pause at nothing. Even when seated securely on the musnud, an Affghan ruler must, of necessity, commit acts abhorrent to our ideas of humanity. He must rule with vigor, or not at all. That Dost Mahommed, during the twelve years of supremacy which he enjoyed at Kabul, often resorted, for the due maintenance of his power, to measures of severity incompatible with the character of a humane ruler, is only to say, that for twelve years he retained his place at the head of affairs. Such rigor is inseparable from the government of such a people. We cannot rein wild horses with silken braids.

But although Dost Mahommed was now in the enjoyment of a season of comparative rest, the even tenor of his life, as undisputed ruler of Kabul, was ever and anon interrupted by martial episodes—slight disorders, such as are inseparable from the constitution of Affghan society. A rebellion in Taghon occupied much of his attention in 1831;

the Sirdar moved out against his contumacious subjects, besieged and razed their strongholds, and drove them like cattle to the mountains. Soon afterwards he marched upon Balla-Bugh, which was held by Osman Khan, reduced it after a siege of two days, and then moved down with a strong force and battering train upon Jellalabad. Here Mahommed Zemaun Khan determined to offer a stout resistance. Some time before, being aided by the Peshawur chiefs and by Jubbar Khan, who deserted the sirdar at a critical moment, he had held out with good success, and his opposition would probably have endangered the safety of Dost Mahommed, if the Nawab (Jubbar Khan) had not again stepped forward to play the old part of negociator and induced a cessation of hostilities. The Kabul and Peshawur forces were withdrawn. Dost Mahommed affected contrition, and "wrote a series of dreadful imprecations on himself, if ever he wrested Jellalabad from him, on a leaf of the chief's Koran." Having thus allayed the fears of Zemaun Khan, the sirdar returned to Kabul, and removed Jubbar Khan from the government of the Ghilji country—a punishment which does not appear to have been wholly undeserved. But now, utterly regardless of the oaths he had sworn on that former occasion, he again appeared before Jellalabad, ran a mine under one of the bastions of the fort, effected a breach, and carried the place. The town, with the exception of the residence of Zemaun Khan and a few other parties under the special protection of the Dost, was given up to plunder. "As for the Nawab Mahommed Zemaun Khan," says Mr. Masson, who was in the neighbourhood of Jellalabad at the time, "as soon as the town was entered, he seated himself with the Koran in his hands, open at the part where Dost Mahommed Khan, two years before, had written the most horrible denunciations upon himself if ever he deprived him of Jellalabad." The Nawab's person was respected, but his power was gone. Jellalabad was placed under the Government of Amīr Mahommed Khan.*

These, however, were but insignificant incidents in the eventful career of the Kabul chief. He was soon called upon to face a more pressing danger and to prepare himself for a

* As a set off to these services, Zemaun Khan made an effort to assassinate Dost Mahommed, but the creature employed to do the deed, having obtained entrance into the Sirdar's dormitory, relented just at the right time, and instead of murdering the sleeping chief, stole his pejammahs. These he presented to the Nawab and claimed his reward. The chronicles do not state whether he obtained it. It is not very clear, either, whether this little incident was the cause or the effect of the capture of Jellalabad.

more vigorous contest. The exiled Suddozye prince Shah Sújah, whose life had been one series of extraordinary vicissitudes, was about to make another effort to re-establish himself in the Dourani empire ; and with this object, was organising an army in Sindh. Had there been any sort of unanimity among the Barukzye brothers, this invasion might have been laughed to scorn, but Dost Mahommed felt that there was treachery within no less than hostility without, and that the open enemy was not more dangerous than the concealed one. Jubbar Khan, Zemaun Khan and others, were known to be intriguing with the Shah. The Nawab, indeed, had gone so far as to assure Dost Mahommed that it was useless to oppose the Suddozye invasion, as Sújah-úl-múlk was assisted by the British Government and would certainly be victorious. He therefore implored the Sirdar to pause before he brought down upon himself certain destruction, alleging that it would be better to make terms with the Shah to secure something, rather than to lose everything. Dost Mahommed, who, knowing his man, knew that Jubbar Khan had thrown himself into the arms of the Suddozye, laughed significantly, and said, " Lala, it will be time enough to talk about terms when I have been beaten." This was unanswerable. The Nawab retired, and preparations for war were carried on with renewed activity.

The Shah had penetrated as far as Kandahar before Dost Mahommed gave him battle. He had made Shikarpúr his place of rendezvous, but having entered the territory of the Amírs as a friend, he did not quit it before he had fought a hard battle with them and effectually beaten them. The pecuniary demands which he had made upon them, they had resisted, and the Shah, having a considerable army at his command, thought fit to enforce obedience. Early in January 1834, an engagement took place near Rorí, and the pride of the Amírs having been humbled by defeat, they consented to the terms he demanded. Having arranged this matter to his entire satisfaction, Shah Sújah marched upon Kandahar, and in the early summer was before the walls of the city. He invested the place and endeavored ineffectually to carry it by assault. The Kandahar chiefs held out with much resolution ; but it was not until the arrival of Dost Mahommed from Kabul that a general action was risked. The Dost determined to lose no time in attacking the enemy—a determination strengthened by the Shah's fatuous abandonment of a strong entrenched position which he had taken up. Mahommed Akbar Khan commanded the cavalry ; Abdúl Sarmat Khan the infantry. The Sirdar made, according to his judgment,

the best possible dispositions, but no great amount of military skill appears to have been displayed on either side; Akbar Khan's sowars charged the enemy with much gallantry, but a battalion of the Shah's troops, under an Indo-Briton named Campbell, fought with such uncommon energy, that at one time the forces of the Barukzye chiefs were driven back, and victory appeared to be in their reach. But Dost Mahommed, who had intently watched the conflict, and kept a handfull of chosen troops in reserve, now let them slip, rallied the battalions which were falling back, called upon Akbar Khan to make one more struggle, and at length succeeded in rolling back the tide of victory. Shah Sújah, who on the first appearance of Dost Mahommed had lost all heart, and actually given orders to prepare for flight, called in his desperation upon Campbell to "chupao-chupao;" then ordered his elephant to be wheeled round, and turned his back upon the field of battle. His irresolution seems to have proved fatal to his cause. The game was up. The Barukzye troops pushed forward. Campbell, who had fallen like a brave man, covered with wounds, was taken prisoner with others of the Shah's principal officers, and all the guns, stores, and camp-equipage of the Suddozye prince fell into the hands of the victors. The scenes of plunder and carnage which ensued are said to have been terrible. The Kandahar chief urged the pursuit of the fugitive Shah, but Dost Mahommed opposed the measure, and the unfortunate prince was suffered to escape.

But scarcely had Dost Mahommed returned to Kabul when he found himself compelled to prepare for a new and more formidable enterprise. Runjit Singh was in possession of Peshawur. The treachery of Sultan Mahommed Khan and his brothers had rebounded upon themselves, and they had lost the province which had been the scene of so much intrigue. In their anxiety to destroy Dost Mahommed, they opened a communication with the Sikhs, who advanced to Peshawur ostensibly as friends, and then took possession of the city. Sultan Mahommed Khan fled. His defeat was most ignominious. The Sikh force, under Harí Singh, consisted only of nine thousand men; and had the Affghans been commanded by a competent leader they might have driven back a much stronger force; but the utmost imbecility was manifested.* The

*Mr. Masson, who was in Peshawur when the Sikhs entered, gives a graphic and amusing account of the affair, which is worth quoting—"after he had procured from the Sirdars beyond the ordinary complement of tribute, he sent a message to them, that the Sháhzáda Noh Nihál Singh, the grandson of Runjit Singh, who was with the army, desired to see the city, and it would be well that they should evacuate it, and retire to Bágh Ali Mardan Khán, when the Sháhzáda would ride round

Peshawur chiefs were everlastingly disgraced, and Peshawur lost to the Affghians for ever.

But Dost Mahommed resolved at least to make a vigorous effort to recover the country which the fatuous conduct of his brothers had lost. To this end he determined on declaring a religious war against the Sikhs, and began with characteristic energy to organise a force sufficiently strong to wrest Peshawur from the hands of the usurpers. To strengthen his influence he assumed, at this time, the title of Amir-al-Mominin (commander of the faithful)* and exerted himself to

it, and then the army would retire towards Atāk. The morning came, when Sultān Máhommed Khān who had always his spy-glass in hand, descried the Sikh force in motion. All became panic-struck, and horses were saddled and mounted in a trice. The house was emptied as if by magic, and none remained in it but Abdúl Ghás Khān, his party, and myself. We ascended the roof, and beheld the Sikhs moving forward in a very respectable style. In the van was the young Shāh-zāda on an elephant, with Harí Singh and a variety of Sikh chiefs, attended by a host of cavalry. Behind them followed the battalions of the court, advancing in columns at a brisk pace. On reaching the gardens attached to the house we were in, the first shots were fired, some Affghāns being concealed among the trees. They were soon cleared out, and the march of the force was not affected by the desultory opposition. Subsequently we heard some smart firing, and learned during the day that the Sikhs, pressing too close upon Hájí Khān, who covered the retreat of Sultān Máhommed Khān, the Khān lost patience and turned upon them. He handled them very severely, and, as admitted by themselves, checked their advance until the battalions came up. Khān Máhommed Khān, the brother of Hájí Khān, was badly wounded in this skirmish, but was borne off the field. Some very splendid instances of individual bravery were exhibited by the Affghans, and one gallant fellow cut down six of his opponents. The Sikhs, having completed the circuit of the city encamped under the Bálla Hissár to the east, the discomfited Sirdárs retired to Túkkál, and then to Shékhán, at the skirts of the hills. My Mírza in the course of the day went to the Sikh camp, where he saw Harí Singh, who asked where I had been during the tamásha or sport. He replied, that I had witnessed it from the roof. He then asked jocularly, where the Sirdárs had gone. The Mírza said to Túkkál, to prepare for battle. The Sirdar laughed and said, no, no : nasghur, nasghur ; they have run away, they have run away ; some to Kohát, some to Khaibar. I certainly was amused at the almost ridiculous manner in which the Sikhs had made themselves masters of an important and productive country, and Sultān Máhommed Khān was as much to be laughed at as to be pitied, for in place of adopting any means of defence, he had sent away the better part of his troops, and prohibited the citizens and people of the country from defending the city as they wished. Pír Máhommed Khān was accustomed to say that he had three lakhs of rupees, and did not care who knew it ; that he had reserved them for such a crisis as this : that he would assemble the Gházis, and do many wonderful things. Hájí Khān would, when such valorous speeches were made, embrace the Sirdar, saying he must kiss the lips from which such words flowed. Pír Máhommed Khān, however, thought it better to keep his three lakhs of rupees and hastened to Kohát to collect what he could from the inhabitants, previously to his departure ultimately from the country. The force with Harí Singh did not exceed nine thousand men : and had a show of serious resistance been made, he would at least have been obliged to temporise ; also, had the city, although an open one, been put in a condition for defence, and the system of kúcher bandi adopted, he was scarcely competent to have forced it. As it was, with a small force he possessed himself of a country which some years before, Runjít Singh in person, with twenty-five thousand men did not venture to retain.

* He had been recommended by some to assume the titles of royalty—as death under a royal banner is Mussulman martyrdom, and therefore ensures a translation

inflame the breasts of his followers with that burning Mahomedan zeal, which has so often impelled the disciples of the Prophet to deeds of the most consummate daring and most perfect self-abandonment. Money was now to be obtained, and to obtain it much extortion was doubtless practised. An Affghan chief has a rude, and somewhat arbitrary manner, of levying rates and taxes. Dost Mahommed made no exception in his conduct to "the good old rule," which had so long, in critical conjunctures, been observed in that part of the world. He took all that he could get; raised a very respectable force; coined money in his own name, and then prepared for battle.

At the head of an imposing array of fighting men, the Amír marched out of Kabul. He had judged wisely. The declaration of war against the infidel—war proclaimed in the name of the Prophet—had brought thousands to his banner; and ever as he marched, the great stream of humanity seemed to swell and swell, as new tributaries came pouring in from every part, and the thousands became tens of thousands. From the Kohistan, from the hills beyond, from the regions of the Kurdú-Kúsh, from still remoter fastnesses, multitudes of various tribes and denominations, moved by various impulses, but all noisily boasting their true Mahomedan zeal, came flocking in to the Amír's standard Ghiljis and Kohistanis; sleek Kuzzilbashes, and fanatic Ghazis—horsemen and footmen—all who could lift a sword or a matchlock, obeyed the call in the name of the Prophet. "Savages from the remotest recesses of the mountainous districts," wrote one, who saw this strange congeries of Mussulman humanity,* "who were dignified with the profession of the Mahomedan faith, many of them giants in form and strength, promiscuously armed with sword and shield, bows and arrows, matchlocks, rifles, spears and blunderbusses, concentrated themselves around the standard of religion, and were prepared to slay, plunder, and destroy, for the sake of God and the Prophet, the unenlightened infidels of the Punjab."

The Mussulman force reached Peshawur. The brave heart of Runjít Singh quailed before this immense assemblage, and he at once determined not to meet it openly in the field. There was in his camp, a man named Harlan, an American adventurer, now a doctor, and now a general, to whom we have more than once alluded during the progress of this narrative. Clever and unscrupulous, he was a fit agent to do the Maharajah's bid-

* General Harlan.

ding. Runjít despatched him as an envoy to the Affghan camp. He went ostensibly to negotiate with Dost Mahommed; in reality to corrupt his supporters. "On the occasion," he says, with as little sense of shame as Mohan Lal manifests when recording his exploits in the same line, "of Dost Mahommed's visit to Peshawur, which occurred during the period of my service with Runjít Singh, I was despatched by the Prince as ambassador to the Amír. I divided his brothers against him, exciting their jealousy of his growing power, and exasperating the family feuds, with which, from my previous acquaintance, I was familiar, and stirred up the feudal lords of his durbar with the prospects of pecuniary advantages. I induced his brother Sultan Mahommed Khan, the lately deposed chief of Peshawur, with 10,000 retainers to withdraw suddenly from his camp about nightfall. The chief accompanied me towards the Sikh camp, whilst his followers fled to their mountain fastnesses. So large a body retiring from the Amír's control, in opposition to his will, and without previous intimation, threw the general camp into inextricable confusion, which terminated in the clandestine route of his forces, without beat of drum, or sound of bugle, or the trumpet's blast, in the quiet stillness of midnight. At daybreak no vestige of the Affghan camp was seen, where six hours before 50,000 men and 10,000 horses, with all the busy host of attendants, were rife with the tumult of wild emotion.*" Thus was this notable expedition brought prematurely to a disastrous close. Treachery broke up, in a single night, a vast army which Runjít Singh had contemplated with dismay. The Amír with the *debris* of his force, preserving his guns, but sacrificing much of his camp-equipage, fell back upon Kabul, re-seated himself quietly in the Balla Hissar, and in bitterness of spirit, declaiming against the

* It would appear that Dost Mahommed instigated by Mirza Samí Khan, seized Mr. Harlan, as well as the Faqír Azizúddín, who was also sent as an ambassador into the Amír's camp. The Dost endeavoured to throw the odium of the act upon Sultan Mahommed, hoping thereby to ruin him utterly in the opinion of the Sikhs but Sultan Mahommed, after having taken a number of oaths on the Koran, pledging himself to compliance with the Amír's wishes, sent back the prisoners (or *hostages* as Dost Mahommed called them) to the Maharajah's camp. Mr. Harlan in his published work says nothing about this, and the "forthcoming personal journal, promised some years ago, has not yet appeared. Mohan Lal says that "the appalling news (of the treachery of Sultan Mahommed) wounded the feelings of the Amír most bitterly. There were no bounds to the sweat of shame and folly which flowed over his face, and there was no limit to the laughter of the people at his being deceived and ridiculed. His minister, Mirza, Samí Khan was so much distressed by this sad exposure of his own trick, and still more by the failure of his plan in losing the Faqír, that he hung down his head with great remorse and shame, and then throwing away his State papers, he exclaimed that he would avoid all interference in the government affairs hereafter."

emptiness of military renown, plunged deep into the study of the Koran.

From this pleasant abstraction from warlike pursuits, the Amír was after a time aroused by a well-grounded report to the effect that Sultán Mahommed had been again intriguing with the Sikhs, and that a plan had been arranged for the passage of a Punjabi force through the Khybur pass, with the ultimate intention of moving upon Kabul. An expedition was accordingly fitted out in the spring of 1837; but the Amír, having sufficient confidence in his son Afzal Khan and Mahommed Akbar, sent the sirdars in charge of the troops, with Abdúl Samí Khan, his minister, as their adviser. The Affghan forces laid siege to Jumrúd, and on the 30th of April, Harí Singh came from Peshawur to its relief. An action took place, in which both the young sirdars greatly distinguished themselves, and Shumshúdí Khan cut a no less distinguished figure. The Sikh chieftain Harí Singh was slain; and his disheartened troops fell back and entrenched themselves under the walls of Jumrúd. Akbar Khan proposed to follow up the victory by dashing on to Peshawur; but the Mirza who, according to Mr. Masson had, during the action, "secreted himself in some cave or sheltered recess, where in despair, he sobbed, beat his breast, tore his beard, and knocked his head upon the ground," now made his appearance, declaring that his prayers had been accepted, and "entreated the boasting young man to be satisfied with what he had done." The advice was sufficiently sound; for strong Sikh reinforcements soon appeared in sight, and the Affghan army was compelled to retire. Akbar Khan plumed himself greatly on this victory, but it was not a very glorious achievement. In one respect, however, it was a heavy blow to the Maharajah. Runjít Singh had lost one of his best officers and dearest friends. The death of Harí Singh was never forgotten or forgiven.

We now nearly approach the period at which the stirring career of Dost Mahommed assumes a new and peculiar interest as bearing upon the most eventful epoch of the recent history of British India. The Shah of Persia had long threatened Herat, and in the summer of 1837, actually commenced his march upon that frontier city. On the 15th of November Ghorian capitulated; and a few days afterwards the Persian army was under the walls of Herat. In a recent article* in this journal, we considered at some length, the effect produced throughout India, and more especially in the Council-chamber

* Art. "Sir W. H. Macnaghten," No. 3.

of the Supreme Government, by the intelligence of the advance of the Persian army, and the assistance rendered to the Shah's force by officers in the Russian service. We shall not now enter anew upon this discussion, but proceed at once to notice the circumstances connected with the despatch of Capt. Burnes to the court of Dost Mahommed, and the subsequent proceedings of that officer at Kabul.

On the arrival of Lord Auckland at Calcutta as Governor-General of India, Dost Mahommed lost no time, after receipt of the intelligence, in addressing to his Lordship a complimentary letter expressive of his own friendly sentiments and his hopes of an entire reciprocity of kindly feeling. "The field of my hopes," he wrote in the spring of 1836, "which had before been chilled by the cold blast of wintry times, had, by the happy tidings of your Lordship's arrival become the envy of the garden of paradise." He then adverted to his relations with the Sikhs, saying "the late transactions in this quarter, the conduct of reckless and misguided Sikhs, and their breach of treaty are well known to your Lordship. Communicate to me whatever may suggest itself to your wisdom for the settlement of the affairs of this country, that it may serve, as a rule, for my guidance;" and concluded by adding, "I hope your Lordship will consider me and my country as your own,"—a hope, which in due course of time, was literally fulfilled. Lord Auckland took the Amír to his word.

The Governor-General returned a friendly reply to this friendly letter, expressing his "wish that the Affghans should be a flourishing and united nation;" enforcing upon Dost Mahommed the expediency of promoting the navigation of the Indus; hinting that it was his intention soon to "depute some gentlemen" to the Amír's court, to discuss with him certain commercial topics; and adding, with reference to the Dost's dissensions with Runjít Singh, "my friend, you are aware that it is not the practise of the British Government to interfere with the affairs of other independent States." If the Amír was ever aware of this, he soon learnt to his cost, that immutability is not an attribute of the practices of the British Government.

In accordance with Lord Auckland's intimation, "some gentlemen" were deputed on a commercial mission to the Amír's court. The gentlemen named were Captain Burnes, an officer of the Bombay infantry, who had recently published an interesting account of his travels through Central Asia, interspersed with chapters of Affghan history and politics—Lieutenant

Leech of the Bombay Engineers, who had acquired early in life an extraordinary proficiency in the oriental languages, Lieutenant Wood of the Indian navy, and Dr. Perceval Lord, a medical officer of rare accomplishments, whose early death on the field of battle, literature and science will long deplore. The mission was instructed, in the first place, to proceed to Hyderabad, with letters to the Amírs of Sindh, thence to ascend the Indus, and proceed to Peshawur, Kabul and Kandahar. The officers of the mission soon separated. Wood and Lord were despatched to Kúndúz, Leech was deputed to Kandahar, whilst Burnes, as the head of the embassy, was engaged at the court of Dost Mahommed, playing a more difficult game of diplomacy than he ever thought would fall to his lot. To his movements, as the chief actor on the one side in the events which followed, we purpose chiefly to direct our attention.

As the mission entered Affghanistan, it was met by friendly deputations from the Amír, bearing letters expressive of the warmest welcome and the kindest sympathy. Every honor was rendered to the British embassy; and as Burnes neared the capital, the favorite son of Dost Mahommed—that very son who, four or five years later, expelled the British so ignominiously from his country—came forward to meet the mission, and conduct it to his father's court. Mahommed Akbar was accompanied by a large retinue; and the procession which entered Kabul is said to have been highly imposing. The Amír indeed had spared no pains to render it so; his anxiety to give a fitting welcome to the delegates of a friendly power was so great, that not satisfied with such official pomp as his own immediate resources could impart to the entrance of the British mission, he requested the principal citizens of Kabul to aid him in welcoming the strangers. Nothing could have been more cordial than his reception of Burnes and his attendants. "He received us most cordially," writes Mohan Lal, "and near his own palace, a beautiful garden surrounded with the most comfortable apartments, was allotted to us, as our place of residence."

The mission entered Kabul on the 20th of September 1837. On the following day, the Amír formally received the representatives of the British Government, "with many expressions of his high sense of the great honour conferred on him, in his at last having had the means of communicating with an officer of the British Government."* Burnes submitted his creden-

* Letters of Capt. Burnes to W. H. Macnaghten, Esq.

tials. The letters were opened by the Amír himself, and read by his minister Abdul Sami Khan. They introduced Burnes to his highness solely as a commercial messenger ; but this flimsy veil was soon dropped ; it was evident from the first that whatever might have been his instructions—whatever might have been the proximate, or rather the ostensible object of the mission, Burnes had ulterior designs, and that he in reality went to Kabul either as a spy or political diplomatist. He had not been three days at Kabul, before he wrote to Mr. Macnaghten to say that he should take an early opportunity of reporting what transpired at the Amír's court ; and ten days afterwards we find him announcing "the result of his inquiries on the subject of Persian influence in Kabul, and the exact power which the Kuzzilbash, or Persian party resident in this city, have over the politics of Affghanistan. Indeed, three months before, he had written to a private friend, "I came to look after commerce, to superintend surveys and examine passes of mountains, and likewise certainly *to see into affairs and judge of what was to be done hereafter* ; but the hereafter has already arrived." This, "*seeing into affairs*," this "reporting what transpired at the Amír's court," this writing at length the result of his inquiries into the subject of Persian influence, &c., &c., under cover of a purely commercial mission,—his credentials distinctly stating that he was sent "to confer with" Dost Mahommed "as to the best means of facilitating commercial intercourse between Affghanistan and India,"—is not altogether very unlike playing the part of a spy.*

On the 24th of September Burnes was invited to a private conference with Dost Mahommed. It took place in "the interior of the harem" of the Balla Hissar—Akbar Khan alone being present. Dinner was served, and "the interview lasted till midnight" The Dost listened attentively to all that Burnes advanced relative to the navigation of the Indus and the trade of Affghanistan, but replied that his resources were so crippled by his war with the Sikhs, that he was compelled to adopt measures injurious to commerce, for the mere purpose of raising revenue. He spoke with much warmth of the loss of Peshawur, which he alleged had been wrested from him whilst he was engaged in war with Shah Sújah. Burnes replied with a number of cut-and-dry sentences about the ability and resources of Runjít Singh—to all of which the

*On the 4th October Burnes wrote a long *political* letter to Macnaghten ; and on the following day, one in which he slightly touched on commercial topics, but soon rushed headlong into politics.

Amir cheerfully assented ; and acknowledged at the same time that he was not strong enough to cope with so powerful an adversary. "Instead of renewing the conflict," he said, "it would be a source of real gratification if the British Government would counsel me how to act : none of our other neighbours can avail me ; and in return I would pledge myself to forward its commercial and its political views." Burnes replied that he heard with pleasure this acknowledgement, and assured him that the British Government would exert itself to secure peace between the Punjab and Affghanistan, adding that although he could not hold out any promise of interference for the restoration of Peshawur, which had been won and preserved by the sword, he believed that the "Maharajah intended to make some change in its management, but that it sprung from himself, not from the British Government." The Amir showed great anxiety to be made acquainted with the precise character of these contemplated arrangements ; but all that Burnes could offer was a conjecture, that the Maharajah might be induced to restore the country, under certain restrictions, to Sultan Mahommed Khan and his brothers, to whom, and not to the Dost, it had formerly belonged.

On the evening of the 4th of October, Burnes was again invited to the Balla Hassar, the Amir having in the meantime waited upon him in his own quarters. At this second conference in the palace, the Nawab Jubbar Khan, the Dost's brother, was present. On this occasion, to the surprise of the British envoy, the Amir carried his moderation and humility to an excess which might almost have aroused suspicion. He declared that if the representative of Great Britain recommended him to do so, he would express to Runjit Singh his contrition for the past, and ask forgiveness ; and that if the Maharajah "would consent to give up Peshawur to him, he would hold it tributary to Lahore ; send the requisite presents of horses and rice ; and in all things consider himself, in that part of his dominions, as holding under Lahore." Upon this Burnes suggested that such an arrangement would be destructive to the hopes of Sultan Mahommed, who ought to be regarded with compassion ; and asked, whether it would not be equally advantageous to the reputation of the Dost that Peshawur should be restored to his brother. To this the Amir replied, that the country might as well be in the hands of the Sikhs as in those of Sultan Mahommed, who, indeed, was his enemy as it would never be believed that Runjit Singh had withdrawn from the countries westward of the Indus ;—little more passed at this meeting. Burnes retired to

speculate upon the conduct of the Dost and write letters to Mr. Macnaghten, at that time Political Secretary to the Government of India.

In the meanwhile the attention of the mission was directed to the state of affairs at Kandahar. The chief of that place, Mohan dil Khan, had not only declared his willingness to embrace the Persian alliance, but had determined on sending his second son, with the Persian agent to Persia, as the bearer of presents to the Shah and the Russian embassy. Against this course of procedure Dost Mahommed had protested. "Oh! my brother," he wrote, "if you will do these things without my concurrence, what will the world say to it?" There can be no doubt of the Dost's sincerity. Indeed, it was the conviction that the Kabul chief was entering with his whole soul into the British alliance, to the exclusion, as it was believed, of the Kandahar sirdars, that drove the latter to strengthen themselves with Persia. Burnes himself had no doubt that the Dost was at that time acting a straightforward part. On the 31st he wrote, that another conference had taken place on the 24th, and that what passed on that occasion "set Dost Mahommed's conduct in a light that must prove, as I believe, very gratifying to Government." He then stated, that on expressing the regret which he felt on being made acquainted with the misguided conduct of the Kandahar sirdars, the Dost had declared that if such conduct was distressing to the British minister, it was much more distressing to him; that he himself repented of having ever listened to the overtures of Persia; that he would take care publicly to manifest his desire to strengthen his relations with the British Government, and do every thing in his power to induce his Kandahar brothers to adopt a wiser course of policy. Burnes replied that he was delighted to hear the expression of such sentiments; but distinctly stated, "that neither he nor his brothers were to found hopes of receiving aid from the British Government"—that so long as they conducted themselves with propriety they might rely upon the sympathy of the British Government, but that they must, by no means, expect to derive anything more substantial from the alliance.* Burnes, who

* And on the 30th of December, Burnes, with reference to this promised sympathy, wrote in the following words to Mr. Macnaghten. The passage was not published in the official correspondence. It was thought better to suppress it—
 "The present position of the British Government at this capital appears to me
 "a most gratifying proof of the estimation in which it is held by an Affghan nation.
 "Russia has come forward with offers, which are certainly substantial: Persia
 "has been lavish in her promises, and Bokhara and other States have not been
 "backward; yet in all that has passed, or is daily transpiring, *the Chief of Kabul*

had come to Kabul as a commercial agent, was without any political instructions. He could promise nothing. The most that he could do was to write, and to await patiently the receipt of letters from Hindústan.

And, in due course, letters were received at Kabul. There is in the published "correspondence relating to Affghanistan," a wretchedly garbled letter from Captain Burnes to Mr. Macnaghten, dated January 26th 1838, which, even as it stands in the authorised blue book, is an interesting and important document, but which in its true un mutilated form throws a flood of light on the true history of the transactions between Dost Mahommed and the British agent. Before this, Vickovich had appeared on the political stage. "We are in a mess here," wrote Burnes, in a private letter, on the 9th of January: "Herat is besieged and may fall, and the Emperor of Russia has sent an envoy to Kabul to offer Dost Mahommed Khan money to fight Runjít Singh!!!! I could not believe my eyes or ears, but Captain Vickovich, for that is the agent's name, arrived here with a blazing letter three feet long, and sent immediately to pay his respects to myself. I of course received him and asked him to dinner. This is not the best of it. The Amír came over to me sharp, and offered to do as I like, kick him out, or anything, but I stood too much in fear of Vattel to do any such thing; and since he was so friendly to us, said I, give me the letters the agent has brought, all of which he surrendered sharp, and I sent an express at once to my Lord A, with a confidential letter to the Governor-General himself, bidding him look what his predecessors had brought upon him, and telling him that after this, I knew not what might happen, and it was now a neck-and-neck race between Russia and us." The letters of which Vickovich was the bearer, like those brought by Burnes, were purely of a commercial tendency. They were written in the Russian and the Persian languages, the latter of which was translated by Mohan Lal, who gives in a few lines the substance of the more important one, the letter from the Emperor.* The

"declares that he prefers the sympathy and friendly offices of the British to all these offers, however alluring they may seem, from Persia or from the Emperor, which certainly places his good sense in a light more than prominent, and in my humble judgment proves that by an earlier attention to these countries we might have escaped the whole of these intrigues, and held long since a stable influence in Kabul."

* Mohan Lal says very shrewdly—it is one of the best passages in his book, "I have heard many people in their talking say, that if the letter of the Emperor touched upon no other points but those of trade, there was no necessity for taking such alarm at its appearance in Kabul, and that it was exaggerated in importance as it appeared to be felt by the Indian government. Though I do not boast of

authenticity of this letter has been questioned. Masson declares that it was a forgery—seal and all; alleging, in proof, that it bore no signature. To this Mohan Lal replies that the absence of the royal signature is a proof rather of the genuine than the counterfeit character of the document. "On the contrary," he says, according to Asiatic usage, these are the very reasons for confiding in the veracity of the letter. "In all countries of despotic government as Affghanistan, Turkistan, and Persia, and their neighbour the Russians, letters are forwarded under the seal and not under the signature." If Mohan Lal wishes us to believe that Nicholas never attaches his signature to a letter, we must express our very positive incredulity; but we agree with him in thinking, that under the circumstances of the case, he would have been more inclined to omit than to attach the signature. The fact is that the letter was one to be acknowledged or repudiated as most convenient; it was intended to satisfy Dost Mahommed on one hand, and to be suspected by the European allies of Russia upon the other. That it came from the Cabinet of St. Petersburg we think there is little room to doubt.

The letter from Burnes, of the 26th of January, to which we have alluded above, and which we now have before us in an ungarbled state, contains a full account of an important conference between the Amír and the British agent, held after the receipt by the latter, of instructions from the Governor-General. At this meeting Burnes communicated to Dost Mahommed the sentiments of the Governor-General—a fact the record of which has been erased from the published letter—and recommended the Amír, in accordance with the opinions expressed by Lord Auckland, to wave his own claims to Peshawur, and be content with such arrangements as Runjít Singh might be inclined to enter into with Súltan Mahommed. To this the Dost replied that he bore no enmity to his brother, though his brother was full of rancour against him, and would

"being well versed in the histories of India written by talented English authors, but from what I have learned from them I come to the conclusion that the disguised word or appellation for politics is commerce, and that commerce is the only thing which expands the views and policy of territorial aggrandisement." A smart back-handed blow this, struck at his own masters

*An attempt, in the published blue-book, was made to conceal the fact of the receipt of these letters, and to make it appear that Burnes acted entirely upon his own responsibility. The genuine letter commenced with the following words—"I have now the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your (the Political Secretary's) letters of the 25th of November and 2nd of December last, which reached me about the same time and conveyed the views of the right honorable the Governor-General regarding the overtures made by Dost Mahommed, &c., &c." In the published version the letter commences with the word, "regarding."

gladly compass his destruction ; that with Súlтан Mahommed at Peshawur he would not be safe for a day, and that he would rather see it directly in the hands of the Sikhs, than in the hands of an enemy ever ready to intrigue with the Sikhs for his overthrow. "Peshawur," said he, "has been conquered by the Sikhs ; it belongs to them ; they may give it to whomsoever they please ; if to Súlтан Mahommed Khan, they place it in the hands of one, who is bent on injuring me, and I cannot therefore acknowledge any degree of gratitude for your interference, or take upon myself to render services in return,"—and then follow these mollifying sentences which it was a gross injustice to Dost Mahommed to omit from the published letter : "I admit" (said the Amír), "that it will be highly beneficial in many ways to see the Sikhs once more eastward of the Indus, but I still can dispense with none of my troops or relax in my precautionary measures, as equal if not greater anxieties will attach to me—I have unbosomed myself to you, and laid bare, without any suppression, my difficulties. I shall bear in lively remembrance the intended good offices of the British Government, and I shall deplore that my interest did not permit me to accept that which was tendered in a spirit so friendly, but which to me and my advisers has only seemed hastening my ruin. To Runjít Singh your interference is beneficial, as he finds himself involved in serious difficulties by the possession of Peshawur, and he is too glad of your good offices to escape from a place which is a burthen to his finances, but by that escape a debt of gratitude is exactible from him and not from me ; and if your government will look into this matter, they will soon discover my opinions to be far from groundless, and my conclusions the only safe policy I can pursue." The Dost having ceased to speak, Jubbar Khan followed, proposing a compromise. He suggested that it might be found advisable to deliver over Peshawur conjointly to the Amír and Súlтан Mahommed,—Runjít Singh receiving from the two chiefs the value which he might fix as the terms of surrender. The Dost observed that such an arrangement* would remove his fears, and that

*Burnes commenting on the Nawab's proposal observes. "The observations coming from the Nawab Jubbar Khan are the more remarkable since he is devoted to his brother, Súlтан Mahommed Khan, and would rejoice to see him restored to Peshawur. They consequently carried with me a conviction that the Amír's fears are not groundless, and that they will deserve all due consideration before Government entered upon any measures for attaching this chief to its interests." This passage was, of course, suppressed.

if he appointed Jubbar Khan to represent him at Peshawur, he would be sure of an equitable adjustment of affairs. To this Burnes replied in general terms, that the withdrawal of the Sikhs to the eastward of the Indus would be a vast benefit to the Affghan nation, and asked Dost Mahommed whether he would rather see the Sikhs or Súltan Mahommed in Peshawur. The Amír replied that the question put in plain words was a startling one; but he asked in return, if that could be considered beneficial to the Affghan nation, which was especially injurious to him who possessed the largest share of sovereignty in Afghanistan? He then observed, in evidence of the truth of his assertions relative to the dangers to which he was exposed from the supremacy of Súltan Mahommed at Peshawur, "Súltan Mahommed Khan has just sent an agent to the ex-king at Lúdíanah (Sah Sújah) to offer his services to combine against me and to secure my brothers at Kandahar, in support of this coalition"—"what security," asked the Amír, "am I to receive against a recurrence of such practices?" He then continued, "as for the ex-king himself, I fear him not, he has been too often worsted to make head, unless he has aid from the British Government, which I am now pretty certain he will never receive. If my brother at Peshawur, however, under a promise of being made his minister, and assisted with Sikh agents and money, appears in the field, I may find that in expressing my satisfaction at his restoration to Peshawur, I have been placing a snake in my bosom—and I may then, when too late, lament that I did not let the Sikhs do their worst, instead of replacing them by another description of enemies." All this was carefully erased from the letter before it was allowed to form a part of the published blue-book; and the following just observations of Captain Burnes shared no better fate. "It has appeared to me that they" (the opinions and views of the ruler of Kabul) "call for much deliberation. It will be seen that the chief is not bent on possessing Peshawur, or on gratifying an enmity towards his brothers, but simply pursuing the worldly maxim of securing himself from injury; the arguments which he has adduced seem deserving of every consideration, and the more so, when an avowed partisan of Súltan Mahommed does not deny the justice of the Amír's objection;" and further on our agent observes (we omit many suppressed passages, which if we were writing a memoir of Alexander Burnes, we should be bound to insert), "since arriving here, I have seen an agent of Persia with alluring promises, after penetrating as far as

"Kandahar, compelled to quit the country, because no one has sent to invite him to Kabul. Following him, an agent of Russia with letters highly complimentary and promises more than substantial, has experienced no more civility than is due by the laws of hospitality and nations. It may be urged by some that the offers of one or both were fallacious, but such a *dictum* is certainly premature; the Amír of Kabul has sought no aid in his arguments from such offers, but declared that his interests are bound up in an alliance with the British Government, which he never will desert as long as there is a hope of securing one." There is much more in a similar strain—much more cancelled from the published correspondence—which we are compelled, from such an article as this, reluctantly to omit. The system of garbling the official correspondence of public men—sending the letters of a statesman or diplomatist into the world mutilated, emasculated—the very pith and substance of them cut out by the unsparing hand of the State-anatomist—cannot be too severely reprehended. The dishonesty by which lie upon lie, a century of lies, is palmed upon the world, has not one redeeming feature. If public men are, without reprehension, to be permitted to lie in the face of nations—wilfully, elaborately, and maliciously to bear false witness against their neighbours, what hope is there for private veracity? In the case before us the *suppressio veri* is virtually the *assertio falsi*. The character of Dost Mahommed has been lied away; the character of Burnes has been lied away. Both, by the mutilation of the correspondence of the latter, have been fearfully misrepresented—both have been set forth as doing what they did not, and omitting to do what they did. We care not whose knife—whose hand did the work of mutilation. We deal with principles, not with persons—and have no party ends to serve. The cause of truth must be upheld. Official documents are the sheet-anchors of historians—the last courts of appeal to which the public resort. If these documents are tampered with—if they are made to declare historical figments, the grave of truth is dug, and there is seldom a resurrection. It is not always that an afflicted parent is ready to step forward in behalf of an injured child, and lay a memorial at the feet of his sovereign, exposing the cruelty by which an honorable man has been represented, in State documents, as doing that which was abhorrent to his nature. In most cases, the lie goes down unassailed, and often unsuspected, to posterity; and in place of sober History we have a florid Romance.

But still in spite of the declarations of Burnes that Dost Mahommed had little to hope from the operations of the British Government in the East, the Russian mission made but little progress at Kabul. Alluding to the negotiations of our agent, Vickovich wrote some time afterwards, "all this has occasioned Dost Mahommed Khan to conduct himself very coldly towards me; and then, as he daily converses with Burnes, from my arrival here to the 20th of February I have hardly been two or three times in his presence." The fact is that the Russian mission was scurvily treated up to this time, as we are assured on the concurrent testimony of the British and the Russian agents. But on the 21st of February, letters were received from the Governor-General, stating in the most decisive language, that there was no intention to accede to the propositions of the Amír regarding Peshawur, and then, but not till then, the conduct of Dost Mahommed underwent a change, and the Russian mission began to rise in importance. On the 2nd of March, Jubbar Khan visited Burnes, and a long discussion ensued relative to the intentions of the British Government, which Burnes again explicitly stated! And on the following day, Abdúl Samí Khan waited upon him, and went over nearly the same ground. He alleged Dost Mahommed "had often written to the British Government about his affairs, and in return they replied to him about their own;" and recurred to the expectations which the Dost had formed of receiving aid from the British and rendering service to them in return. Burnes attended to a message that had been sent to him, stating that the Amír would not wait longer than the vernal equinox in the hope of receiving British assistance, after which time he would consider himself at liberty to listen to the overtures of any other power. For this Abdúl Samí Khan apologised; but repeated, in general terms, the demands of the Dost, and the expectations he had formed of coming to a friendly understanding with the British. On the 4th, the Nawab Jubbar Khan again waited on Burnes. The discussion which ensued was much the same as that of the preceding day, with the exception of something very much like a proposition from the Nawab to betray his brother; but on the 5th he again appeared with a string of specific demands dictated by the Amír. "These consisted of a promise to protect Kabul and Kandahar from Persia; of the surrender of Peshawur by Runjít Singh; of the interference of our Government to protect, at that city, those who might return to it from Kabul, supposing it to be restored to Súltan Mahommed Khan; with several other proposals." Upon this

Burnes with an expression of astonishment declared, that on the part of the British Government he could accede to none of these propositions; and added, that as he saw no hope of a satisfactory adjustment, he should request his dismissal. "The Nawab," said Burnes, "left me in sorrow."

Upon his departure, the British agent sat down and drew up a formal letter to the Amír, requesting leave to depart for Hindustan. In spite of what had taken place, the letter somewhat startled the Amír, who summoned a meeting of his principal advisers, "which lasted till past midnight."* The conference was resumed on the following morning; and about midday Mírza Samí Khan waited on Burnes and invited him to attend the Amír in the Balla Hissar. The Dost was even more gracious and friendly than usual; he expressed his regret that the Governor-General had shewn so little inclination to meet his wishes; but added that he did not even then despair of forming an alliance advantageous both to England and Affghanistan. A long argument then ensued—but it led to nothing. The old ground was travelled over, again and again. Burnes asked for everything he could, but promised nothing, for he had no power to make any concessions; and the meeting, though it ended amicably, was productive of no good results. Burnes took his departure from the Balla Hissar. He might as well have departed from Kabul.

On the 21st of March, the Amír wrote a friendly letter to Lord Auckland, imploring him, in language almost of humi-

* It is probably of this meeting, or one shortly preceding it, of which General Harlan, who has not much more regard for dates than Mohan Lal, speaks in the following passage. We must premise that Harlan had by this time quitted Runjít Singh's service and "taken the shilling" from Dost Mahommed: "The document (Lord Auckland's ultimatum) was handed to me amongst others. I satisfied myself, by the Governor-General's signature, of its authenticity, surveying the contents with extreme surprise and disappointment. Dost Mahommed was mortified, but not terrified. . . . The Governor-General's ultimatum was handed round and an embarrassing silence ensued. A few minutes elapsed when Abul Samí Khan recalled the party from abstraction. . . . He proclaimed that the Governor-General's ultimatum left no other alternative than the dismissal of the English agent, for the spirit of the Kuzzilbash party was supercilious and unyielding, though full of duplicity. . . . Nieb Mahommed Amír Khan Akhund-Zadah openly opposed the Kuzzilbash party and urged many weighty arguments in favor of a pacific settlement of the Amír's relations with the British Government, which had now assumed a position so inauspicious; he concluded his oration with these words, addressing the Amír: "There is no other resource for you but to introduce Mr. Harlan in the negotiations with Mr. Burnes, and he, through his own facilities and wisdom, will arrange a treaty, according to their European usage, for the pacific and advantageous settlement of your affairs, and to this proposition the council unanimously assented." The proposition, it appears, was made to Burnes, but Burnes declined. Harlan says "that he then wrote to the British envoy offering to negotiate upon his own terms;" but Burnes sent "a reply personally friendly," but "evincing a deficiency of knowledge of first principles concerning the rights of independent powers, in political negotiations." Burnes says nothing about this in his official letters. It is not difficult to perceive why.

lity, to "remedy the grievances of the Affghans," to "give them a little encouragement and power." It was the last despairing effort of the Affghan chief to conciliate the good will of the British Government. It failed. The *fiat* had gone forth. The judgment against him was not to be reversed. Other meetings took place—but Burnes knew them to be mere formalities. He remained at Kabul with no hope of bringing matters to a favorable issue, but because it was convenient to remain. He was awaiting the return from Kúndúz of Dr. Lord and Lieutenant Wood. The month of March passed away and the greater part of April; but these officers did not rejoin the mission, and Burnes determined to depart without them. Accordingly, on the 20th of April, he turned his back upon Kabul.*

The mission had failed. What wonder? It could by no possibility have succeeded. If utter failure had been the great end sought to be accomplished by the mission, the whole business could not have been more cunningly devised. Burnes asked every thing, and promised nothing. He was tied hand and foot; he had no power to treat with Dost Mahommed; all that he could do was to demand on one hand and refuse on the other. He talked about the friendship of the British Government. Dost Mahommed asked for some proof of it, and no proof was forthcoming. The wonder is not that the Amír at last listened to the overtures of others, but that he did not seek other assistance before: no better proof of his earnest desire to cement an alliance with the British Government need be sought for, than that involved in the fact of his extreme reluctance to abandon all hope of assistance from the British and to turn his eyes in another direction. It was not until he was driven to despair by resolute refusals from the quarter whence he looked for aid, that he accepted the offers so freely made to him by other States, and set the seal upon his own destruction. "Our Government," said Burnes, "would do nothing; but the Secretary of the Russian legation came with the most direct offers of assistance and money, and as I had no power to counteract him by a similar offer, and got wigged for talking of it at a time when it would have been merely a dead letter to say Affghanistan was under our protection, I was obliged, of course, to give in." What better

* Mr. Masson says, that before its departure, the mission had fallen into contempt, and that the assassination of Burnes was talked of; he explains too, what, according to his account, were the real causes of Burnes' departure without his companions—but it does not come within our province to investigate, in this article, Masson's charges against the envoy.

result Lord Auckland could have anticipated, it is hard to say. If the failure of the mission astonished him, he must have been the most sanguine of men.

But we are not about to consider the conduct of the Governor-General of India, but that of the ruler of Kabul. We have endeavored to state, with the utmost fairness, the principal circumstances attending the failure of the British mission under Captain Burnes; and we cannot, upon a deliberate review of all these circumstances, come to a conclusion that there was anything unreasonable—anything that can fairly be interpreted into an indication of hostile feeling—in the conduct of Dost Mahommed. That from the very first he was disappointed, there is no doubt. He had formed exaggerated ideas of the generosity and munificence of the British Government in the East, and doubtless expected great things from the contemplated alliance. The mission had scarcely been a day in Kabul, when the feelings of the Amīr were shocked—the exuberance of his hopes somewhat straitened—and his dignity greatly offended, by the paltry character of the presents of which Burnes was the bearer. No one, ignorant of the childish eagerness with which oriental princes examine the ceremonial gifts presented to them by foreign potentates, and the importance which they attach to the value of these presents as indications of a greater or less degree of friendship and respect on the part of the donor, can appreciate the mortification of Dost Mahommed on discovering that the British Government, of whose immense resources and boundless liberality he had so exalted a notion, had sent him nothing but a few trumpery toys. Burnes had been directed to “procure from Bombay such articles as would be required to be given in presents to the different chiefs.” And it had been characteristically added,—“They ought not to be of a costly nature; but should be chosen particularly with a view to exhibit the superiority of British manufactures.” Accordingly the envoy had provided himself with a pistol and a telescope for Dost Mahommed, and a few trifles for the inmates of the Zenana, such as pins, needles, and play-things.*

* Harlan's account of the reception of these presents is at least amusing, and we see no reason to question its veracity:—“When the English Agent,” he writes, “who visited Kabul in 1837-38 produced his presents for the Amīr's harem (a breach of etiquette most inexcusable in any one pretending to a knowledge of oriental customs) they were distributed by the Sultanah mo'her, and it may be readily conceived that a more onerous duty could not have been imposed upon her ladyship, although the value of these donations was inconsiderable and adapted only to the frivolous tastes of savages, or the wretched fancies of rude, infatuated Africans. They consisted of pins, needles, scissors, penknives, silk-handkerchiefs, toys

Presents, far costlier than these, had been forwarded to Shah Séjah, when the mission under Mountstuart Elphinstone had set out for Affghanistan. The Amír was disappointed. He thought that the niggardliness of the British Government, in this instance, portended no good: nor was he mistaken. He soon found that the intention to give little was manifest in all the proceedings of the mission.

It is said that the Amír asked more than could reasonably be granted—that he had no right to look for the restoration of Peshawur, as that tract of country, on the dismemberment of the Dourani empire, had fallen to the share of Súltan Mahommed. It is very true that the country had once belonged to Súltan Mahommed—but nevertheless, the Amír's arguments were perfectly unanswerable. No one who has read the early portion of this article will doubt for a moment that Dost Mahommed had nothing to expect from the *friendship* of his brother. Súltan Mahommed had shown, by a long course of treachery, that he was prepared at any moment to betray the Amír.* To have established him at Peshawur would have been to have paved the way for the march of Runjít Singh's army to Kabul. So thought Dost Mahommed. Better to submit quietly to the unassisted enmity of the Maharajah, than to have an insidious enemy on the frontier, by whose agency

watches, musical snuff-boxes, &c., all of which were received with inexpressible surprise, and the feeling followed by a sense of disgust, intermingled with mortification and disappointment. Anticipations, a long time entertained, founded on the fact that Dost Mahommed had *condusionally* solicited the advent of a British agent at Kabul and sustained by the Amír's cupidity, kept their expectations alive with the hope of a golden subsidy. His highness was honoured with a pair of pistols and a spy-glass, as though the Governor-General would have suggested to the Amír an allegory of the conservative and offensive symbols of good Government! Dost Mahommed exclaimed with a "pish," as he threw them down before him and averted his face, "Behold! I have feasted and honoured this Feringhee to the extent of "six thousand rupees, and have now a lot of pins and needles and sundry petty toys "to show for my folly," and again—"the distribution of the English trifles almost caused an insurrection among the inmates of the harem. Aga Taj thought her children entitled to choose before all the others, but in this fancy her highness was not gratified, and the disappointment gave rise to many expressions of asperity against the ruling power in her harem. Her little boy got hold of a musical toy called an accordion. As a matter of course, he soon managed to put it out of order, and her highness supposing in common with all Asiatics, that a Christian is capable of every science, sent to me with a request to repair it. I regretted the task exceeded my abilities in mechanics. I learnt from this source, the child of the princess royal, the ridicule and disgust which the English diplomacy and munificence excited in the minds of the ladies was general in the Amír's family, and did more to lessen the agent's ascendancy at the court of Kabul than can easily be imagined by those who are unacquainted with the potency of back-stair influence in an oriental court." There may be some exaggeration in all this—but we do not doubt that it is substantially true.

* Burne's spoke of Sultan Mahommed as "a very good man, but incapable of acting for himself; and even alluded to his elevation to the chieftship of Kabul, as one course which might be pursued by the British Government on the rupture with Dost Mahommed."

Runjít Singh might have accomplished that which he could not have achieved alone. It was mockery to talk to the Amír about Súltan Mahommed. He had nothing to look for from that quarter but the blackest perfidy—the most unrelenting hostility. As to the *claims* of Súltan Mahommed, the Súltan had sacrificed them by his own misconduct. Had he been true to his brother, had he been true to himself, he might have retained possession of his principality. Treachery on the part of Súltan Mahommed, treachery on the part of Runjít Singh, had lost Peshawur to the Affghans. It was the personal energy—the martial prowess of Dost Mahommed that had secured the supremacy of the Barukzyes in Affghanistan; and as Súltan Mahommed Khan wanted the ability or the honesty to hold his own at Peshawur, it was but natural and fitting that the chief of the Barukzyes should endeavour to enter into arrangements better calculated to preserve the integrity of the Affghan frontier. He desired, in the first instance, the absolute possession of Peshawur on his own account. He subsequently consented to hold it in vassalage to Runjít Singh. Had the British Government undertaken to effect an amicable arrangement between the Amír and the Maharajah (and such an arrangement might have been effected to the entire satisfaction of both parties), there is no room to doubt that Dost Mahommed would have rejected all overtures from the Westward, and proved to us a firm and faithful ally. But instead of this we offered him nothing but our sympathy, and Dost Mahommed, with all respect for the British Government, looked for something a little more substantial. That his conduct throughout the long negotiations with Burnes, was characterised by an entire singleness of purpose and straightforwardness of action, we do not take upon ourselves to assert; but we may with truth aver, that it evinced somewhat less than the ordinary amount of Affghan duplicity—somewhat less, indeed, than the ordinary amount of diplomatic chicanery and deceit. Singleness and straightforwardness do not flourish in the near neighbourhood either of Eastern or Western diplomacy, and perhaps it is not wise, on our own account, to look too closely into these matters. We doubt whether any Eastern potentate ever negotiated with greater sincerity and good faith than did Dost Mahommed upon this occasion; and if we can detect a flaw here and there, we ought not on that account, to condemn the general conduct of the man, but considering the school in which he had been educated, highly extol his freedom from the besetting vices of the country, when we see that his errors were few when they might have

been legion. The wonder is that he acted so honorably—that he was so sincere, so straightforward, so patient, and so moderate. He might have possessed all these qualities in much scantier measure, and yet have been a very respectable Affghan.

Burnes went, and Vickovich who had risen greatly in favor, soon took his departure for Herat, promising every thing that Dost Mahommed wanted—engaging to furnish money to the Barukzye chiefs, and undertaking to propitiate Runjit Singh. The Russian quitted Kabul, accompanied by Sirdar Mehir Dil Khan (who some time previously had arrived at Kabul with the object of winning over the Amír to the Persian alliance), and one Abú Khan, Barukzye, a confidential friend of Dost Mahommed, and on the present occasion, his representative. It had been arranged that Azim Khan, the Dost's son, accompanied by the minister Samí Khan, should be despatched to the Shah ; but this arrangement being set aside in consequence of the scruples of the Mirza, Abú Khan was despatched in their place. There were now no half measures to be pursued. Dost Mahommed had flung himself into the arms of Persia.

Vickovich was received with all honour at Kandahar. A treaty between the Barukzye brothers and the Shah was drawn up and signed by the latter. The envoy sent it back to the Sirdars, saying, "Mahommed Shah has promised to give you the possession of Herat, I sincerely tell you that you will also get Ghorian, on my account, from the Shah... When Mahommed Omar Khan arrives here, I will ask the Shah to quit Herat, and I will remain here with 12,000 troops, and when you join, we will take Herat, which will afterwards be delivered to you,"—magnificent promises truly, and most refreshing to the souls of the Kandahar Sirdars. The letter was sent on to Dost Mahommed, but it did not fill the heart of the Amír with an equal measure of delight. The Russian alliance was unpopular at Kabul. It had "ruined him in the eyes of all Mahommedans." A crisis, too, was at hand. Intelligence had reached the capital to the effect that not only was the friendship of the British Government irrecoverably lost, but that an expedition was about to be equipped in the Company's dominions with the avowed object of entering Afghanistan, and placing Shah Sújah-úl-Múlík on the throne which he had before endeavoured to regain.

The intelligence alarmed the Amír. He was scarcely prepared for such a prompt manifestation of the displeasure of the British Government. He had not believed that it would at once assume so practical and so terrible a shape : clearly now before

him rose up, in all their dread proportions, the dangers which threatened his political existence. He saw at once that he had "played the fool and erred exceedingly," that a few thousand ducats from the Russians and the promise of a letter to Runjít Singh, were but trifles to weigh against an evil of such magnitude as a British army of invasion. But it was too late to repent—idle to revert with self-reproach to the past. It was left for him now to provide for the future. He began at once to strengthen the Balla Hissar and to repair the defences of Ghuzni. Money was required to provide means of resistance ; to raise it, he increased the burthen of taxation, which already pressed severely upon the inhabitants of the Kohistan, and in so doing lost a further instalment of his now waning popularity.

Ample time was permitted to the Amír to organise his plans of resistance. He, at least, was not startled by a sudden incursion of hostile troops into his dominions. With such formidable natural defences and abundant time to strengthen to any extent his artificial ones, he might have bidden defiance to the Suddozye Prince, backed by the whole British army. But one thing was wanting. The nationality of the Affghans seemed to be almost extinct. There was no union among the Barukzye brothers. There was scarcely a chief in the country who was not prepared to sell his birth-right for a mess of pottage. Dost Mahommed had, indeed, long ceased to look for any effectual support from the other sons of Sarfraz Khan ; he now trusted to his own. It had for some time been his policy to supersede, as far as was possible, the influence of his brothers by putting forward his sons. Afzul Khan and Akbar Khan had done good service at Jamrud*. They had early evinced the possession of no small share of the military prowess and personal energy of their father. To them and to Hyder Khan he now entrusted the command of his troops. It was a perilous game that he was involved in, but he did not despair.

From the dust of Lúdíanah rose Shah Sújah—the pensioned exile—the hopeless fugitive—the man of many reverses, now suddenly to become a king ; the signer of treaties, the favored ally of the British Government. In circumstances

* Mohan Lal says, that Afzul Khan really did the work, and Akbar Khan claimed the credit. "Since that period" (the battle of Jamrud), he writes, "the eldest son of the Amír, Mahommed Afzul Khan, with other heroes of the family, is very much disheartened. No feeling of true regard has since existed between the father and these sons, and Akbar Khan continues gaining the strength and favor of the Amír".... He exalts Afzul Khan, in other passages, and lowers Mahommed Khan—but we can scarcely regard Mohan Lal as an unprejudiced witness.

how changed—in character how unchanged ! Surrounded by an army of his own, which had sprung up as though by magic, supported by a brilliant force of well-disciplined European troops, and attended by a cluster of the most distinguished European diplomatists in India, the mendicant of yesterday re-entered his old dominions, and as the battle was to be fought *for* him and not *by* him, he was full of confidence and courage. It is no part of the task which we have set ourselves, to describe the operations of the army of the Indus, or to discuss the policy of the expedition. In the month of July 1839, the Suddozye prince and the British army were before Ghuzni. Hyder Khan commanded the garrison. Afzul Khan, with his detachment, was in the neighbourhood. Akbar Khan had been despatched to contest the passage of the Khybur with Timour Shah ; and the Amír himself had determined, with his guns and his principal supporters, to take up his position on the road between Ghuzni and Kabul, and fling himself upon the advancing columns of the enemy, if they ever penetrated so far into his country.

The fall of Ghuzni—a fortress hitherto deemed impregnable—astounded Dost Mahommed and his sons, and struck dismay into their souls. Afzul Khan, who was prepared to fall upon our troops had they been repulsed before Ghuzni, found to his wonderment, that the British colors had been planted on the summit of the citadel ; and whatever may be the amount of that “ sound judgment and laudable quality of heroism,” of which Mohan Lal says he is so abundantly possessed, he cut no very distinguished figure upon the present occasion, but sought safety in flight. Abandoning his elephants and the whole of his camp equipage, which fell as booty into the hands of Shah Sujah, the Prince fled towards Kabul. His father greatly incensed, sent to order his immediate halt, and “ peremptorily refused to receive him.” * Dost Mahommed appears never to have forgiven this failure at a critical time.

In little more than four-and-twenty hours after the fall of Ghuzni, intelligence of the event reached the camp of the Amír. He at once assembled his chiefs, spoke of the defection of some of his people, expressed his apprehension that others were about to desert him, and declared his conviction that, without the aid of treachery, Ghuzni could not have fallen before the Feringhís. He then called upon all present who wavered in their loyalty, at once to withdraw from his presence, that he might know the extent of his resources and not rely upon

* Outram.

the specious friendship of men who would forsake him at a critical moment. All protested their fidelity. A council was held and the result was, that the Nawab Jubbar Khan was despatched to the British camp* to treat with Shah Sújah and his allies. The Nawab mounted his horse and rode with unaccustomed rapidity to Ghuzní. There he was well received both by the Shah and the British mission. But his exertions were utterly fruitless. He tendered on the part of the Amír submission to the Suddozye prince, but claimed, on part of the brother of Futteh Khan, the hereditary office of Wuzír, which had been held so long and so ably by the Barukzyes. The claim was at once rejected, and the mockery of an "honorable asylum" in the British dominions offered in its stead. Jubbar Khan spoke out plainly and bluntly like an honest man. His brother had no ambition to surrender his freedom and become a prisoner on the bounty of the British Government. Had his cause been far more hopeless than it was, Dost Mahommed would have rather flung himself upon the British bayonets than upon the protection of the Feringhís. Jubbar Khan then frankly stating his own determination to follow the fortunes of his brother, requested and received his dismissal.

The Nawab returned to the Amír's camp. All hope of negotiation was now at an end, and Dost Mahommed, with resolution worthy of a better fate, marched out to dispute the progress of the invaders. At the head of an army, in which the seeds of dissolution had already been sown, he moved down upon Urghundí. There he drew up his troops and parked his guns; but it was not on this ground that he had determined to give the Feringhí battle. The last stand was to have been made at Maidan, on the Kabul river—a spot, the natural advantages of which would have been greatly in his favor. But the battle was never fought. At Urghundí it became too manifest that there was treachery in his camp. The venal Kuzzilbashes were fast deserting his standard. There was scarcely a true man left in his ranks. Hadjí Khan Khakur, on whom he had placed great reliance, had gone over to the enemy, and others were fast following his example. This was the crisis of his fate. He looked around him and saw only perfidy on the right hand and on the left. He felt equal to the occasion, but thus deserted, what could he do? Never had the nobility of his nature shone forth more truly and more lus-

*Whether this step was taken by Dost Mahommed on his own account, or whether it was recommended or agreed to by his principal partisans, does not very clearly appear.

trously. In the hour of adversity, when all were false, he was true to his own manhood. Into the midst of his own perfidious troops he rode, with the Koran in his hand, and there called upon his followers, in the names of God and the Prophet, not to forget that they were true Mahommedans—not to disgrace their names and to dishonor their religion, by rushing into the arms of one who had filled the country with infidels and blasphemers. He besought them to make one stand, like brave men and true believers, to rally round the standard of the Commander of the Faithful; to beat back the invading Feringhís or die in the glorious attempt. He then reminded them of his own claims on their fidelity: "You have eaten my salt," he said, "these thirteen years. If, as is too plain, you are resolved to seek a new master, grant me but one favor in requital for that long period of maintenance and kindness—enable me to die with honour. Stand by the brother of Futteh Khan, whilst he executes one last charge against the cavalry of these Feringhí dogs, in that onset he will fall; then go and make your own terms with Shah Sújah."* The noble spirit-stirring appeal was vainly uttered: few responded to it. There was scarcely a true heart left. With despairing eyes he looked around upon his recreant followers. He saw that there was no hope of winning them back to their old allegiance, he felt that he was surrounded by traitors and cowards, who were willing to abandon him to his fate. It was idle to struggle against his destiny; the first bitter pang was over, he reassumed his serenity of demeanour, and addressing himself to the Kuzzilbashes, formally gave them their discharge. He then dismissed all who were inclined to purchase safety by tendering allegiance to the Shah, and with a small handful of followers, leaving his guns still in position, turned his horse's head towards the regions of the Hindú Kúsh.†

It was on the evening of the 2nd of August that he com-

* Havelock.

† The guns were found in position when the British troops reached Urghundi. "Onward," says Captain Havelock, "moved the force, and an hour had not elapsed since the day broke, when it came full upon the abandoned ordnance of the fallen Barukzye. Twenty two pieces of various calibre, but generally good guns, on field carriages, superior to those generally seen in the armies of Asiatic princes, were parked in a circle in the Amír's late position. Two more were placed in battery in the village of Urghundi, at the foot of the hills. . . . The route by which we had advanced, was flanked by a deep impracticable ravine, on which the Affghan left would have rested; there their artillery had been parked, and would probably from this point have swept the open plain, and searched the narrow defile by which we would have debouched upon. Their front was open for the exertions of a bold and active cavalry, and here the Amír might at least have died with honour." But all this is mere speculation. It now appears that the Amír had no intention of making a stand at Urghundi.

menced his flight. A party from the British camp, commanded by Captain Outram and officered by a little band of dashing soldiers and bold riders, was soon in rapid pursuit. Hadji Khan Khakur, the apostate chief, rode with them. He had undertaken to betray his master. The rest is well known. The treachery which we had purchased for so many pieces of gold, was retributively turned against us. We reaped as we had sown; and Dost Mahommed escaped. Dost Mahommed crossed the Hindú Kúsh, and for a while fortune seemed to favor him. The Wullí of Kúlúm, who a little time before, had been at war with the Amír, now forgot all old animosities, and received the fugitive monarch with friendship and hospitality. To counteract this movement in the Usbeg country, a detachment of British troops was despatched to Bameean. The operations of this little force had the effect ere long of driving the Amír out of the friendly country in which he had taken up his abode, and reducing him to the condition of a fugitive, more hopeless and forlorn than before he had thrown himself upon the protection of the Wullí. In the valley of Syghan, there is a fort called Sar-i-sung. It was held by one Mahommed Ali Beg, a chief who had given in his adhesion to Shah Sújah. It was essential to the safety of the Bameean detachment that this fort should be held by a friend. Assisted by the Wullí of Kúlúm, one Khilich Beg laid siege to the fort. It had been arranged then, in the event of the capture of the place which had been calculated upon with some confidence, that one of Dost Mahommed's followers who was in the camp of the besiegers, should be appointed Governor of the place in the name of the Amír. This could not be permitted. A detachment was sent out from the British camp to raise the siege, Golaum Beg (the Wullí's son) and Khilich Beg fled, and the Usbeg force was completely broken up. The effects of this movement were most advantageous to British interests. Not only did it open the communications of the British force with Túrkiстан, but had a perceptible and immediate effect upon the fortunes of Dost Mahommed. "Dost Mahommed's star," writes an intelligent officer of the Bameean detachment, "which had for a time shone forth was again dimmed by a cloud. His fortune waned, and the natural consequence was, that of those who followed the unfortunate monarch into exile, many now deserted him in his utmost need; his funds failed fast, and the ex-Amír was forced to grant a discharge to those of his followers who demanded it. During the month of November, many of these with their wives and families passed

"through Bameean on their way to Kabul.... They were
"reduced to the most lamentable plight. The Amír had no
"money and could not support so many dependants; they were
"therefore obliged to resort to the sale of horses and other
"property to procure the means of subsistence for themselves
"and families. They remained with him for some time, hoping
"that fortune would wear a more favorable aspect; but
"Golaum Beg's unsuccessful expedition to Syghan dissipated
"any bright visions which might have been conjured up; and
"Dost Mahommed himself, now helpless and dispirited, gave
"to many a written discharge under his own seal, and bade
"them seek their livelihood elsewhere"*

What followed we shall do well to narrate in the words of
the same able and accurate writer,—"I have said that the hopes
"of a brighter fortune which this unhappy prince at one time
"cherished, were rudely frustrated by the intelligence of
"Golaum Beg's disaster, and the beneficial workings of Dr.
"Lord's vigorous policy were fully developed. It is true that
"the evil was merely averted; but as he could not possibly
"have foreseen the events which afterwards rendered all the
"advantage previously gained nugatory, the praise due to
"him for having succeeded in driving the Amír from the
"Southern banks of the Oxus, should not be withheld. Des-
"pair was largely infused among the followers of the fugitive
"monarch, and he himself, too, on whom care had laid its
"heavy hand, no doubt shared in this feeling, and suffered
"some anxiety to steal upon him, when he heard of the sudden
"blow struck by the Feringhís, and knew not what more might
"follow. He no longer felt himself secure, and almost imme-
"diately prepared for flight towards Persia, where he felt sure
"of a favourable reception, his mother being a native of that
"country; but day by day he delayed his departure, perhaps
"with a lingering hope that something advantageous might
"yet occur to prevent the necessity of so long a journey,—
"perhaps through financial difficulties, but, at length he set
"out accompanied by his sons and his brother, the Nawab
"Jubbar Khan, his journey, poor man, did not end in the way
"which he had anticipated. I never heard the exact route by
"which he was proceeding, but he must have passed within a
"short distance of Balkh, for the Governor of that place,
"which is subject to the rule of Bokhara, sent him a message,

* From a series of papers entitled "the British on the Hindú Kúsh," published originally in the *Bengal Hurkaru*, and now quoted from Stocqueler's "Memorials of Afghanistan."

“requesting him to give him a meeting, as he had some proposals to make to him on the part of the Amír-ül-Múmu-
“mín.

“Dost Mahommed sent his brother the Nawab to him to hear what these proposals might be; but the Governor of Balkh laid hold upon the envoy, and declared that he would not free him until the Amír in person came. Accordingly the ex-chief went to procure the liberation of his brother, and when he arrived at that once famous, but now insignificant city, he found himself little less than a prisoner: Jubbar Khan was released, but the dethroned monarch was informed that the king of Bokhara desired his presence. Perfectly helpless, he could not but accede, and perhaps at the time he entertained hopes of a friendly reception. The Nawab returned to Kúlúm with his own and the Dost’s family, while the other, accompanied by the young Khans, Akbar and Afzul, repaired to Bokhara. There, instead of meeting with the reception which first reports led us to believe awaited him, the whole party were thrown into dungeons, and thus did Dost Mahommed, in fleeing from the British, who would have proved then, as now, kind hosts rather than enemies, “become dependent on the caprices of a tyrant.”

For a while the Amír and his sons were condemned to taste in all its bitterness, the misery of close confinement in the city of Bokhara. We know how the Amír of this place is wont to treat his Christian prisoners. His Mahomedan captives, whom he at first pretended to receive as guests, were dealt with somewhat more leniently—but the natural ferocity of the man was not to be kept down; and Dost Mahommed nearly became the victim of a treacherous murder. Baffled in this attempt on the life of his prisoners, and not daring openly to slay them, he kept them for a time under strict surveillance, forbidding them even to repair to *mosque*. This inhospitable treatment seems to have called forth a remonstrance from the Shah of Persia, in consequence of which greater liberty was allowed to the unfortunate princes—a relaxation of which they availed themselves to make their escape. Many romantic incidents are reported in connexion with this flight from Bokhara. The horse on which the Dost fled, being incapable of proceeding further, its rider transferred himself to a caravan which he chanced to overtake, and escaped detection only by dyeing his beard with ink. The Wallí of Kúlúm was delighted to welcome him again.

It was not long before the Amír again found himself at the head of a considerable force. His family, with the exception of the two sons who had shared his captivity in Bokhara, were

in the hands of the British. He knew the danger of his determined course ; and when reminded that his wives and children were in our power, sorrowfully replied, "I have no family ; I have buried by wives and children." As the Usbek fighting men flocked to the standards of Dost Mahommed and the Wallí of Kúlúm, the hopes of the former seemed to rise, and his determination to strike a vigorous blow for the recovery of his lost empire, gathered strength and consistency. To have cut upon the Bameean detachment, and emerging from the Hindú Kúsh, to have appeared on the plains below flushed with victory, raising the old war-cry in the name of the Prophet, and profiting by the notorious unpopularity of Shah Sújah in that part of the country, would have been a mighty achievement—one which would have rendered easy his triumphant progress to the very walls of the capital. He determined to make the effort, and in the month of September advanced upon Bameean, with a force of six or eight thousand men. To strengthen the British position, a reinforcement consisting of some details of irregular horse and a native infantry regiment, under Colonel Dennie, an officer of approved gallantry and skill, who had led the storming party at Ghuzní, was by this time on its way from Kabul. On the 30th August, a party of Usbegs, headed by Afzul Khan the eldest son of the Amír, advanced upon Bafgah, one of the British outposts, but was repulsed by the gallant little Gúrkah regiment and a party of Affghan horse. It was necessary, however, to withdraw the British detachment from this isolated post, and to fall back upon Syghan. On their way, one of the Shah's infantry regiments deserted its colors, and went over in a body to the enemy. This disaster filled the Amír with renewed confidence and he pushed on to attack the British position at Bameean, expecting to carry everything before him. On the 18th of September he came up with a portion of our force under Brigadier Dennie, which was advancing to Syghan to meet him. The Brigadier had only two guns, and not more than a third of his force ; but with such terrible effect did these two guns* play upon the advancing columns of the enemy, and such was the steady gallantry of all arms, that the Affghan force lost heart and fled before the handful of Hindustani soldiers. The Dost, the Wullí and Afzul Khan escaped, leaving their camp equipage, their kettle-drums, their ammunition and their only gun upon the field. They "owed their safety to the fleetness of their horses."

* A howitzer and six pounder, from the 4th troop, 3rd Brigade, under Lieut. Murray Mackenzie.

"I am like a wooden spoon" said Dost Mahommed, "you may throw me hither and thither, but I shall not be hurt."—Having been defeated on the Hindú Kúsh, he now reappeared in the Kohistan. Disaffection was rife throughout that part of the country. The authority of Shah Sújah had been but imperfectly established. More than one fortress was in the hands of a recusant chief, and it was apprehended that the presence of Dost Mahommed would set the whole country in a blaze. Accordingly, at the latter end of September, a force under Sir Robert Sale was sent into the Kohistan. Sir Alexander Burnes accompanied it. It moved in the first instance on Tántandurrah. The fire of our guns soon caused its evacuation and the place was speedily taken. Sale then advanced upon Súlghah; the attempt to carry the fort by assault was not successful; but the enemy, dreading a renewal of the attempt, effected their escape, and the bastions of the fort were destroyed. During almost the entire month of October, Dost Mahommed was flitting about from one place to another, to the extreme annoyance of our political officers and the discomfort of our troops. Various were the reports which reached the British camp, of the nature of his movements and the number of his adherents. Many of these were of a most exaggerated character; and, such at one time was the alarm which they seem to have created, and the gloomy forebodings which filled the minds of our political chiefs, that they predicted the necessity of concentrating all our troops in the Balla Hissar, and actually began to think of preparations for a siege. Guns were mounted on the Balla Hissar, so as to overawe the town which it was expected would soon be in a state of rebellion; the guards were everywhere increased, and Sir William Macnaghten talked about having "to submit to the disgrace of being shut up in Kabul for a time."* On the 11th of October it was known that the Dost was in the valley of Ghorebund. A detachment was sent to intercept his progress; but he moved off towards Nijrow, where he assembled his troops, in number it is said about four thousand, and on the 27th broke ground and moved down towards the capital. On the 29th, intelligence of the ex-Amír's movements having reached the British camp, the force under General Sale was sent out to meet the enemy. It was a critical moment. Such was the exasperation produced by the apparent success of the ex-Amír, even upon the kindly nature of the envoy, that he talked about showing no mercy to

* See the correspondence of Sir W. Macnaghten, as quoted in the *Calcutta Review*, No. III,

the man, who was the "author of all the evils now distracting the country." Shah Sújah was eager to "hang the dog;" and even Macnaghten could only say that he would defer the execution till he could hear from Lord Auckland on the subject. This was only the "*furor brevis*"—the temporary insanity of one, who would never so have applied the branding iron to the reputation of the country which it was his first duty to uphold. The generous sympathy, which even at this time was felt throughout the British camp towards the unfortunate Amír, is a national characteristic which it is pleasing to dwell upon—the spectacle of a brave man fighting for his liberty, fighting for the country from which he had been expelled by an invading army, was one which no true English soldier can have contemplated without feelings of admiration and pity.

On the 2nd of November—a day which has obtained a melancholy celebrity in the annals of the English in Affghanistan—the British force came in sight of the enemy. The army of the ex-Amír was posted at Purwun-darrah, and the Nijrow hills were bristling with the armed population of a hostile country. Dost Mahommed had no intention on that day of giving battle to the Feringhís. He was unprepared for the conflict, and would fain have avoided it—but an unforeseen occurrence precipitated the collision. On the first appearance of the British troops, the Dost evacuated the village of Purwun-darrah and the neighbouring forts, and was moving off to a position on some high ground, commanded to the rearward by a lofty mountain, when, at the suggestion of Dr. Lord, the British cavalry were sent forward to outflank the Affghans. The scene which followed is perhaps one of the most exciting, as it is the most melancholy in the whole Affghan drama. It was a clear bright morning. The yellow foliage of autumn glittered like gold in the broad sunlight. The opposite hills were alive with the enemy; the crisp, fresh air, so bracing and invigorating to the human frame, seemed to breath confidence and courage. Dost Mahommed who since his defeat at Bameean, had often been heard of, never seen, by the British troops, and who had seemed to elude the grasp of the army of occupation like an *ignis fatuus*, was now actually within their reach. It ought to have been an hour of triumph. The Affghans were on the hills skirting one side of the pass; the British troops were on the opposite declivity. Dost Mahommed saw our cavalry advancing, and from that moment all thought of retreat seems to have been cast away far from him. At the head of a small band of horsemen—strong, sturdy

Affghans, but badly mounted, he prepared to meet his assailants. Beside him rode the bearer of the blue standard, which marked his place in the battle. He pointed to it ; reined in his horse ; then snatching the white Lúnghí from his head, stood up in his stirrups uncovered before his followers, and called upon them, in the name of God and the Prophet, to drive the cursed Kaffirs out of the country. "Follow me," he cried aloud, "or I am a lost man." The Affghan horsemen advanced—the rest is painful to relate. The English officers who led our cavalry to the attack, covered themselves with glory. The native troopers fled like sheep. Emboldened by the craven conduct of the British cavalry, the Affghan horsemen rode forward, driving their enemy before them and charging right up to the position of the British, until almost within reach of our guns. The Affghan sabres told with cruel effect upon our mounted men ; Lieutenants Broadfoot and Crispin were cut to pieces ; Dr. Lord was killed by a shot from a neighbouring fort, which tore out his bowels ; Captains Fraser and Ponsonby, whose gallantry has never been surpassed even in the annals of old Roman heroism, still live to show their honorable scars, and to tell the story of that melancholy day.

In front of our columns, the Affghans, flaunting the national standard, stood for some time masters of the field, and then quietly withdrew from the scene of battle. Sir Alexander Burnes, awed by this disaster, wrote to Sir William Macnaghten to say that there was nothing left for the force but to fall back upon Kabul, and implored the envoy there to concentrate all our troops. Sir William received the letter on the 3rd of November, as he was taking his evening ride in the outskirts of the city. His worst forebodings were confirmed ; he little knew what thoughts were stirring in the breast of the ex-Amír. Dost Mahommed, in the very hour of victory, felt that it was hopeless to contend against the power of the British Government. He had too much sagacity not to know that his success at Purwun-darrah must eventually tend, by moving the British to redouble their exertions, rather to hasten than to retard the inevitable day of his final destruction. He quitted the field in no mood of exultation ; with no bright visions of the future before him. True, he had won the last throw, but the issue had ceased to be a matter of speculation. The hour in which, with dignity and grace, he might throw himself upon the protection of his enemies, now seemed to have arrived. He had met the British troops in the field, and at the head of a little band of horsemen, had driven back the cavalry

of the Feringhis—his last charge had been a noble one, he might now retire from the contest without a blot upon his name.

So thought the ex-Amír, as was his wont, taking counsel on his saddle. None knew in the British camp the direction he had taken—none guessed the character of his thoughts. On the day after the victory of Purwun-darrah he was under the walls of Kabul. He had been four-and-twenty hours in the saddle, but betrayed little symptoms of fatigue. A single horseman* attended him. As they approached the residence of the British envoy, they saw an English gentleman returning from his evening ride. The attendant galloped forward to satisfy himself of the identity of the rider, and being assured that the envoy was before him, said that the Amír was at hand. "What Amír?" asked Macnaghten. "Dost Mahommed Khan," was the answer, and presently the Amír himself stood before him. Throwing himself from his horse, Dost Mahommed saluted the envoy, and said he was come to claim his protection. He surrendered his sword to the British chief, but Macnaghten returning it to him, desired the Amír to remount. They then rode together into the mission compound—Dost Mahommed asking many eager questions about his family as they went. A tent having been pitched for his accommodation, he wrote letters to his sons, exhorting them to follow his example and seek the protection of the British Government.

The rest is soon told—a prisoner, but an honored one in the British camp, Dost Mahommed remained some ten days at Kabul, during which time all the leading officers of the garrison paid him the most marked attention. Men, who kept aloof from Shah-Sújah, as one to be religiously avoided, were eager to present themselves before the unfortunate Amír, and to show that they respected him in his fallen fortunes. He received his visitors with courtesy, and conversed with them with freedom. Seated on the ground he desired them to be seated; and seemed to take pleasure in the society of the brave men who did him honor. Captain Nicolson—an officer of distinguished gallantry and great intelligence, whose early death on the banks of the Sutlej his country has to deplore—who had been selected by Sir W. Macnaghten to fill the difficult and delicate office of custodian to the ex-Amír, acted on these occasions as interpreter. It may be doubted, whether a single officer quitted his presence without drawing

* Said to have been Súltan Mahommed Khan.

a comparison between the Amír and the Shah, very much to the disadvantage of the latter.

On the 12th of November 1840, Dost Mahommed, under a strong escort, commenced his progress towards the provinces of India. He appears to have recovered his spirits during the journey, and to have won golden opinions from all the officers who accompanied him.* The progress was a long and tedious one. His final destination was uncertain; but he was permitted, in the first instance, to proceed to Calcutta, where the Governor-General was then residing. A house was taken for him in the suburbs, and his annual pension fixed at two lakhs of rupees. At the Presidency he remained for some time. Lord Auckland treated him with marked kindness and attention; invited him to Government House; escorted him to such of the public institutions as were calculated to interest the Amír; showed him all the "lions" of Calcutta and the suburbs, and took him to his country house at Barrackpore. The ex-chief seemed to have no desire to shun the public gaze. He was constantly to be met in an English barouche on the course, or public drive; and might sometimes at sunset be seen to descend from his carriage and perform, *coram populo*, his evening devotions. The climate of Calcutta did not suit his constitution. He resided amongst us during the most unfavorable season of a not very favorable year; his health suffered, and for a while he was stretched on the bed of sickness—a trial which severely taxed his philosophy. "He condemned," says one who had several opportunities of conversing with him at this time,† "without measure the City of Palaces—but hardly knew how to say enough of the kind politeness and good will which had been evinced towards him by the *sahibs*; not alone the *sahibs*, but their *mehems*—in all of whose manners and expressions he observed kindness and friendship."

In the autumn of 1841, Dost Mahommed, attended by Captain Nicolson, turned his back upon Calcutta. A residence had been provided for him at Lúdianah, where the exiled

* During the halt at Jellalabad, the Dost having expressed a wish to see the Feringhis in their social hours, was invited to the Mess of the European Regiment. After dinner, he was conducted by Capt. Nicolson into the Mess Room, all the officers rising as he entered. He appeared to enjoy the music of the band, and the convivial songs which enlivened the evening—smoked a cheroot, and conversed freely with all who addressed him.

† Mr. Charles Grant, an intelligent young artist, of whose works we have already spoken in this journal. Mr. Grant has published, among other clever sketches of "Oriental Heads," a *lithraison* containing portraits of the ex-Amír, Harder Khan, Ukran Khan, &c., accompanied by some interesting and amusing letter press. The portrait, in the Calcutta edition is not, in respect of fidelity and spirit, behind any of the numerous likenesses of the Amírs, which have appeared in the volumes of Vigne, Burnes, Mohan Lal, &c. &c.

Shah Sújah pompous in his poverty, had dwelt before him. But, as he was proceeding towards the frontier, intelligence of the disastrous outbreak at Kabul—to Dost Mahommed it must have seemed the day of retribution—reached the Upper Provinces of India, and soon made its way to the Presidency. This tidings suggested at once the propriety of a change of route, and Dost Mahommed was escorted to Missúrie. The surveillance exercised over him, now as a matter of precaution, became more strict—stricter than the real circumstances, though not than the seeming exigencies of the case demanded. We believe him to have been guiltless not only of all participation in, or connivance at, the great popular movement for the expulsion of the British from Affghanistan, but wholly ignorant of the storm that was rising. Still, it was necessary that, at such a time, the ex-chief should be closely watched. His escape would have so strengthened the cause of our enemies, that to us it would have been a great national disaster. Of the vigilance that was exercised there was little to complain. But the threats—if ever they were more than threats—to send Dost Mahommed and his family to England as an act of imbecile retaliation, were cruel and unmanly.

The army of retribution, under General Pollock, marched upon Kabul, broke up the forces of Akbar Khan, planted the British colors upon the Balla Hissar, and returned to the provinces of India. Then the Governor-General, Lord Ellenbrough, issued that notable proclamation of the 1st of October, in which he spoke of Dost Mahommed, as a chief “believed to be hostile,” and soon afterwards published the following act of grace, restoring the exiled Amír to his country :—

Secret Department, Simla, 25th October.—“The advance of the British armies to Ghuzni and Kabul, having led to the restoration to freedom of the British prisoners in the hands of the Affghans, Dost Mahommed Khan, his wives and family, and the wife and family of Mahommed Akbar Khan, and many Affghan chiefs, remain in the absolute power of the British Government, without having any means of procuring their liberation.

To this condition of disgrace and danger has Mahommed Akabar Khan reduced his father, and his wife, and his family, and the chiefs his countrymen, by making war upon women, and preferring the continuance of their captivity and suffering for objects connected only with his own safety, to the general exchange of prisoners which was offered by the British Government, and the consequent restoration to liberty of those whose honor and whose happiness should have been most dear to him.

But the British Government is desirous of terminating, at the earliest period, all the evils which have arisen out of the Affghan war : and the Governor-General, enabled by the recovery of the British prisoners who were in the hands of the enemy, to follow the course most in accordance with clemency and humanity, declares that when the British army returning from Affghanistan shall have passed the Indus, all the Affghans now in the

power of the British Government, shall be permitted to return to their country

The Affghan chiefs who are thus released, will, before they pass the Sutlej, present themselves at the *darbar** of the Governor-General in his camp at Ferozepore.

The wives of Dost Mahommed Khan and Mahommed Akbar Khan, and all the ladies of the family and household, shall be conducted with all respect to the frontiers of Affghanistan."

Becoming as was this resolution of the British Government to liberate the captive Amīr, there was one passage in the above edict which raised a cry of indignation throughout India. To have dragged Dost Mahommed and his sons to the footstool of the Governor-General—to have paraded them at Ferozepore to grace the triumph of the British over his own countrymen, would have been an unmanly and a cruel act—a crowning injury, which would have disgraced the British name, and filled with hatred and contempt the breasts of the Affghan princes. It matters not what induced the Governor-General to abandon so unworthy a design. It was abandoned. Dost Mahommed was permitted to depart in peace. An escort was allowed him: he set forth and turned his back upon the British frontier. At the Court of Shere Singh, in his passage through the Punjab, he was received with kindness and respect. He entered his old dominions. The ravages of the destroying army, which had just quitted Affghanistan, were everywhere too visible as he advanced: but, melancholy as were the sights that greeted him, he at least breathed the air of freedom, and in this there was abundant solace. Of his reception we have no authentic accounts. It appears probable that at the period of his return, the minds of his countrymen were so engrossed with matters peculiarly affecting themselves, either as tribes or individuals—the natural consequences of the devastation which had been committed along the route of the avenging army,—that there was little room in their breasts for any feelings of nationality. He made his way quietly to Kabul, and, if in the midst of no great popular enthusiasm, certainly without anything approaching opposition, took up his abode once more in the Balla Hissar, and received the homage of the people. Since that time his mind has been occupied with the ceaseless intrigues inseparable from an Affghan court—intrigues which it would be unprofitable to narrate in detail, even if authentic materials could be collected. He appears to be weary of the bustle of war, and would, if his turbulent son Mahommed Akbar Khan could be induced to forego the wild delights of

* This was subsequently dispensed with.

ever-recurring excitements, fain repose quietly under the laurels which he earned for himself in early life.

It is said that he is especially desirous to cement an alliance with the "Sirkar Company," and that he is constantly exerting himself to counteract the Anti-British tendencies of his son Akbar Khan.

We have now brought the history of Dost Mahommed's life down to the present time. It has been our object to confine ourselves as closely as possible to pure narrative—condensing within a narrow space the record of the many events of a most eventful career. It is scarcely necessary that we should conclude this notice with a written character of the Amír, as his conduct best reveals what he is. Indeed, it has been said of Dost Mahommed that he has no character at all; and inasmuch as it is made up of inconsistencies, there is some truth in the assertion. The fact is that there is observable throughout his career traces of two separate characters—the natural character of the man, and the character shaped by circumstances. There is scarcely anything which may be said of Dost Mahommed, not to be substantiated by a reference to some incident in his career. He was just and unjust; merciful and cruel; cautious and rash; frank and treacherous. His virtues were his own. There was nothing in the accidents of his position to foster their growth whilst every outward circumstance tended to favor the expansion of opposition qualities. He is to be pitied rather than condemned. As a man he could not have escaped the temptations which beset his path. Often compelled to sin in self-defence—often compelled to heap crime upon crime, or perish in his inactivity—his life was one of almost perpetual warfare—of constant excitation of the passions. It is just that we should bring to the estimate of his character, a clear perception of all these pernicious accidents of position, for he appears never to have sinned in wantonness, but to have loved evil less than good; and, judging by what he was when removed from the destructive influences of unholy strife, it is probable that under a serener sky, and on a less barren soil, his virtues might have elevated him to a high rank among rulers and among men. Compared with his cotemporaries, he towers above them all, in the former if not in the latter capacity; no Affghan prince in the present century has shown himself so fit to govern. In many respects his conduct, at the most favorable epoch of his career, was a model for rulers in all parts of the world; and at the most unfavorable epoch, when the clouds of adversity gathered most thickly over his head, his heroism was of so romantic a character, that history in these

prosaic times can scarcely supply a parallel to it. History, indeed, has never more closely simulated romance, than when recording the remarkable career of this remarkable man.

* * There is much *vraisemblance* in the following passages from General Harlan's book, descriptive of the personal habits of Dost Mahommed, that we are induced to publish them in the form of an appendix to this article :—

"The Amfr was not attended by a guard of regular troops, but his personal servants, many of whom were confidential household slaves, came armed into his presence. Every day, except Thursday morning, he sat in public to transact business. Thursday morning was devoted to the bath until ten o'clock; after this hour, those only visited him who were called. He usually employed the time before noon in auditing his domestic affairs in company with his Mirzas or writers. * * * *

Friday was appropriated to the promiscuous access of the populace. On this day, the gateway of his durbar was thrown wide open, and the doorkeepers withdrawn. Every one who had a cause to urge, or curiosity to gratify, might come into the presence without impediment. The Amfr heard all complaints in person, attended by the Langf. Civil causes were referred to this functionary for judgment, and the sentence was enforced by the Amfr. Criminal causes, which were not likely to yield a fine, were also referred to the Langf, to shift from his own shoulders the odium of an onerous act. * * * *

The remainder of the week was employed in the transaction of miscellaneous business. The hours of business were confined to the forenoon. His highness, in common with all the Mahomedans, was an early riser, which custom is necessary to admit of the performance of the prescribed morning prayers. Of the five periods of prayer commanded by the traditionary law, the first must be finished before sunrise, otherwise the act becomes "quz-zah," or "lapsed;" in this event the prayer is unacceptable to the deity, or of no avail; and the consequences attending neglect of religious duty should be deprecated by charitable donation, at least to the provision of a meal for the necessitous. Conscientious persons will perform this penitential hospitality, though the mass of the community are indifferent to the pious injunction. After the conclusion of this first religious duty, which commences the diurnal service and routine of life, he read a few pages in the Koran attended by his Iman. This functionary translated into Persian, or rather expounded in that colloquial dialect, the Arabic of the sacred volume, which the Mussalman holds to be the Word of God. In this employment he would be engaged an hour, more or less, as the task was longer or shorter. At the conclusion of this matin exercise, to which all the faithful who have singular pretensions to piety, are addicted, the chiefs who composed the durbar made their entree promiscuously, and with the simple ceremony of a bow, and the ordinary salutation "Usulam Allakum," touching the forehead as they leaned forward with the inner surface of the four fingers of the right hand, took their seats on the right or left of his highness. They were seated generally according to the rank of each guest. * * * *

The salutation of every one was returned by an audible response, it being amongst the religious injunctions of the faithful, to reply to proffered civility a reciprocal acknowledgment. They are probably just in the esti-

mation of politeness when they ascribe humility and condescension to the courteous. These are qualities which all profess to admire and endeavour to practise, notwithstanding the exclusive bigotry of pure Mahommedanism. My place in durbar was alongside of the Amfr, on the left if the right should be pre-occupied, otherwise on the right. If his brother, the Nawab was there when I entered, he always gave place to me. The Nawabs Jubbar Khan and Mahommed Khan Populzye, whose daughter was married to the heir apparent, and myself, were the only officers who enjoyed the prescriptive right of seating ourselves on the same named or felt, which his highness occupied * * * *

When recent spring fruit came into season the Amfr frequently breakfasted at nine o'clock, on mulberries or apricots, in which instance he usually abstained from the more solid repast at meridian. * * * *

At twelve o'clock, the Prince and the elite retired and slept until two P. M. ; at this hour they arose to perform the second prayer. After his ablutions and toilet, the Amfr egressed from his harem, and mounting his horse, which was in waiting at the gateway, he sallied out upon his evening ride. He had a fondness for fine horses, and generally visited his stud in the afternoon, but this occupation was more appropriate to the spring, when the brood mares and colts attracted his regard, and participated in his care. In the summer and fall, he luxuriated in the picturesque scenery about the city, from a favourite prospect point; seated himself, with a few select friends on the bank of a running stream, of which there were several about the vicinity, and enjoyed a cup of tea, or visited some one of the magnificent, oramental and useful gardens near the suburbs of Kabul, accompanied by a train of musicians. In the spring he viewed his stud daily about three or four P. M. He sat on a terrace made for the purpose, two or three feet high, covered with felts. Here many of his chiefs joined him, who did not usually attend in morning durbar. These were stipendiary lords, and mullahs or priests and familiar friends who enjoyed his confidence, they passed their time in smoking the cullioon,* desultory conversation, complimentary commendations of the Prince's unique fancy for horses, and admiration of the promising brood of young colts, which were the delight of his highness and favourites of his taste. These companions passed the evening with his highness until he retired. He returned to his *Derri Khaneh* (place of durbar) at nightfall. Having previously performed the third prayer, he mounted his horse and moved into quarters. The evenings, when the weather permitted, were passed in a beautiful flower garden : we sat on a low terrace illuminated by a large lamp.

During the season of full bloom, the position was surrounded by an invisible and delightful fragrance of the ever wakeful floral nature ; the intoxicating perfume of the rose, the spicy pink breathing of sweetness, and the flood of grateful odour that bathed the senses from the enchanting "Shuhboo."† The genial air of midsummer, tempered by the everlasting Alps of permanent snow near the valley, gratefully clothed our nocturnal hours in a voluptuous mantle of serene repose. The music was there too, fitful, frantic, or pathetic as the feast of reason and the flow of soul invoked its mysterious influence which,

"Softly sweet in Persian measure,
Gently soothed the soul to pleasure."

* Persian water pipe

† "Or nocturnal odour;" the July or Jilly flower, that sheds its scent after nightfall, is so called by the Persians.

Kabul, the city of a thousand gardens in those days, was a paradise far removed from the agitating scenes of life, away from the world. * * *

His highness kept very late hours, particularly during the long nights of winter. I have repeatedly sat up with him until three A. M. Dinner was brought after "usser," or the fourth prayer, which shortly followed sunset. This meal, similar to the breakfast, was served sooner or later, generally before eight o'clock, as his appetite suggested, although sometimes deferred until ten o'clock. When this was the case, fresh fruit would be introduced about eight, and the intermediate time was passed by his highness playing several games of chess with Kazi Budder-ü-Dîn, or in conversation. When his highness was engaged at chess, the conversation ceased, and the interlocutors gathered nearest the performers to observe the game and applaud the sagacity he displayed. I never knew him lose a game. The Kazi was always beaten. At the conclusion of each game the science of certain moves was discussed, and a sufficient amount of flattery bestowed on the unrivalled play of his highness.

Notwithstanding, the wily Affghans would aside pass winks and gestures from one to another, and occasionally some one more privileged than the rest, has been heard to taunt the Amîr by hinting that the Kazi played bad intentionally, and lost to flatter him. He took his rallying always in good part, and it is certain that the Kazi was much too complaisant ever to gain a game even by chance. These nocturnal parties were conducted with perfect regard to etiquette and good manners. He was fond of listening to the relation of travels, and allusions to history; made frequent inquiries of merchants who were known to visit distant countries, concerning the manners and customs of the people they had seen, the character of the prince, the government, religion, and particularly, geography and topography, for which sciences he seemed to have a strong inclination. He was well acquainted with the Russian military system, and the best account, detailed with accuracy and illustrative minuteness, I have heard of the destruction of the Janissaries by the last Sûltan of Turkey, was recited to me by the Amîr. He was much addicted to telling stories of his personal adventures; he delighted to talk of himself, was pleased with his own declamation, and vain of his eloquence. If merit is to elicit the reward of praise, he was justly entitled to admiration for the ready command of language and agreeable mode of displaying his talents in colloquial intercourse. Buffoonery never formed a part of his princely amusements, but refinement of moral or purity of design did not always characterise the tenor of his *improvisatore*. His anecdotes were not unfrequently gross and sensual. Unsophisticated by the arts of intellectuality, he thought that "nature unadorned was adorned the most." No event lost by relating any importance in reality, or was obscured by the nomenclature of modesty. He dealt a good deal in sarcasm, and was ever ready to trump his adversary's trick. Ridicule was a weapon that he flourished with considerable effect, and he good-humouredly made himself or his position the subject of ludicrous wit. The demands of his courtiers, or rather the feudal lords who represented the communities and constituted the most powerful element of the Government, kept the Amîr always greatly straitened for the resources of present means, and I have heard him make his poverty, which really arose from extreme circumspection in providing for the necessities of personal defence out of his civil list, the source of ridicule."

whose work is directed towards the true and lasting prosperity of the immortal soul.

The two memoirs whose titles stand at the head of this article, and which as far as we know, are the only independent memoirs of Mr. Kiernander that have been written, are to say the least, very unsatisfactory. Mr. Carne has presented to the world three volumes of "*Lives of Eminent Missionaries*," and we hesitate not to say, that if each life he has written, contains the same amount of error that may be met with in the life now selected, we deeply regret that they were ever published. Mr. Carne chose a noble theme to dwell upon, a noble subject to evolve; but while we can admire the idea which suggested his labour, we only mourn over this specimen of it, as an egregious and injurious failure. Mr. Carne, as a Christian man, could not intend directly to blast the character of any of his brethren; but in the memoir before us, he has unintentionally loaded the memory of a devoted missionary with undeserved reproach, and brought disgrace upon his name. Had the evil stopped with Mr. Carne it might have claimed less notice, but it has not so. Unhappily his memoir has been looked on as an authority, and in no less than five standard works treating upon missions in India, we may distinctly trace its evil influence, and see perpetuated the injustice which Mr. Carne had begun. To such an extent has this been carried, that by some Mr. Kiernander is looked upon as an outcast from the missionary work, and his long course of faithful labour is reckoned as having had no existence at all. This is a great evil, and that it is a groundless one, we are fully prepared to shew. On a close and careful examination of Mr. Carne's memoir, we have formed a decided yet calm judgment, that it is quite unworthy of the credit which it has received, and that the conclusions to which it leads are quite unwarranted by real facts. The biography itself, too, is very unlike what a Christian biography should be. It is a strange mixture of fact and fiction, full of mistakes which might easily have been corrected by reference to books of history, and to missionary reports. It is written in a highly imaginative spirit. Hence brilliancy and fire spurning the dull detail of plain fact (most interesting though it be,) have produced strange and fanciful results to which realities do not answer. They have run together, for instance, years widely separated in the course of time, mixed up dates and facts having no connection, given a high colouring to sober statements, and exaggerated not only the good but also the evil. It is from this tendency of the writer's mind that many things appear in the memoir which

excite a smile, not to say that they utterly destroy its credit. Thus, "the conqueror of Plassey" is ever attended by a "brilliant court; Calcutta is surrounded by "mountain villages," "the hamlet and the wild;" "Elegant houses, shrubberies and lawns" spring up like mushrooms while Clive is there; while "people of talent" "perpetually" arrive to inhabit and enjoy them. Chinsurah is embosomed in scenery "of a rich and tranquil character," the banks of the Hugly there, under Mr. Carne's magic touch, become "lofty and precipitous;" and Chander-nagore lays open—before the reader only—its "wild and impressive scenery," "its deep and lone ravines." These expressions, we assure our readers, are found in Mr. Carne's book, and they furnish a specimen of his fidelity. Were there no books of travels open to his inspection previous to the year 1832, by which these imaginary views might have been corrected? But the whole "life" is of the same kind: every thing is embellished, every thing overdrawn: even what is true is so disguised and dressed up, as scarcely to be recognised. It is sad to see such things, and to say them of one who comes forward as a director of public opinion. But the subject is one of moment, and truth demands a clear discussion. Mr. Carne should have paused and weighed again and again the evidence adducible for those facts, on which from the outset of his "life" he brands the character of a missionary with hypocrisy and apostacy. In this matter we argue under some disadvantage, for Mr. Carne's views are known and have been adopted. His account has been received: the counterfeit has already passed for current coin. But that it is counterfeit still, there is ample evidence. Mr. Carne's narrative occupies 20 pages, 12mo., and in this short space there are no less than *forty-five errors of fact*, which might easily have been corrected. To some of these we shall draw the attention of the candid and impartial reader.

If Mr. Carne's memoir is full of errors, that in the Asiatic Journal is not less so. It was evidently written by one who had formed but a low estimate of the usefulness of missionary labour, and thought that true religion and worldliness are not inconsistent with one another. It abounds in exaggerations and most extraordinary mistakes in dates. While evidently possessing one or two original sources of information, the author has made little inquiry by which he might illustrate the facts drawn from them. The memoir is valuable for three or four facts, not found elsewhere, and given upon the authority of those who knew their truth: some of them not only the contemporaries of the missionary, but also his correspondents.

No systematic attempt has been made hitherto to refute these misstatements in detail. Materials have not been wanting, but they require to be searched out, and it is because on examination we have found them full of profit, and have learnt the amount and depth of the mistakes current concerning Mr. Kiernander, that we have given his history a place in these pages. It is a history full of interest. Connected with the early growth of religion in Bengal not only in native but European society, it furnishes many lessons illustrative of the wise guidance of the providence of God ; of the value of that faith which he preached and taught for more than 50 years, and of its power to redeem even the degraded heathen of this land.

It may be useful to enumerate the sources from whence this sketch is drawn. In 1802 there was published in Calcutta a small volume of "Ecclesiastical Sketches in Bengal," by Asiaticus, apparently drawn up with very great care and possessing very high authority. In this work a chapter is devoted to Mr. Kiernander's labours, and in all that relates to Bengal, the facts brought forward are fully corroborated by other sources of information. This little work is evidently the basis upon which Mr. Carne's life was laid, and had he adhered to his authority, his work would have been different to what it is. Again, many most interesting facts are found in Bishop Corrie's "Sketch of the Progress of Christianity in Calcutta," a work which has been appropriated by the Rev. M. Wilkinson of Goruckpore, in his recent book of the same name, and that without acknowledgment. Need we add the reports of the C. K. Society, as well as the recent volumes of Mr. Hough's "History of Christianity in India," so full of research and so marked by the spirit of the men whose story is therein detailed ? Besides these valuable authorities, we have been kindly furnished with a few documents by the family of Mr. Kiernander, which go far to elucidate some of the more difficult portions of his history. Several years ago many other of the books and papers of the deceased missionary were in existence, but they were unfortunately destroyed by insects during the absence from Calcutta of his grandson, under whose charge they were placed. By the help of these and other authorities which we have examined with some care, we have drawn out the history which we now present to our readers. We have had no theory to prove, and no interests but those of truth to serve in recording it.

JOHN ZACHARIAH KIERNANDER was born at Linköping near Norköping in East Gothland, Sweden, on the first of

December 1711. He was of very respectable family. Two of his uncles were Colonels in the army of Charles XII, and fell at the battle of Pultowa in 1709. In after-time he was wont to tell his grandchildren the story of the battle and the part which these uncles had sustained in it. While a boy, he studied several years in the grammar school at Linköping, and was afterwards sent to the University of Upsal to finish his education. Not content, however, with the advantages of learning afforded there, and being desirous of adding further to his attainments, when 24 years of age, he determined to visit the University of Halle. Having procured letters of introduction he proceeded thither, and arrived at Halle in November 1735.

For one designed by the providence of God to engage in the work of a missionary, no place of study could have been more appropriate. At that period Halle was peculiarly the abode of evangelical piety. In no city in Europe was the Gospel so faithfully preached, and its holy truths so practically carried out. There, a deep concern was felt for the spiritual welfare of the ignorant, and exertions were made for promoting it. It was the place in which, above all others, the missionary spirit was cultivated, missionary plans developed, and missionary operations carried on. All this had been chiefly owing, under God, to the labours of those two faithful ministers of Christ, Breithaupt and Augustus Herman Francke. Under them quite a revival of religion had taken place in Halle. The sweet spirit of love and gentleness, which broke forth in every word that Francke uttered ; his earnestness, simplicity and deep devotion, had been the means of effecting an amount of good now scarcely to be credited. He had founded the Orphan House at Glaucha with its dispensary, its printing office, its vast accommodations for students as well as children, all intended to promote Christian education among the poor. He had established schools of the most efficient kind, as well for the higher as the humbler classes, over which he appointed men trained by himself, full of his own spirit, imbued with true practical piety and with the love of souls. The Canstein Bible Society, for spreading the word of God at a low price, the system of tract distribution, the Society for supporting evangelical missions, with other means of usefulness had been set in full operation. Who shall wonder then that Halle was the fountain whence flowed a thousand streams bearing with them spiritual health and life : that from its university many preachers went forth, not like the former clergy of Prussia, dead and formal in their work, but men, zealous to proclaim that Gospel which had first blessed themselves. Here, too, Francke had trained for

foreign labour, men with the spirit of apostles and martyrs. It was by him, all the early missionaries in Southern India were educated and chosen. Ziegenbalg, Plutsch, Grundler, Schultze, and others, upon whose labours those of Mr. Kiernander were grafted, were all Francke's pupils. Where could he have found better pupils? Where could they have found a better master? The fragrance of their memory long remained in the scene of their studies, and its sweet influence was only strengthened by the tidings of their labour, patience and success which from time to time arrived.

When Mr. Kiernander arrived at Halle, its palmy days were over. Augustus Herman Francke and his devoted colleagues were dead. The first freshness of their success had passed away, but the institutions they had founded were in full vigour. The orphan house with 2,500 scholars taught by 160 students: its large and valuable library; the many schools, the Bible Society were all in operation as before. Gothilf August Francke, the son of the former Professor, and well known to the readers of Schwartz's life, was director of the Orphan House and a Professor in the University. He was carrying on his father's work in his father's spirit. In him also missions found a faithful supporter. The missionaries sent from time to time, were his pupils, and he assisted their efforts by the most liberal contributions. At one time they were sustained almost entirely by the subscriptions which he forwarded. Schwartz, Gericke, Kohlhoff, Fabricius, all were from Halle. Looking at these things, who shall tell the debt of gratitude which Southern India owes to this single city.

Mr. Kiernander studied in Halle for four years, and was so esteemed by Professor Francke for his piety and attainments, that after being "for some time preceptor," he was appointed by him to the responsible office of "Inspector of the Orphan House." He was about to return to Sweden, when the Professor proposed to him in the name of the Christian Knowledge Society, that he should go as a missionary to their newly established station at Cudalore in the Carnatic. The fact that M. Francke amongst his numerous pupils and teachers, of whom he had more than 150 under his superintendence, all well known to him and tried by him in various offices, selected Mr. Kiernander in answer to the Society's application, must surely be considered a very high testimony to his abilities and Christian character. M. Francke knew well the qualifications of a missionary, and if we look at the men whom he had previously sent, and those whom he afterwards chose, we have the strongest reason to admire the spirit and judgment with which

he executed his task. Hence it was that thirty years after this, the C. K. Society in addressing M. Gericke on his appointment, truly said : "Professor Francke is kindly pleased, on our application, to furnish us with proper labourers for the work of the Gospel ;...persons who have, under him, been educated in good learning and the knowledge of true religion ; persons whom he hath tried in lower stations, and hath experienced them to be deserving of double honour, and capable with the blessing of God, of undertaking the more arduous labour of preaching the Gospel to the nations who know not God." That Mr. Kiernander, after some deliberation, accepted the proposal, at a time when missionary labour was but little appreciated, speaks much in his favour : and that he was one of those to whom the words of the Society, now mentioned, fully apply, his subsequent missionary career will, we trust, shew. He returned 'no more to Sweden, but was ordained at Halle to the work of the ministry, November 20, 1739, and immediately set out for London to commence his mission. He here took up his abode with the king's chaplain, who was accustomed to receive all the missionaries who visited England : by him he was introduced to the C. K. Society, who gave him a most cordial welcome. He sailed from England in the "Colchester," at the close of the year, and he, the missionary of peace, arrived at Cudalore in the spring of 1740, a year after Nadir Shah had filled the North of India with all the horrors of war.

Before we proceed to narrate his further history, it will be well to consider the progress which had been made in the work of God previous to his arrival. The Protestant mission in Southern India had, at that time, been established upwards of 30 years. It had enjoyed the labours of many most excellent and faithful missionaries ; it had met with many trials, difficulties, and even persecutions, but it had grown strong, and its numbers rapidly multiplied every year. The men to whose charge it had been committed were not lightly endowed, and had used their endowments in no sparing way. With prudence, energy, sound judgment, and in great simplicity of heart, with all their resources, they had set themselves to seek the prosperity of their flock. By preaching and teaching, the establishment of boarding and day-schools, (one of which had been formed on the model of the Orphan House at Halle ;) by the distribution of tracts and Christian books and portions of the word of God ; by the exercise of a strict and impartial discipline amongst their converts ; by constant conferences with the heathen, they had brought their mission to a high state of

efficiency, gathered a large amount of wise experience, and prepared the way for increased labours and increased success. In 1740 the mission was carried on at three separate places,—Tranquebar, Madras and Cudalore.

The mission at TRANQUEBAR was then divided into two parts; in Tranquebar itself and the Danish territory, there were eight missionaries, some of whose names are widely known for the diligence, humility and zeal of the men who bore them. There was a Portuguese congregation of 285 members, and a Tamul one of 1,003. Beyond the Danish territory, divided into six districts, there was another Tamul congregation of 1,892. In the charity school they had upwards of 200 children. Since the commencement of the mission they reckoned about 6,000 converts, and of these nearly 2,000 had been admitted to the highest privileges of church fellowship. A branch from this mission had been fixed at Negapatam, and constant intercourse was maintained with the Christians at Jaffna in Ceylon.

The mission at MADRAS had been begun in 1726, under the auspices of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and had for many years been carried on by two of the most devoted missionaries that had arrived in India, Dr. Schultz and M. Sartorius. They were both scholars, and were both thoroughly acquainted with the native languages. Dr. Schultz excelled in a knowledge of Tamul, Telugu and Hindustani; M. Sartorius in Tamul and Portuguese. Like their brethren at Tranquebar they employed all the means in their power for the spiritual good of the native population, and like them were permitted to see their labours largely blessed. Up to 1740, *i. e.*, in fourteen years, they had been joined by upwards of 7,00 converts, the majority of whom, though natives, had been Papists. Of these 100 were communicants.

And let it not be supposed that the large number of converts already made in these two missions were such only in name. Though all were not well-informed and consistent Christians, many were so. The missionaries and catechists were most diligent in faithfully instructing their flocks and administering among them Christian discipline. "They gloried not in the number but in the reality of their converts, wherein they found themselves obliged to use, both for conscience and prudence sake, the utmost caution, lest their good should be evil spoken of, and for fear of admitting into their congregation any such impostors, unbelievers or immoral persons as might offer themselves, . . . from worldly motives." Many proofs are given in their reports of the faith and piety of these Christian natives,

many examples of consistent Christian virtue, and many instances in which persecution was borne with patience and submission. Many a happy death-bed scene is described, in which even female converts have expressed their enjoyment and realization of the consolations and hopes of the Gospel. And besides all this, through their preaching and the spread of the word of God, missionary influence was felt, and the aim of missionary labour understood, even beyond the sphere to which it was more immediately confined.

CUDALORE, to which Mr. Kiernander had been appointed, was in many respects well adapted for an influential missionary station. It is the chief town of southern Arcot, and is situated on the coast, about twelve miles south of Pondicherry. It was then very populous, and a place of considerable trade. Though now built on both sides of the Penar river, the town was formerly confined to the south side, and contained several broad streets and commodious houses. It was fortified on all sides except the east, where it was quite open. For there the river, which in its course passes a short distance from the town on the north side before reaching the sea, suddenly turns southward, skirting the town on its east side. A bank of sand separates the river from the sea, upon which lived two villages of fishermen. The river is navigable only for boats, and has a bar across its mouth. About a mile to the north of Cudalore was Fort St. David, then the strongest fort in the possession of the East India Company. A territory larger than that of Madras was under its control, containing not only the town of Cudalore but three or four large villages. At a short distance on the west was the large Pettah and fortified Pagoda of Trivada with a considerable population. The advantages which Madras and Cudalore possessed from being within the Company's territories were early pointed out by Ziegenbalg. He said that the security it enjoyed, and the great influence exerted by the English, would form an excellent social safeguard to the stability of missionary operations. Not that he sought for Government interference, but he knew that under English law those labours could be carried on in peace, and that converts would not be exposed to imprisonment, persecution and death.

The steps which, in the providence of God, led to the establishment of a mission in Cudalore, are clearly traceable. Its name constantly occurs in the early missionary reports. When a journey was undertaken by one of the Tranquebar missionaries, whether for labour or for the renovation of health, it was often one of the places included in the tour. It was visited by Ziegenbalg as early as 1710, in one of

these missionary journeys. He visited it a second time in 1716: there he saw the Pagoda of Tripalôre and its heathen dances, of which he has left a description. On that occasion he established a Tamul school, one of the first set up for natives in the Company's territory, and in it Aaron, the first native ordained to the work of the ministry was educated. Through the want of efficient superintendence, however, the school declined. In 1726 the town was visited by M. Schultze, then senior missionary at Tranquebar, and there he preached in German, Portuguese and Tamul. A year or two after, upon establishing a mission at Madras, M. Schultze reopened Zeigenthalg's school above mentioned. Again in 1734 M. Sartorius, on a journey spent several days in Cudalore, and so earnest was the application of the Governor of Fort St. David and the other English inhabitants, for the establishment of a mission, accompanied with the strongest assurances of pecuniary help, that M. Sartorius wrote to England urging the matter on the immediate attention of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. They agreed to found a mission there, and authorised the Madras missionaries to proceed to Cudalore to begin it. Accordingly in 1737 M. Sartorius and M. Geister went thither, M. Schultze remaining at Madras, and were cordially welcomed by the Governor. They at once cheerfully began their operations. They procured a house and ground in an advantageous situation, and invited the natives to visit them: M. Sartorius taking the Tamul department, and M. Geister the Portuguese. The natives were at first very unwilling to hear them, but their reluctance was soon subdued. In the midst of their preparations, Sartorius died after a short missionary life of eight years labour. He was buried in the English burial ground at Cudalore, and all the English gentlemen there attended his interment. His death was a severe loss to the infant mission, for he was so eminently qualified to carry it on. Even the learned natives declared that he spoke Tamul like a Brahmin. But the Providence of God sometimes deals thus mysteriously with the plans of His servants, to teach them the important lesson, that in the work of redemption, He is the great agent, and that it is upon Him, not upon perishable men, they should rely in their labours. M. Geister was not discouraged; he continued his preparations, had much intercourse with the natives, encouraged them to see him privately, and opened a Portuguese school, where he taught reading, catechism and prayers in Portuguese. He was also just completing substantial buildings to accommodate two missionaries and two schools, when Mr. Kiernander arrived.

The new missionary entered upon his work under many advantages compared with some of his predecessors. Much experience had been acquired, the benefit of which he received not only from missionary letters and journals, but the practical advice of his colleagues. Such help is by no means of small value. Stores of materials also had been already provided for his labours by those who had come before him. The excellent Tamul grammar and dictionary of Ziegenbalg; the complete Tamul Bible (partly the work of Ziegenbalg, partly of Schultze,) the Portuguese Bible, many tracts, many school-books in Tamul, Portuguese and Telugu, with which the missions were now well provided, were all open for his use. Those who are in circumstances where these materials of missionary labour are wanting, will know how highly they ought to be prized. He was himself endowed with excellent qualifications of head and heart. He had studied for many years, was of prepossessing manners, and an excellent preacher. He brought to his work great zeal, and an earnest desire to give himself wholly to the missionary cause. In carrying out plans of usefulness also, he was no novice. He had already acquired much experience at Halle in educating the young; he had witnessed systematic efforts for the distribution of the Bible and of religious tracts. These plans, so suited in themselves to do good, and hence employed in almost all ages and all lands by the servants of Christ, he found in full operation when he arrived, and as far as the details of missionary reports serve us, he seems like his brethren, to have employed in them the resources of his well furnished mind. In public preaching, both in the Tamul and Portuguese languages, in instructing schools, in itinerating amongst the villages, in catechising his flocks, in holding conferences with the heathen, he soon began to take a full share of labour. Thus he took his place amongst his brethren, and thus his work fitted on to, and formed a part of, that system of operations carried on in Southern India for the conversion of its inhabitants. No man can live independent of others, who, wherever he goes, is surrounded by his fellowmen. They are influencing him in a thousand ways, and he is imperceptibly, perhaps, influencing them. Such is the law to which all living beings are subject; and it is when we consider the qualifications of men, the sphere of their labour, the way and the degree to which they influence their fellows for good, that we learn how far they accomplish the end for which the Providence of God sends them to a particular spot at a particular time. To draw out these facts, to trace their working and mark their results

appears to be the true aim of a biography, and it is with this view alone the details above given are introduced.

After much difficulty, Mr. Kiernander and his colleague opened a Tamul school under a Christian schoolmaster. At first it contained eight boys, "sons of merchants and tradesmen in Cudalore;" but in 1742 it contained forty scholars. They opened also a school for the Portuguese, which at first contained five scholars, who were taught and maintained gratuitously. In this, as in other missionary schools, the children were taught some useful trade to enable them to support themselves when they left school. In the same year they baptized six heathen converts and admitted two Romanists into the church. They also administered the Lord's Supper for the first time, when nine natives were admitted to the table. Next year (1743.) M. Geister was compelled by ill-health to return to Madras. This so far from dispiriting his colleague, only led him to devote himself with fresh energy to the work of the mission. He applied himself diligently to preaching, and "went into the villages twice a week with the catechist" (of whom he speaks in high terms) "to visit the new Christians and to make known to the heathen the way of salvation." He had also two efficient schoolmasters, and with these assistants, though the work did not go on quite so fast as he desired, it still made a steady progress. In 1743 he had 97 members in his Portuguese and Tamul congregations, of whom forty-four were communicants. In 1744, twenty-two members were added, fifteen of whom were Tamulians; next year forty five: the following year sixty-five. Thus had he the pleasure of seeing his efforts practically useful. During these years, he had many tokens of the kind remembrance of his excellent preceptor at Halle. In 1741, "the mission library was increased by a donation of books from Professor Francke." In 1742 he sent £250 to the three missions. In 1743 he sent the society "a most friendly and Christian letter full of good will to their missions at Madras and Cudalore," accompanying the letter with a donation of £250. Next year he sent £300 to the same stations: and in 1745 £200: upon which the society with thankfulness remark, that "the remittances of Professor Francke toward carrying on this pious design have been large and constant." Such help greatly cheered the labourers to whom it was transmitted. But these supplies, though large, arrived irregularly, and Mr. Kiernander with his brethren was sometimes inconvenienced by the delay; "but the Governor and other gentlemen in Fort St. David's, no sooner heard of his difficulty, then they provided him with what money he wanted."

About this time (though the date seems lost) Mr. Kiernander married Miss Fischer, sister of Colonel Fischer in the Madras army, a lady of eminent piety, and of considerable wealth.

It is not to be supposed that Mr. Kiernander found his work free from difficulties. Doubtless like all his brethren he had experienced that it is "through much tribulation we must enter the kingdom of God," and that "the carnal mind is enmity against God." But in 1746 a special trial fell upon the two missions at Madras and Cudalore, which threatened the extinction of both. Pondicherry and Cudalore were too near each other to allow the French and the English, who respectively held them, to live in terms of amity. M. Dupleix, the Governor of Pondicherry, had for four years been making great preparations for an attack on the English Company's territory, and during the whole of 1746, both parties were in momentary expectation of a collision. The fleet of Labourdonnais arrived off Negapatam in July of that year, and on the 20th September after a bombardment of five days, took possession of Madras. Though a treaty of capitulation had been agreed to by him, M. Dupleix set it aside, and in January 1747, half the Black Town, including the mission house and premises, was entirely demolished, while the church was turned into a magazine. The missionary, M. Fabricius, upon this retired with a large number of his flock to Policat, where he was kindly received and protected by the Dutch Governor. Having got possession of Madras, M. Dupleix determined to seize Fort St. David likewise, and within three months, made three unsuccessful attacks upon it and Cudalore. The constant arrival and departure of troops and ships, with these attacks on the town (repeated for the fourth time in June 1748 as unsuccessfully as before) necessarily disturbed the ordinary course of missionary labour. Mr. Kiernander wrote to the society that "the confusion occasioned by the war was very great:" he in consequence sent his family and the mission property to Tranquebar. M. Geister had jointed his colleague again, and was a second time compelled to leave him, but Mr. Kiernander remained and laboured diligently for the good of his flock amidst surrounding dangers. In this he experienced, as he wrote to the society, great kindness from the Governor of the Fort, Mr. Hind, a man of sincere piety and excellent judgment. But in the midst of the confusion the Governor died, and his death was reckoned by all as a great public loss. Still in these "troubulous times," the faithful servant of God found his labours increasingly blessed and his prayers answered. At the close of 1746 he had in his

two congregations 180 souls, and forty-four children in his schools. To these, the following year were added 167, making his congregation, at the close of the year, 361 : a remarkable increase at a remarkable period. In the letter in which this report of the station was made, Mr. Kiernander dwells on the great importance of schools as a means of introducing Christianity among the heathen. This had become a growing conviction amongst the missionaries in South India. Only the previous year the missionaries at Tranquebar had particularly recommended schools as the most likely means to propagate Christianity, adding that "the heathen natives are many of them so civil, and fond of having their children taught, as even to contribute towards building the necessary school houses." There was indeed much reason for this. If we look at the report of the schools up to this period, we cannot but notice that the number of scholars receiving education is very small in proportion to the adult heathen who had been baptized. These may be reckoned by thousands, while the educated children may be numbered by tens. It was a happy change, and a sign of growing experience that they now received a larger share of attention, and that good masters, sometimes Englishmen, were appointed as their teachers. Still, greater improvement might have been made. And it is owing, we fear, very much to the comparative neglect of this important branch of missionary operations, among Christian converts especially, that these missions, which began so well, are so imperfect in more modern times.

During the war, Mr. Kiernander's supplies from Europe, including large donations from Professor Francke, were detained for four successive years together. In the end they arrived safely ; but meanwhile his friends in the fort and at Cudalore, from whom, and especially the Governor, he received "extraordinary kindness," gave him ample and opportune assistance.

M. Breithaupt, a missionary, who had been appointed to Madras, now joined Mr. Kiernander for a time in his labours. Having a thorough knowledge of Tamul, he was an efficient colleague, and their united care so increased the congregation, that they proposed to build a church. This, however, was unnecessary. The Romish priests during the war had paid much more attention to politics than to Romanism : they had carried on many treasonable practices, and both at Cudalore and Madras proved themselves little better than French spies. This was the return they made for the protection they experienced at both settlements. In 1749 they were expelled by the Government from both places, and their property was confiscated. On the

25th of November an order of the council was passed at Cudalore by which their church was given to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. A similar order was made at Madras. The letter conveying the notice of the gift is published in the Society's reports, and had Mr. Carne searched those reports for even ordinary information he must have seen it, and could not then have unjustly charged M. Kiernander with causing their expulsion. It was entirely the act of the Government, done for political reasons: the chief agent in it was Admiral Boscawen, and with it the missionaries had nothing to do. The day after the order was passed, the English, Tamul and Portuguese congregations met at different hours of the day, and the church was solemnly dedicated to God. Thus did the Lord appear for His servants, to confound their enemies, to bring good out of evil and prosper His own work. In 1748 there were baptised 49 persons and the following year 53.

In July 1750, Mr. Kiernander had the gratification of receiving into his house Mr. Schwartz and two fellow missionaries on their arrival from England. In a letter to Professor Francke, the tutor and friend of them all, Mr. Schwartz mentions this circumstance: "In the evening, dear Mr. Kiernander received us and praised the name of the Lord for all the mercy he had shewn us." After a short stay of ten days, they departed to Tranquebar. In a few months Mr Huttemann returned to be M. Kiernander's colleague, and brought with him an able catechist named Rajaspen.

The war still continued in the Carnatic, the English and French leaguering themselves with the Native princes. The expedition to Debicottah, that to Trichinopoly, the seizure of the Trivada pagoda, and of the fort of Gingee, the siege of Trichinopoly by the French, the seizure and celebrated defence of Arcot, the fight at Arnee, the blockade of Seringham, the battle of Bahoor, all followed each other in a short time, while the marchings and countermarchings, the departure and return of the troops connected with Fort St David only added to the confusion which already existed and kept the natives in continual alarm. And now the missionaries found the worth of their position in the Company's territory. The war confined them to Cudalore and its immediate neighbourhood; but here "they found ample occupation," and received grace from above to labour zealously and in submission to their master's will. "They had learnt," as the Society expressed it, "how to possess their souls in patience under the most afflictive dispensations of His providence; how to do His blessed will and not their own; and how to resign and submit themselves to

the corrections of His fatherly hand with no less readiness than to obey His commands as their Lord and their God" They were much encouraged by the kindness of their friends around them, and sometimes received supplies and contributions from unexpected quarters. The Christians at Tranquebar sent to those at Cudalore two hundred dollars. A Jewish merchant at Madras, touched with compassion for the poor people who were suffering from the ravages of the Mahrattas, also sent them a donation: an old pupil sent them one from a distance in token of gratitude: a German nobleman, among the Dutch in Bengal, sent them 200 rupees: and at one time when their funds were exhausted, they found twenty pagodas in their charity box. Mr. Carne says that Mr. Kiernander after his marriage "needed no benefactions, nor would he receive any." The gifts of Professor Francke mentioned above, the "extraordinary" kindness of the gentleman in the fort, and these donations now detailed, furnish a sufficient answer to this statement: not to add Mr. Kiernander's thankful acknowledgements for them all.

Among their catechumens at this time were a number of Malagassies, who had been brought by the Company's ships. These were taught the English language, and an English service was established for the benefit of them and others. The zealous labours of the missionaries in 1751 and 1752 were blessed to the bringing in of 194 converts. In 1754, the two colleagues were again greatly cheered by a visit to the mission from Messrs. Schwartz and Kohlhoff. It must have been very gratifying to them all, having felt so much in common at Halle, as well as being now engaged in the same work, thus to see each other once more, and to commune with each other on divine things. The notice of this visit in Schwartz's life brings to light several interesting facts which are worth notice in this sketch. The visitors arrived on Saturday. They were met by their brethren some distance from Cudalore, and "having strengthened each other in the Lord at the choultry, they proceeded up the river in a boat, and arrived safely at the mission house. There they united in prayer to Almighty God, laid their own wants and the general distress humbly, yet confidently, before him, and implored a blessing upon themselves, their brethren, and their work." They then paid various visits to the schoolmaster, the catechists, the members of the congregation and the school. Several Christians came in from the country, that they might be prepared for the Sabbath service, and were addressed by both the new brethren. The next day Mr. Schwartz preached in Tamul and Mr. Kohlhoff in Portu-

guesse. On Monday they again addressed the country Christians previous to their return home. On Tuesday they held a brotherly conference for mutual edification and encouragement. This was a common thing amongst the missionaries. This day they meditated on Acts X., 36-37, and from that exhorted each other to courage in preaching Christ. For several days they all preached together to the heathen and the Christians, including the catechists, teachers and children. On the Friday they held the usual weekly conference of the labourers in the mission: another plan established by Ziegenbalg, and continued by all the missionaries at their several stations. At this conference, after prayer, each labourer related how he had been employed; and thus, not only all their engagements but all their difficulties were made public, and each received the advice and encouragement which, in his own sphere, he might require. This weekly conference was regularly observed during all last century. On the day of separation the four missionaries again united in thanksgiving and prayer, and in the strength of their Redeemer, entered into a covenant to be His, to serve Him with all their heart, and thenceforward with renewed energy to preach the Gospel to the poor Gentiles around them. "Now," said Schwartz, "the Lord has heard what we have spoken before Him. May He give us light, life, strength and prosperity." The Cudalore brethren accompanied Messrs. Kohlhoff and Schwartz a few miles on their way, and then separated, after a cordial farewell, and wishing them abundant grace and blessing. Those who have been in similar circumstances, know how precious and how profitable such a visit, and such communion must have been. How well they were enabled through the grace of God to fulfil their "covenant," the story of missions in South India clearly shows. They were all eminent in their work, and few more eminent than they.

In 1754, on the death of their schoolmaster, a retired soldier named John Kerr, a sincere Christian, offered his services gratuitously in the school, and at the same time, hearing of the missionaries' difficulties, he brought them all the little property he had saved, and offered it to them without interest till their supplies arrived from Europe. This good man "soon gave them convincing proof of his good abilities, diligence, zeal and exemplary conversation in Christ."

"In the country around Cudalore, the progress of religion was somewhat at a stand, through the circumstances of the times;" and the Protestant converts scattered up and down, experienced much annoyance and persecution from the Popish

priests whose number and influence had been greatly increased by the presence of so many French troops. "These priests," it is said, "filled every village with Popish emissaries who spread nothing but false stories and calumnies against the Protestant missionaries." Their enmity was undoubtedly sharpened by the fact that many of the converts in Cudalore and the other mission stations, had been brought by the light of the Gospel to see the errors of Romanism and to forsake its communion. Numbers thus became proselytes every year. Amidst all these difficulties, most trying to the faith of these indefatigable men, they laboured in a manner so satisfactory to the Society, that they describe them as coming "no whit behind the very chiefest of their brethren in preaching the Gospel or in God's blessing upon it." They were "diligent in training up children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; in preparing adults for Christian baptism; in preaching the word in season and out of season to all that would hear it; and in rightly and duly administering the sacrament of the Lord's Supper." In the absence of a chaplain, they performed such services not only for the native, but also for the European community during the year 1756, and of Europeans they had 68 in their communion. As if some warning voice had shewn them the evil to come, they were more earnest than ever in seeking the salvation of the heathen around them. They "had many conferences with the heathen, on which occasions they never failed to exhort them to turn from the worship of idols, to that of the living and true God through the Gospel of his Son. Though the word of God did not take effect upon all, some were convinced and became disposed for further instruction; and that these converts might not be led astray, but continue grounded in the faith, they were repeatedly visited. To the Mahommedans also who came in their way, they laid open the impostures of the false prophet, and gave such as were disposed the New Testament and Psalter in Arabic." Their school had latterly been much interrupted, but they kept up their school of industry for the support of the poor widows and orphan children. Since the commencement of the mission in 1737, they had been joined by above 850 converts.

Thus they went on till the year 1758. Rumours had not been wanting of a vast armament from France that was entirely to destroy the Company's settlements and drive every Englishman from India. The first division of this force under the Marquis de Soupires arrived at Pondicherry in September 1757, and the remainder was shortly expected. On the 28th of

April 1758 a French fleet arrived bringing the Comte de Lally, and his Irish regiment, with artillery men and cannon. That very night a large body of troops were landed, who began at once to ravage the villages in the most cruel manner. Many of the Roman Catholics fled to their church near the Governor's garden-house, hoping for protection, as being of the same faith as their pursuers. But the latter were told, that these were the Protestant Christians, and this building their church. Before the mistake was discovered, the whole were cut to pieces and the church razed to the ground. Meanwhile the missionaries and their flock were safe within the walls of Cudalore. On the 1st of May, Count Lally himself and his troops, including 2,500 Europeans and as many sepoys, a large number of troops in those days, appeared before Cudalore, and summoned it to surrender. Preparations were made the same time for besieging Fort St David. That evening in their distress and anxiety the missionaries and their flock met together that they might cast their all upon the promises and help of God. The solemn service was interrupted by the entrance of the commandant, who said he expected the walls to be stormed every hour, and commending themselves, the garrison and inhabitants to the Lord of hosts, they retired. The next day, in the excitement and alarm with which the town was filled, hundreds of the natives brought their most valuable property to the houses of the missionaries and filled them with it : an evidence of the confidence which even the heathen had in them. Cudalore was very weakly garrisoned, its defenders being chiefly sepoys ; its walls, too, were not strong, and on the East side, it will be remembered, it was open to the river and the sea. When the garrison therefore was summoned to surrender, Major Polier, the commanding officer, at once capitulated on the terms proposed by the enemy. Anxious to secure, if possible, the safety of the missionaries and their property, he advised them to accompany his flag of truce, and personally request protection from the French General. They accordingly went with the messenger, and found truly, that in their sudden and fearful peril, friends were raised up for them both powerful and faithful. They safely reached the choultry, where Count Lally had taken up his quarters, and had no sooner stated their case, than M. Lally replied, that they as preachers of peace and concord had nothing to fear from his army ; but that he would give strict commands to spare their houses, and hurt nobody in them. In order to accomplish this humane resolution, Colonel Kennedy, one of the officers, accompanied them on their return. When Cudalore was delivered up

M. Lally stationed Baron Heidemann with part of his cavalry at their houses to preserve them from plunder. They were thankful for such mercies, but being unwilling to take the oath of allegiance to the French, which they feared they would be required to do, they resolved to leave Cudalore and retire to Tranquebar. They accordingly wrote to their brethren requesting them to send boats for the transport of their families and goods.

On the day when the English garrison left Cudalore, Count Lally paid the missionaries a visit. He spoke kindly to them, inquired about their country, their mission and its results, and having given them passports, furnished them with two country boats to take away their property. For three days they were fully occupied in gathering all things together, and lading their boats with all they would carry. On the 6th of May all was ready. Hundreds of the natives, heathen as well as Christian, "brought them on their way, with wives and children, till they were out of the city," and then like Paul of old when leaving Tyre, they "kneeled down on the shore and prayed" that the Lord would watch over the sheep now without a shepherd. With sad and heavy hearts they then departed, and in two days arrived at Tranquebar, and were received by their brethren "with great gladness."

The very day after their departure the Jesuit priests came from Pondicherry and were not a little mortified that they had escaped. They gave vent to their displeasure against the General in no measured terms, because he had not only let them go, but had also spared their houses, and the church, in the destruction of public buildings which now took place. Thus were the missionaries mercifully preserved, nor were their prayers for their flock unheard. Many of them also left and joined their brethren at Tranquebar and other places, while those who remained were taken under the special protection of the Dutch President. The property they were compelled to leave behind was carefully kept, and when two years afterwards, on the restoration of Cuddalore to the English, Mr. Huttemann returned from Tranquebar, the mission premises and church were speedily put in repair, and made as serviceable as before. They lost, however, their valued and esteemed schoolmaster Mr. Kerr, who was taken as a prisoner of war to Pondicherry. In his imprisonment he endeavoured to lead his fellow sufferers to the liberty wherewith Christ makes His people free. But the confinement destroyed his health: he died in prison, and was removed to that place where the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest. He showed

his affection to the mission to the last, by bequeathing it fifty pagodas.

The eighteenth century was, speaking after the manner of men, a period very unsuited to the rapid progress of Christianity in the Carnatic. The anarchy occasioned by constant and destructive wars, the confusion and distress which rolled over the land wherever the Mahrattas on their swift horses hastened to plunder, the oft-recurring famines, the diseases, the strong tie of superstition, the power and influence of heathenism almost unchecked, and therefore in its largest force, all tended to raise mighty difficulties in the way of the spread of the Gospel. But here we see how truly the goodness of God provides for an emergency the men exactly suited to meet it. Many were the Governors at Tranquebar, Fort St. David and Madras, who themselves fearing God, gave all the help in their power to the promotion of the cause of religion : constant were the supplies which were received for the support and the continuance of missions when established ; so that in the face of opposition and discouragement, they were not only sustained but enlarged ; not only enlarged, but greatly and continually so ; not only remained, but were eminently successful. Look at the men who bore the burden of the day. And shall we not say that, as a whole, they were giant men, fit to bear the weight of the duties and the cares which fell to their lot, and able faithfully to do their part : giants, not in intellect, though many among them were learned and most able, but giants in that moral excellence which constitutes the peculiar charm of the Christian life ; in those graces which only the servants of Christ can display : in depth of faith, and love, and zeal and Christian courage, and diligence, and patience, and forbearance, and stedfast resolution to do only good. Hence it was they stood prominently forward, and exhibited in their character and walk the noblest proofs of thorough consecration to the spiritual good of men. Many of them, even of the most devoted, are all but unknown to fame ; still "they have their reward : " but Schwartz, who besides his spiritual-mindedness and patient zeal, preeminently exhibited the character of which it is said, "Let your conversation be without covetousness : " the meek and gentle and liberal Gerické, and Pohle, and Kohlhoff, and Breithaupt, and Fabricius, in addition to those, the first founders of the Indian church, are men "whose praise is in all the churches."

The story of their toil is full of the most interesting and instructive lessons, and he who reads it must be cold indeed if he cannot thank God for the wondrous grace vouchsafed to that church, furnishing it with the noble men whose deeds it

records. It is a story so fraught with all that is solemn and yet practical in religion, relating to its consolations, its spread, its triumphs, even in the case of degraded heathen, that we question whether the history of any mission in any country can furnish any thing superior to it. All honour be to the men who thus marched in the van of the great army to whom the conquest of this country, and its subjection to the King of Kings, is entrusted. Their weapons were not the sword that hews down, the cannon that destroys : their sword was the word of God. No martial music roused them to the conflict ; no shouts speeded their footsteps, or urged them onward with a false courage to their heavy toil. They were soldiers of the kingdom "which cometh not with observation ;" and they were content to pursue their career, unhonoured, unobserved, and oft despised. They sought not glory in fields, whence arises the wail of widows and of orphans : theirs were bloodless victories : for they came not to wound but to heal ; not to enslave but to set free ; not to destroy men's lives but to save them. All honour be to the men who thus marched, who bore the brunt of the conflict ; but highest honours be given to the great Captain of their salvation, who so wondrously endowed and led and blessed them : and who in their example, and in the tale of their labours, has left such lessons of profit for the ages that have followed them !

Many of the Christians, we have said, accompanied the mission to Tranquebar : they were received with a cordial welcome and all the Cudalore children were placed in the Tamul school. The two missionaries claimed a share in the labours of their Tranquebar brethren. Mr. Kiernander assisted in the Portuguese department and Mr. Huttemann in the Tamul. While continuing these labours, Mr. Kiernander received an invitation from Colonel Clive to come and establish a mission in Calcutta. Colonel Clive had of course known the mission at Cudalore well, having been connected many years with Fort St. David. The fact of the invitation is, we think, an unprejudiced testimony to Mr. Kiernander's zeal and character as a minister. Even worldly men who have no religion, readily judge whether a minister preaches the word of God faithfully, and cease to esteem him if he does it otherwise. They may not like reproof, but it is an error to suppose that they will do aught but despise the man who fails to administer it rightly. The subject was laid by Mr. Kiernander before his brethren. As the immense force under M. Lally's command, and his various successes seemed at the time to warrant the inference that the English rule

would soon cease in the Carnatic, and perhaps missionary operations be suspended altogether, after mature deliberation, it was resolved, that he should endeavour to establish the mission in Bengal. With the full consent of his brethren, therefore, he left them, and after a three weeks voyage arrived at Calcutta, September the 29th, 1758.

Before we follow him thither let us remark that Mr. Huttemann, after an absence of two years and four months, returned to Cudalore on its recapture by Sir Eyre Coote. He succeeded in gathering together many of his old flock; and being soon after joined by Mr. Gerické, the united exertions of these two eminent servants of God, soon brought the mission to its former state of prosperity. After the taking of Cudalore for the second time by Hyder Ali in 1781, the mission gradually declined. At present there is a missionary stationed there, but its Catholic pensioners, its native schools divided by castes, its caste school-masters and caste teachers, with the small amount of religious instruction given, make it but the shadow of what it was in the times of which we have been writing. Little indeed does it now present, that calls to mind the faithful men whose days and whose strength were spent within it.

The portion of Mr. Kiernander's life now related, occupies in Mr. Carne's narrative two pages and a half. In this short space there are no less than twelve errors of fact, and three instances in which an uncharitable judgment is given, not warranted by real facts. As we do not wish to bear false witness, we mention the following examples. Thus Mr. Carne tells us, "He was born at Akstad." Again: "at Cudalore he found a congregation, left by Sartorius, who had removed to Madras." Here are three errors in one sentence. It will be remembered that Mr. Sartorius died in 1738, and that there were no converts at all when Mr. Kiernander arrived in 1740. The gift of the church in 1749, and the kindness of Admiral Boscawen, are mentioned before the history of the mission in 1745: and its prosperity in 1746 is described as a consequence of that gift. Mr. Carne again says that Lally refused to let Mr. Kiernander remain at Cudalore, and that in retaliation for the expulsion of the Jesuits, he permitted all the mission property to be plundered, so that Mr. K. saved nothing but "a few articles of wearing apparel." The different story of these events already related is given on the authority of the journals and letters of the Tranquebar missionaries, and is found in Dr. Pearson's admirable life of Schwartz. Another very great error is that Mr. Carne has placed Mr. K. at Halle under the tuition of the elder Francke. The same mistake occurs in the

life of Schwartz in the same volume, and in Mr. Carne's sketch of the mission at Tranquebar. This is not a trivial error, as M. Francke died at Halle eight years before Mr. K. went thither, and nineteen years before Schwartz became a student. That these are mistakes may at once be seen by a reference to the reports of the C. K. Society. We regret to add that though many other works of excellent authority were published previous to Mr. Carne's last edition in 1839, supplying ample evidence on the subject, Mr. Carne's mistakes remain unchanged.

By the writer of the biography in the Asiatic Journal, we are informed that Mr. Kiernander was born in 1735 (the year in which he went to college); that he arrived at Cudalore in 1758 (after he had been there *eighteen* years): that Cudalore and Fort St. David were two different settlements distant from one another; that Mr. Kiernander did no missionary work at all at Cudalore, and that all Schwartz's converts were men who had no caste to lose!

We have said that Mr. Kiernander arrived at Calcutta, Sept. 29th, 1758. He found it a very different sphere from Cudalore, but one that needed the Gospel even more. He was no longer with a faithful companion in labour, holding constant intercourse with him, and assisted by his advice. He was alone in his work; and though that work was in many respects the same as he had hitherto performed, yet the circumstances in which he was placed were of a somewhat different kind, and especially different from those in which missionaries of later days find themselves. These circumstances require to be looked at, before we can form a just estimate of his position, character, and efforts. At the risk, therefore, of appearing somewhat tedious, we shall take a short review of what Calcutta was during his stay, in its physical aspect and its social condition; we shall add also a few words on its previous religious history, and trust that all will tend to put the labours and character of the missionary in a better light than that in which they have hitherto been seen.

CALCUTTA, when Mr. Kiernander arrived, was but a poor beginning of what it now is. No villas in Garden Reach, no Botanical Garden met the stranger's eye to cheer him with their beauty after his sea voyage. Where these now stand the river banks were covered with jungle, and the jhils and marshy swamps emitted their deadly poison in undiminished power. There were no dockyards at Kidderpore, resounding with the clang of hammers, the sign of active and laborious toil. The Fort even, was but just begun, and the earthworks were being dug among the ruined huts of the village of Govindpore, and

among the newly cut jungle that had been growing in luxuriance down to the water's edge. The river itself was all but deserted. There were no large ships anchored off the city ; only small craft, snows, pinnaces and native boats were drawn up on its muddy banks. There were few ghâts to land at, and no strand, save one quay in front of the river wall of the old Fort, where now the Custom House stands ; while the little dockyard close by, more than sufficed for all the work required in shipping-repairs. The city was beginning to recover from the ruin which had befallen it on its capture by the Nawáb two years before : for all classes had received their compensation, and were endeavouring to render their house-habitable once more. The European portion of the town was compressed into a small space in the neighbourhood of Tanks Square then called the Park. Some of the houses in the square and along the river were large ; but on the whole, those inhabited by Europeans were few and mean. Then, and for several years after, Europeans kept the shops in the China Bazar, Radha Bazar and Murgihatta, even as far as the Armenian Church ; while the Lal Bazar belonged to the quarter termed "respectable." The old fort remained not as the strength of war but as a depôt for the peaceful pursuits of commerce. A large part of the north face was occupied by the Company's cloth godown ; warehouses and officers' houses occupied other portions of its area, while gardens were formed upon the slopes of the ruined walls. Eastward, the town extended to the Mahratta ditch, along the Boitakhana and Durumtollah roads : but Kálinga was a native village, and Chowringhi a "thick forest." The great plain was partly jungle, partly arable land, interspersed with huts ; and across it, ran a single road branching off to the two villages of Alipore and Kidderpore, at which two mean wooden bridges carried it over the Nullah. Thus the European population were near together in what is now, the mercantile part of the town. Northward was the native town with the old Chitpore road, as now, in the centre. It was well peopled, though not so densely as at present, and contained many bazars. The houses were much mixed up with jungle, and surrounded by stagnant pools, and all kinds of filth. The jungle on all sides of the city was very thick. During Mr. Kiernander's residence of 30 years, the town gradually enlarged ; and towards the close of the century more rapidly so : the Europeans extending southward and the native population becoming more dense. In 1785 there were garden houses at Alipore, Kidderpore and Garden Reach : Chowringhi, too, had a line of houses at large intervals : the old

Government House was built, and Esplanade Road was considered quite magnificent. But when Mr Kiernander arrived, it was, as we have described it, ruined and poor and mean, the beginning only, in every respect of what Calcutta is at this day, both as regards its outward appearance and its inward comfort.

At that time also, there were comparatively few Europeans living in Calcutta, and they were almost all connected with the Company's service : the majority having arrived with Colonel Clive two years before. There were scarcely any ladies, and as may be imagined, without their influence the order of the settlement was not likely to remain unbroken, or the rules of society to be closely observed. The government of the city was not very complex. The Mayor and Aldermen held their little court, and the "zemindar" superintending all the fiscal, as well as criminal proceedings, permitted his fellow civilians, old and young, to devote their attention to their own and the Company's trade. The police was "deplorably bad," and it was much worse for a time after the Supreme Court was established. Money was plentiful, trade was brisk, and if for a while the habits of all were simple, in a short time luxury and extravagance produced their ripened fruits. It is said, there were but two carriages at the settlement, one belonging to Colonel Clive, the other to Mr. Watts ; but if this be true, it did not long remain so. Shall we add, as not without its influence, that there was no printing press in the settlement for many years. Of the moral condition of society during Mr. Kiernander's residence we shall speak hereafter.

The natives during the last century were not a whit better morally, than they are now. If any thing, they were worse ; while undoubtedly many of the superstitious practices of heathenism were more openly carried out and less held in check than they are at present. They well knew the advantages connected with the Company's protection. The stability given to property, the general order of the settlement, and the toleration enjoyed, made them feel, that both their money-making schemes and their religion were quite secure. They found also that their rulers were in a great degree trustworthy, and were not slow to furnish them with the means of carrying on trade. Hence it was they flocked to Calcutta in great numbers, and amongst them some of the most respectable and wealthy families. But for all this their morals were very bad and their superstitions most cruel and injurious. During the period we have named, the dancing-girls filled the temples, the car of Jugernath was covered with the most abominable figures : the Brahmans at the temples were, as now, licentious and covetous

"to an incredible extent." It was no uncommon sight to see "the fakirs, impudent beyond measure, extorting money by a torrent of obscenity and by the threat of curses which no "Hindu will incur." The rich were oppressors, covetous and proud; the poor, thieves, cheats, liars, and knaves; while the merchants, the traders, the zemindars, were full of avarice, and sought only to amass wealth by any and every means. How they could do it, the history of many Bâbus in the Company's service at that day, fearfully shews. This conduct was the fruit of their superstitions, and the influence of these was undiminished. Human sacrifices were not uncommon both at Kalighat and the temple at Chitpore; victims were drowned in the river: Satis were constantly burnt, and cruelty and force were used to make them burn; sometimes the widow buried herself in the river's bank, waiting to be drowned by the rising tide; ghât-murders were committed with impunity; all classes were under complete subjection to the Brahmans, whose extortions for ceremonial impurity were without bounds; knowledge was forbidden: the Shasters were sealed books; processions, sacrifices and all the mummeries enjoined were rigorously enforced. Such was the power of Hinduism at that day. Some of these things have changed in Calcutta only within the last twenty years. What a barrier they formed to Mr. Kiernander's labours; and how needful they shew those labours to have been, may be easily imagined. We are happy to record that, in spite of all their degrading influence, some of the heathen were brought by his means to forsake idolatry and to confess the God of truth.

Of the state of religion among the Europeans in Calcutta in early times, little is known. The Rev. S. Briercliffe, who was Chaplain in 1715, writing to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, speaks of the small number of Christians there, and the spiritual destitution of both the natives and Portuguese, and points out the difficulties in the way of true religion and its propagation. The early charters of the Company had bound them to support a chaplain and schoolmaster wherever a European regiment was stationed. while the chaplains were bound also to qualify themselves to give Christian instruction to the Hindu and Portuguese servants of the Company in their own tongues. The remarks in Mr. Briercliffe's letter show how needful such instruction was. But it appears these rules were never carried into effect with respect to the natives, though the English themselves sometimes enjoyed the benefit of public worship. Not long after Mr. B's letter was written, a church was built, it stood

near the North-West corner of the spot on which the Writers' Buildings stand, and opposite one of the gates of the old fort at about 50 yards distance. It was a noble building with a lofty and magnificent steeple, and was long the chief public ornament of the settlement. The church was not erected by the Company, but by the voluntary contributions of prosperous merchants, and specially of captains, supercargoes and other sea-faring men trading to the settlement. In those days it is said, gold was plentiful, labour cheap, and there was not one indigent European in all Calcutta. Some of the original contributors were Freemasons, and by their influence it was called St. John's. Intelligence of the event was conveyed to the Propagation Society in England, who in return sent a silver cup for the communion table as an expression of their satisfaction and good will. In this church, service was constantly held. The President and all the Civil and Military officers of the settlement walked to it in solemn procession; and in the absence of a chaplain, prayers and a sermon were read by some of the junior merchants for which they were duly paid. In 1732 a charity fund in connection with the church was founded by Mr. Bouchier, afterwards Governor of Bombay. He had built the Court House from his private funds,—a spacious house of one floor where the Mayor's Court and assizes were held,—and on leaving Calcutta gave it to the Company on condition of their paying annually 4,000 Acrot rupees toward this fund. A public subscription was raised for the same object, and the interest of the whole applied, partly for the support of twenty orphans taken from among the destitute children of Europeans, whether by European or native mothers, and partly for general charitable purposes. To this fund were added, from time to time, church collections and the fees for palls at funerals.

In the same year the Dutch and Germans at Chinsurah, (which somehow or other is called Calicatta in one of the C. K. Society's reports,) applied to the missionaries at Tranquebar for a missionary, both for themselves and the natives. M. Sichterman, the Dutch Governor, approved of the measure, and promised his protection and encouragement to such a mission. The request was forwarded to England, where it excited much interest, but there was no missionary at Halle prepared to come. When afterwards three missionaries were sent to Tranquebar, one of the older Tranquebar missionaries was appointed to Bengal: but at the juncture, two of his brethren died, and the matter was again deferred. The Europeans in Bengal, however, continued their interest in missions and sent subscriptions to the Coast: an instance of this we have already

recorded. Five years after occurred the dreadful storm and earthquake, so memorable in the annals of last century, from the vast number of lives and large amount of property which they destroyed. The steeple of the church of Calcutta "fell prostrate," though the body remained standing, and was not again rebuilt. In 1756, the Nawáb Suraja Dowla completed the destruction of the building. Thus, in twenty years, two events happened, which joined to destroy all the ecclesiastical as well as civil records of the settlement. What the hurricane had spared was utterly destroyed on the capture of the city, and hence it is that we have but very few notices of the state of religion in Bengal previous to the latter of these events. In the year of the capture of Calcutta, we find two chaplains there, the Rev. Jervas Bellamy and the Rev. Mr. Mapletoft. Both took part in the defence of the fort; the former perished in the Black Hole, and the latter died a few months after at Fulta, whither the fugitives had hurried. In 1757, the way was opened for more definite and more continuous religious labours than the settlement had yet received. Hitherto no great sense of security had been felt the power of the English had not been known. But the recapture of Calcutta, the fight at Hugly, the bombardment of Chandernagore, the battle of Plassey, and the appointment of a new Nawáb, tended much to give stability to all English interests, and prepare the way for measures of solid and growing improvement. Two chaplains, the Rev. Henry Butler and the Rev. John Cape arrived in 1758, and as the Old Church had been destroyed, and affairs were not yet in a very settled state, a temporary Bungalow was erected for the purposes of worship within the battered fort: hence its name "The chapel of the old fort."

Such was the state of things on Mr. Kiernander's landing. Let us again return, therefore, to the story of his life. He was received very cordially by the two chaplains. Pleased with his proposals, they at once entered into his plans, and aided him in collecting subscriptions for carrying them out. It is said that at this period he appeared a man of ardent zeal, of great integrity, with a dauntless courage and decision of mind, while his talents were such as to inspire confidence that he would be able to carry out what he began. Colonel Clive also welcomed him. On the part of Government he appropriated a house for his use (in which Mr. Kiernander lived eight years): and in token of his esteem, shortly after stood as one of the sponsors to Mr. Kiernander's infant son. Mr. Carne mentions this incident in his memoir, noting, as we have done, that the child

was a *son*, yet in an after part of the same memoir the following passage occurs, p. 319: "If his little *girl* had but lived, what a comfort, what a blessing, he thought, would she now be to him!... Oh! if that dear, that *only child* had lived, she would now have screened her father from the sorrows of the world, &c.!!" Shall we comment on this?

On the first of December 1758, Mr. Kiernander opened a school, and very soon had in it forty lads: English, Armenian, Portuguese and Bengali—some of them of from fifteen to eighteen years of age. The twenty boys supported by the charity fund were also placed under his charge. Before the close of 1759 he had admitted 174, and of these some had already left and gone to service. Out of this number, thirty-seven were maintained. They were all instructed in English, reading, writing, arithmetic and Christianity. In this first year, one of the lads, a Bengali, read through the whole English Bible, the "Whole Duty of Man," and a book entitled "Instruction for the Indians," which had been specially composed for this country. In reporting this gratifying beginning to the Society, Mr. Kiernander expressed his hope that, as the lads grew up, they would profess Christianity for themselves. In this hope he was not disappointed, as we shall subsequently see. His first two converts were a Papist and a Brahman; and in them he had an earnest of the success he was to have in future in the two classes of Hindús and Catholics which they represented. He was not alone in his labours. He had brought two assistants with him from Cudalore, and though one of them died, his place was more than supplied by the English clerk of the Fort Chapel. Not desiring to give his time up altogether to the school, on the second of June 1759, he began a service in the Portuguese language. His congregation was at first but small, including his own family, some of his Cudalore congregation, and his Christian pupils. He also distributed many books in the English and German tongues, and sometimes preached at the newly established settlement of Serampore. He occasionally preached in English for the chaplains: but by these various engagements his time was so occupied that he had no leisure to study the native languages, and therefore wrote to England for two missionaries, one of whom might apply to Hindustaní, the other to Bengáli. During this year he baptised fifteen persons.

At the close of the year, a large and unexpected addition was made to his congregation. The Dutch expedition from Batavia, which arrived in October, had been bravely met and defeated by Commodore Wilson on the river, and by Colonel Forde on

land, and 350 Dutch, besides Malays, were taken prisoners. Most of them volunteered into the Company's army, and Mr. Kiernander preached to them in German. At the close of the following year,—the second year of his ministry,—there were in the school 231 scholars of whom nineteen were girls, English and Portuguese; of these one-half were maintained, while some paid for their education. Mr. Kiernander supported forty at his own expense: and the funds needed for maintaining the rest were supplied by contributions in the settlement. In 1761 as his schoolroom was too small, from his own funds Mr. Kiernander fitted up a building which he used both as a church and a schoolroom, and in it he held his Portuguese service. So blessed were his endeavours, that not only did he baptise eleven in the year previous, but in this year twenty-four were added, and twenty-five lads, Romanists, declared it to be their intention to become Protestants. The priests took the alarm, and in various ways endeavoured to get his schoolroom taken away from him. But they signally failed; his hands were strong: his school prospered; another schoolmaster from Madras joined him, and from among his former pupils several became his efficient helpers. The Rev. H. Butler, the Chaplain, also wrote to the Society in London, bearing testimony to the zeal and faithfulness of the missionary, and requested the Society to send him a colleague. Though missionary work was new in Calcutta, in its growing influence upon many it already proved productive of good. In the decisive tone it at once assumed, and the energy with which its details were pushed on, we can see the zeal and skill of an experienced hand. It is a curious fact, that the classical language, taught in Mr. Kiernander's school at this time, was the *Portuguese*. As is the English in the present day, so was the Portuguese then. It was in a great measure the medium of intercourse between English and natives. Though comparatively a miserable jargon and scarcely deserving the name of a language, from its admixture not only with foreign Indian words but with words of Dutch, French and English extraction, and having few terms expressive of science or religious truth, it had been taught and cultivated in all the mission schools in the Carnatic, as well as the Tamul. Hence Mr. Kiernander having taught it in his schools, having preached in it to his congregation at Cudalore, and finding so many who understood it in Calcutta, not unnaturally employed it here. Missionaries in Calcutta of more modern times, have turned almost exclusively to English and Bengali; and with respect to natives, the plan has been, and deserves to be,

successful. But should any arise whose attention may be directed specially to that degraded class of Romanists from whom Mr. Kiernander had many converts, we may hear yet again of preaching and teaching conducted in the Portuguese language. We say nothing of the propriety of this; we mention only its possibility.

In 1761 Mr. Kiernander lost his two friends, the chaplains. Both died in the same year, within a short time of each other. He also lost his excellent wife, who had been the partner of all his troubles, in leaving his old station; and had accompanied him to begin life, as it were anew, in a strange city. She died on the 9th of May. He mourned her loss several months, but in February of the following year was again married to Mrs. Woolley, a rich widow lady of Calcutta. It is said she brought him a fortune of £25,000, which, added to his former wife's property and to a legacy which he received about this time from his elder brother in Sweden, raised him to comparative affluence. The use which he made of all this wealth we shall see hereafter.

The next year, 1762, a heavy calamity fell upon the school in common with the rest of the city: a dreadful epidemic broke out in Calcutta. Amongst others, the new chaplain, Mr. Staveley, who, like his predecessors, had shewn great interest in the mission, died from it. Mr. Kiernander himself was seized with it and recovered; then relapsed and recovered again, in all six times: but finally was restored to health. The parents were afraid to send their children to school, and only 40 were found in attendance. When the disease passed away, however, the school filled as before.

In this visitation we see a specimen of those ills from which Calcutta formerly suffered most severely; but from which, in a large measure, the Providence of God has, in these later times, delivered it. During last century, life in Bengal was much more precarious and short than at present. The narrow streets and filthy lanes of the city, much less cleansed than at this day, even though now they are bad enough; the filth that everywhere lay unregarded, the effluvia from stagnant pools, open drains, and the muddy creek which ran through the city to the salt-water lake, bred diseases, which every now and then broke out in the most virulent and fatal form. Fever and ague, spleen and diarrhoea, liver-complaint and dysentery and dropsy, all the long catalogue of sicknesses with which this land is afflicted, fell on the community, both European and native, with ten times the force which they now exert. Measures for the prevention of disease were scarcely ever thought of; but

in this respect Calcutta was but like Europe. While the generous diet, the scarcely temperate habits of many, especially those of station and influence, the small close houses, the want of ventilation, and other means for cooling the atmosphere indoors; the dust, the malaria on every side, and a thousand other ills, all contributed their part in promoting disease and in curtailing life. Hence the great mortality which prevailed. Hence we read of a season (about 1689) in which, out of 1,200 British inhabitants 460 were laid in the grave between August and the following January. Hence we read again of "the obstinate putrid intermitting fevers" which from 1757 downward, were so fatal every year. We find "they began with the rainy season, and continued with excessive violence during it, and for some time after." In 1768 "fever and flux" were "very fatal." In 1770, the year of famine, a dreadful fever with "a cold stage of twelve hours" carried off, it is said, 80,000 natives and 1,500 Europeans. Calcutta was not the only place thus visited. All Bengal seems to have suffered in the same way. We are told that "the force which, under Major Kilpatrick, remained at Fulta after the capture of the city in 1756, out of 240 men, lost 210, between August and December of that year by one of these epidemics." The ships lying in the river peculiarly felt the influence of the malaria. Hundreds of sailors were cut off in a few months from the fleets which arrived. Even so late as 1809, it is said, "full three hundred sailors, *i.e.*, a fourth of the ships' crews die yearly at Diamond Harbour from diseases incident to laying up the ships at that place." The great mortality among the troops, in former days, is well known. Fires without number burned in the settlement every year. They destroyed, it is true, much property, but they served to purify the city from some of its abominations. These diseases, of course, produced many changes in the community, and while felt much in important matters, were not without their discouraging influence on even a missionary school.

In 1763 a consternation of a different kind and from a different source threatened Mr. Kiernander's little charge again. The abuse of the transit duties by the Company's servants, their grasping cupidity and oppressive exactions, fastened on the people with a power from which they had no escape, threw the whole country into disorder. The resistance of the Nawab, and the battles with him, followed at last by the massacre at Patna, produced great alarm in Calcutta. The inward strength of the Company, arising from their European troops and the discipline of their native corps, the indomitable energy which

could meet all difficulties, and meet all expenses, were at that period all but untried and unknown ; consequently, the security now felt under the Company's rule was not enjoyed, and confidence was shaken at the first appearance of an enemy. Mr. Kiernander, in speaking of these things to the Society adds, that he feared the mission would be destroyed. Not only did he find these contentions unfavourable to the exercise of Christian liberality among his fellow Europeans, but the natives were so exasperated against the Company's servants for their evil practices, that the missionary found them utterly unwilling to lend an ear to truths, which his fellow Christians heeded so little. He is not the only missionary who has found the sins of Europeans a powerful barrier against the progress of the Gospel, and has had those sins retorted on him by natives as an excuse and colour for their own. Still he kept on at his work. Though the German soldiers of his congregation were obliged to march up the country, he was enabled to devote himself more fully to the natives, and he preached on the Sabbath twice in Portuguese. In the same year the charity school was provided with a master for itself, and Mr. Kiernander had only to superintend it. This was a further relief, which permitted him to confine his attention entirely to his missionary duties. In consequence the school and congregation become too large for his present building. Finding this, Mr. Vansittart, the Governor, who was anxious to assist the mission as far as he could, lent Mr. Kiernander a larger and better one, and supplied him with funds to repair and alter it. These kind offices were experienced but a short time, for Mr. Vansittart soon after returned to England. Among the converts in 1764 were three Malays and three Portuguese.

In 1765 Clive returned to the country, and in a few months peace and confidence were restored to all parties. Mr. Kiernander wrote to the Society that the worst was past, and begged them once more to send out more missionaries, as they might labour with success in so secure a station as he enjoyed. The German soldiers returned to their quarters, and his congregation was again full. Thirty-five were added to his congregation this year, including twenty adults and fifteen children ; of the adults eight were natives of Bengal : out of a congregation of 150, nineteen were communicants. In his report to the Society, Mr. Kiernander bears testimony to the "improvement in character of all under his charge, stating that they were more devout at public worship and more careful in conforming their lives to the precepts of the Gospel." Next year thirty-nine were added, making in all, from December 1, 1758, to the close

of 1766, 189 converts. Of these, half were Romanists, one-third were children of Romanist parents, thirty had been heathen, and one a Jew. The case of the last named convert, the Jew, was somewhat singular. In a voyage to Bombay he had been brought by sickness and the fear of death to feel the need of better comfort than the world gives, and had found such in the Gospel promises. On his recovery his impressions died away ; upon coming to Calcutta, he was again sick, and again his impressions were renewed. He sought out a minister, was directed to Mr. K., and under his direction, reading the Bible, became convinced of the Divinity of the Son of God. He was baptized, and continued a regular attendant in the Mission Chapel.

The mission having been established eight years, Mr. Kiernander was now able to judge of its progress, and in a measure of its fruits. He had continued in Calcutta the same plans which he had seen at Halle, and had himself carried on at Cudalore ; *viz.*, instructing the young, preaching to adults, and distributing religious books. From his school he had received five teachers who were engaged with him in instructing others. Many lads had become clerks in offices, both public and private : by them truth had been spread, and if few had been converted, he hoped that the principles they had imbibed would make them in conduct better than others, and thus shew the usefulness of the mission.

In 1767 the mission house, lent by Mr. Vansittart, was required for the service of Government, and as his plans were now fixed, and his congregation continually increased, Mr. Kiernander resolved to build a church for its use. We have said that his second marriage had made him a comparatively wealthy man, and the use to which he now put his wealth was to promote the cause to which his life was given up. The estimated cost of the building was 20,000 Rs. but, during its erection, several alterations were made, which added materially to this sum. The whole sum expended was 67,320 Rs. of which 1,818 Rs. only were given by friends. The death of the architect delayed its completion, but it was opened for worship at the end of December 1770, and was called Beth Tephilla, "the House of Prayer." It is now usually called the Old or Mission Church, and remains to this day a powerful illustration of Christian liberality and a witness to the mission which the founder of it prosecuted. Though not so beautiful as the former Church of Calcutta, it is a substantial building, and at that time possessed the beauty of being the only church. Its appearance, when finished, differed somewhat from its present

one. In those days the good people of Calcutta painted the exterior of their houses; and amongst the prevailing colours, not only yellow, but also red and *blue!* were conspicuous. In accordance with this custom the church was coloured red, whence its name the "Lal Girjah" or red church. Subsequently it had large white squares painted on it, to resemble stones. Mr. Carne puts the erection of this building four years after the proper period. It is strange that it was for many years the only church in Calcutta. The unsettled state of the times immediately subsequent to the recapture of the city, had driven from the minds of the English settlers all concern about rebuilding the church which had been destroyed. Not that the funds were wanting. The Nawab Mir Jaffir had paid the restitution money for the church of St. John's; and besides this, Omichand's executor, Hozur Mull, had paid in the deceased Babu's name 25,000 Rs. for the same object. Both sums were invested in Government securities, and for the time added to Mr. Bouchier's charity-fund above mentioned. Meanwhile the little bungalow inside the old Fort was the only chapel which Europeans had to worship in for 30 years, except the Mission Church.

During the building of the church many incidents occurred in the mission, which only proved, in a stronger degree, the necessity for its erection. The court of the Emperor Shah Alum requested from Mr. Kiernander some copies of the Psalter and New Testament in Arabic; he accordingly sent them; and finding afterwards, they had been well received, transmitted all he had. In 1767 twenty-six converts were received, of whom sixteen were natives and twenty Romanists. In 1768, Father Bento de Silvestre, a Romish priest, who had been "a Popish missionary in Bengal upwards of fifteen years," and had "discovered the false zeal, hidden malice, and unwarranted doctrines" of Rome, resolved to forsake its communion. After much deliberation and earnest prayer, on the 7th of February he publicly recanted his errors and entered the Protestant church. As he was well acquainted with French, Portuguese, Hindustani and Bengali, he soon became useful in the mission. He constantly preached in Portuguese to the converts, and also visited a village called Parull, said to be a day's journey from Calcutta, in which were 500 natives, Romanists, who had been his charge previous to leaving Popery. Besides these public labours he translated the Prayer Book and Catechism into Bengali. In June 1769 another priest named Da Costa, who had recanted his errors at Madras, joined the mission congregation. These two events

so alarmed the Papists, that a priest was specially sent from Goa, if possible, to seize the converts and make them retract. M. Bento, however, gave a public answer to the Envoy, and had copies of his answer circulated amongst the Romanists in Calcutta : so that they became more acquainted than before with the reasons of his separation. The threats of the priest "did not in the smallest degree affect the Protestant mission," and he speedily retired to Goa. It is to be noticed that a large proportion of Mr. Kiernander's converts were from among the Papists. These were chiefly Portuguese. This class of persons was, and still is, numerous in Calcutta, but they were then in a most degraded and irreligious condition. They had a church here as far back as 1700, enlarged in 1720 ; but the priests cared little to instruct their congregation and paid little heed to their morals. As soon as Mr. Kiernander's labours began to produce good among them, the priests were afraid, and in all ways endeavoured to prevent his intercourse with them. They clandestinely baptized the children of mixed marriages ; prevented the sick from holding any converse with the missionary : and in one case they forged a will for a woman who had renounced the Romish errors, with a view to get her property for their own faith ; but the will was set aside in the Mayor's court. On another occasion they endeavoured to injure the mission school by getting the house in which it was held for other purposes. Mr. Kiernander, however persevered. He distributed freely many tracts and books sent by the society for his use ; and when the Portuguese who could read, requested portions of the Bible, they were furnished with them. These labours continued to be blessed. Many of these degraded Papists began to feel that it was their duty to inquire after truth ; and seeking, found it. Thus the enemy which the missionary had found both at Cudalore and Calcutta was in both places foiled. In 1769, a Bengali who had been baptized by the name of Thomas, and who knew Portuguese well, was appointed a catechist, and with Father Bento preached to the Portuguese congregation. That year's report contains accounts of the happy deaths of several members of the Mission Church of both sexes. It must have been peculiarly gratifying to the aged missionary to witness these proofs of the fruit of his labour. In this country apostacy and sin have often marred the name and profession of those who at first "did run well." But to find them amidst many imperfections steadfast to the end, and cleaving in death to Him whose faith they had embraced, is a rich though sad reward to the servant of God. Such was Mr. Kiernander's lot, and that, in cases not a few, not only in this but in other years.

It is mentioned in the same report that Captain Griffin by his will, after a few bequests, had left the residue of his property to the mission, directing that it should serve as a fund, the interest of which was to repair the Church and to support two missionaries or schoolmasters. The affairs of Captain Griffin were found to be in such confusion, that in the end not a single cowry ever reached the destined object.

The year 1770 was a peculiarly trying one to the mission. It was the year of famine, and a season of great sickness. Before the famine and sickness came on, continual fires had destroyed large storehouses full of provision, and had rendered thousands houseless. The awful desolation which swept over the land cannot be adequately described. Those who perished are reckoned by millions.* While multitudes perished, the Lord watched over His own: Mr. Kiernander in relating the calamity to the Society, expresses his thanks to God that not only had he found enough for himself and his people, but that the Lord had given him the means of supplying others. At the close of the year, as has been mentioned, the Church was completed and set apart for worship. Henceforth two services were held in it on the Sabbath day, one in English, one in Portuguese; and two in the week, on Wednesdays and Fridays, when the young were specially catechised. There were two congregations, the English and the Portuguese. The Portuguese was so named from the language which was used, though it contained also the native converts. When these arrangements came into effect there were, of English communicants, eighty-five, and of Portuguese and natives sixty-nine. During this year eleven adult heathen were baptised and fourteen Papists received. There were in the school ninety-seven scholars.

*Our curious readers may be interested by a table of the prices of grain during that year, drawn from the unpublished Dutch records at Chinsural. We call particular attention to the month of August:—

		1769. Oct	Nov.	Dec	1770 Jan.	Feb	March	April	May.	June	July.	Aug	Sept.	Oct.
Fine Rice .	Seers for one Rupee.	8	9	9½	9	9	8½	8	7	4	4	3	5	7
Coarse ditto		10	11	11½	10	9½	9	8½	7½	6½	4½	3½	11	16
Kolai		12	13	13½	13	12	11	10	9	7	5	4½	4½	4
Beans		13	13	14	14	13	12	11	11	8½	6	5½	7	10
Wheat.....		11	12	12½	12	11	10	9	2	6½	5	4½	4½	4½
Dál		11	12	12	11	11	10	8½	7½	6½	5	4	4	4

These details of Mr. Kiermander's labour and proofs of its efficiency may appear to our readers somewhat minute and wearisome. We beg them, however, to remember that we have a particular object before us in this history, *viz.*, the defence of a missionary's character. These details are our evidence; and those who have read Mr. Carne's accusations will see, that not one of our statements is unnecessary. We could have wished to curtail them, but fear to render our argument incomplete.

The following year (1771) six adult heathen "who had been long under instruction, and in their lives and conduct were obedient to the Gospel," with six Romanists and many children, were joined to the congregation. It is also particularly mentioned, that the preaching of the Gospel in the English language had been the means of awakening some who had long ceased to care for their souls. Thus the mission to the heathen reacted on the European, and furnished an additional illustration of its practical influence upon all classes. During the year, the priest Da Costa died after a long illness. He had purposed to return to Siam, and in the scene of his former labours, preach the truth which he had now embraced. But sickness delayed his purpose, and it was the will of God to remove him before it was carried out. His loss was made up to the mission by the recantation of two Romish priests, Mr. Hanson, and Mr. Ramalhete. The former was a very learned man, acquainted with eight modern languages. He had been priest at Bussorah: and there, by reading the Bible, had become fully convinced of the errors of Popery. When he came to Calcutta he sought out Mr. Kiernander, had much conversation with him, had his faith confirmed, and on the 1st of January 1772, in a most solemn service, publicly made his abjuration in the Mission Church. The Governor Mr. Cartier, one of the chaplains Dr. Burn, and many other gentlemen were present on the occasion. Both these converts wished to be employed in the Mission; and, had they been so, would doubtless have added to its usefulness. But funds were wanting; and though Mr. Ramalhete was made a catechist, and officiated very profitably while M. Bento was ill, Mr. Hanson became a writer in one of the Government offices. In the report for the year several remarkable cases of conversion are detailed. One is that of a woman, a native of Macassar, "who had an earnest desire after the knowledge of Christ, and who received instruction with an open heart." Another convert was a Papist, whose son attended the school, and was accustomed in the evening to read the New Testament to her. By this

means she acquired some knowledge of Christianity and resolved to be a Christian. Other similar instances might be mentioned. The spirit of inquiry among the Romanists continued to spread : all were most eager for Protestant books, and there were two or three priests who, it was hoped, would embrace the truth. These things shew that the mission was not a mere name, but was the means of spiritual good ; and was flourishing while all around it seemed dead. At the close of the year there were ninety-six English communicants : in the Portuguese and native Church one hundred and four, of whom nine had been admitted for the first time. In the school were ninety-four boys. The addition to the congregation during the year was forty-one, including seven heathen, eleven Papists and their children. The only drawback to the mission was the illness of M. Bento, which lasted many months. At the end of the year he renewed his labours in health. In 1773, additions were again made of fifty-five persons including sixteen adult heathen and six Romanists. In writing to the Society the report of the year Mr. Kiernander dwells at considerable length upon the desecration of the Sabbath in Calcutta by Europeans, at which he was greatly distressed. He shews from the word of God, how justly applicable the fourth commandment is to the heathen, as well as to Christians ; and how they may be made to feel the force of its sanctions. He states that during all the time in which his Church was building, he had never allowed the Sabbath to be violated, and that thereby he had found willing workmen, and had received much respect. Would that all our countrymen paid greater attention to this important matter, requiring so much improvement even in the present day. The Sabbath is one of the wisest institutions of religion ; it is most intimately connected with its prosperity and increase, and has received the highest sanctions from God himself. Would that those who are called Christians, ceased by its violation to dishonour, before the heathen that name, which they bear ! We trust that the recent order of the Governor-General with respect to its observance by those engaged in public works, will not prove a dead letter ; and that all private individuals will scrupulously emulate the example which the Government are thus prepared to set.

In June 1773, Mr. Kiernander lost his second wife after a six months' illness. Mr. Carne has said many things to this lady's dispraise, among other things asserting that she was "a young luxurious woman, who cared little for the souls of the heathen," and who drew her husband from his work to revel in the pleasures of the world. One thing is very clear from the

Reports of the Christian Knowledge Society, *vis.*, that up to the time of her death Mr. Kiernander had not in the least withdrawn from his labour, nor did he for many years after, if at all ; on the contrary, as we shall presently see, the Society entertained the highest esteem for his diligence and faithfulness as a missionary. As far as we have received any information concerning Mrs. Kiernander, Mr. Carne's censures are made on very insufficient grounds. She is said to have been a woman of kind and amiable temper, and ever anxious to see those around her happy. On her tombstone (which Mr. Carne considers as reared for Mr. Kiernander's first wife) she is spoken of in the following terms : "From a life in which she practised every virtue that adorns the character of a Christian, it pleased Almighty God to take her to himself . . . in her age of forty-three years She departed with an entire though humble confidence of a happy futurity through the merits of Jesus Christ her Redeemer ; having for some time desirously waited for the hour of her dissolution with that serenity of mind which a good conscience only can inspire." These things could not have been written of her just after her decease, had Mr. Carne's testimony been true. Mrs. Kiernander fully agreed with her husband in the exercise of that Christian liberality, the fruits of which we have already seen. And one proof that bears out the truth of the character recorded upon her tomb is this ; she had for some time, purposed to dispose of all her jewels for the benefit of the mission, but had not found a good opportunity of doing so before she died. In her will, however, the purpose was repeated. The jewels were given to build a school-room. They were sold for about 6,000 Rs., and with them a house containing three large school-rooms, able to hold two hundred and fifty scholars, was built to the East of the Church, on the spot where now stands the Mission Church rooms. They were opened in March 1774. In this building then we have another specimen of the use to which the wealth of the missionary and his wife was put. We have already seen him supporting forty children at his own expense ; fitting up, from his own resources, a house for the worship of his native congregation ; building at vast expense a large church, and now adding school-rooms to the same. We shall presently find a house added also. This Christian liberality was a distinguishing feature in Mr. Kiernander's character. The poor especially found in him a friend and helper. But while he sought to assist them in things pertaining to this life, he was wont more fully to direct the sorrowing heart to the source of all consolation, Jesus Christ. It is a saying in his family that at his door a poor man waited no

longer than a rich one. His gifts and charities must have amounted to not less than £12,000. Would that in all this he had many imitators of whom it might be said "they have done what *they could*."

In 1774 fifteen adult heathen and two Romanists joined the congregation : of English communicants there were seventy-six ; of Portuguese and natives ninety-one. A large number of Bibles and Testaments than usual, received from Madras and Tranquebar, had been distributed among the Romanists.

We have seen that Mr. Kiernander feeling the importance of his sphere of labour, and that as he stood alone, the mission might in the event of his death fall away, had again and again written to the Society in England entreating them to send him a colleague. He had been now thirty-five years a missionary, and had been in Calcutta seventeen years labouring alone. But in 1775 a colleague arrived, and with him Mr. Kiernander's two sons, who had been to Europe for their education. The new missionary was Mr. Diemer. Like Mr. Kiernander he had been educated at Halle, and had held office in the same Institution as his predecessor had done. He was described by Professor Freylinghausen as "a young man not only endued with a sincere piety toward God, but with such a measure of discretion and learning as might qualify him for the due discharge of the office of a missionary." When he went to London and met the Committee of the Christian Knowledge Society, the President in addressing him upon his duties and labours in prospect said among other things : "In Mr. Kiernander, this society, highly glory, accounting him worthy of every commendation, praising God for having been pleased to send them such a servant of his, so great a friend to religion, and of such a generous disposition ; worn out by his continual labours, yet still of a cheerful and courageous mind, strengthened by long experience." We think this testimony to Mr. Kiernander is justified by the story of the labours carried on by him to this time. Mr. Carne has, however, we regret to say, fastened upon Mr. Kiernander at this very period the charge of neglecting his work and living like the world. Were this true, it is impossible Mr. Kiernander could have done what he did. The two things are so inconsistent with one another. The earnest and zealous manner in which he had pursued his work from the first, its steady progress and increasing success, speak in the highest terms of his fidelity. Mr. Carne also represents that the arrival of a colleague (a fact which he puts twelve years after its proper date) was regarded as an insult and a disgrace. A disgrace ! Why Mr. Kiernander had pleaded

again and again with the Society for fifteen years for a coadjutor. Mr. Carne says, "he felt his arrival exquisitely!" He did indeed, though in a different sense, and rejoiced over it. He thanked God and took courage, for he trusted now that if he himself were called away, his flock would not suffer. On Mr. Diemer's landing, Mr. Kiernander took him into his own house, where he remained till he married. He proved himself an active missionary, was soon able to preach in English, and occasionally visited Chinsurah and preached in German. Meanwhile, in order to make the mission as efficient as possible, Mr. Kiernander pulled down his house near the Church, and rebuilt it on such a scale, that it would be large enough for two missionaries, as he designed that the church, schoolroom, and mission-house should be near each other. About the same time he built for himself a garden-house at Bhowanipore, which he called Saron Grove. It is worthy of notice that after various changes, this house has again become the home of a missionary: for it is here, the London Missionary Society has its Christian Institution. Native Christian girls there read a Bengali translation of the word of God, a book which Mr. Kiernander never saw. A Native church meets for worship, and hundreds of lads are taught in the English language, science, literature and Christian truth. What would not the builder of that house have given to see what our eyes behold, even in *one* missionary station, at this time. How much more would he have rejoiced to see in Calcutta, that vast impression made by religious truth upon the native population, the beginning of which is justly attributable to his own unassisted labours!

With an increased number of labourers, the mission continued to prosper. Fifteen Hindus and two Musalmans were baptized, and twenty-one Romanists received into the congregation in 1775. Amongst the Hindus was Gones Dás, the Persian Interpreter to the Supreme Court. This intelligent native had visited England, had seen much of Christianity there, and become well acquainted with its leading truths. After his appointment to the Supreme Court on its establishment in 1774, he frequently attended the Mission Church, and at length determined to profess Christianity. He was baptized in June 1775 by the name of Robert. His sponsors were Mrs. Chambers, senior, Sir Robert Chambers and Mr. Naylor. At his baptism we see an instance, and we shall see others presently, of persons in the higher walks of society avowing their attachment to spiritual religion. Not that they do honour to Christianity by so doing; for Christianity is their own brightest ornament. But it is pleasing, at a time when

religion was unfashionable, when coldness, formality, and worldliness were so common, to see those whose station society respects, not ashamed of that faith which they had in heart embraced: "Not many wise, not many noble are called." But a few are, and well is it for the world when amidst the darkness which society often exhibits, some are found as lights in the world; proving by their example that religion, far from preventing men from enjoying the good of this life, is profitable to them in enabling them better to discharge its duties.

The catalogue of Indian worthies, whose excellence was displayed among the heathenism of last century, is not a small one. Several of the Governors of Fort St. David and Madras, Sir. Robert Chambers, and his excellent brother Mr. William Chambers, Mr. Charles Grant, Sir John Shore, Mr. C. Weston, Mr. Udny and others, were not only esteemed upright men in their worldly calling, but exerted themselves for the promotion of religion. They saw in it not the firebrand which others deemed it, but the restorer of peace and spiritual health to the heathen. They freely avowed their conviction, and hence the cause of missions found in them real friends.

Besides the case of Gones Dás above mentioned, many other particular instances of conversion are given in the Society's reports. We should have been glad to transfer them to these pages, but from want of space must direct the reader who wishes further details to the valuable and interesting history by Mr. Hough. In a letter to the Society Mr. Diemer mentions two or three facts which furnish illustrations of the condition of the native mind in Calcutta at that day, and which may be well contrasted with present views and practice. Amongst them he relates the following: "The other day the leg of one of their bulls was broken. The beast was immediately surrounded by many hundred people, and the Brahmans especially were very busy and much concerned for the bull: some brought him food, others medicine, and others ropes to remove him to a dry place. Thus was the sacred bull carried away with all possible care, and every method tried to recover him." In 1776 the mission had an accession of twenty-six heathen adults and forty-nine Romanists: in the English congregation there were 148 communicants, in the native, 105. The school had eighty-eight scholars, not reckoning many who had just left. During the ten years from 1766 to 1776 there had been added to the mission 495 members, including the children

About this time, Mr. Kiernander, at his own expense, enclosed a piece of land which he had previously set apart for a burial ground. He also erected seventeen houses for widows and

other poor of the mission congregation. Two legacies, amounting to nearly 1,500 Rupees, had been put at his disposal for the poor, and these he invested in the public securities as the nucleus of a permanent fund for their benefit. The alms of the Church were devoted to the same object.

The mission had been very prosperous hitherto, but, in the vicissitudes to which earthly things are subject, those placed over it now became unfit for duty. Mr Diemer became consumptive, and was compelled to retire for a twelvemonth to Chinsurah. He had recently married the daughter of Mr. Charles Weston, so well known for his consistent piety and unbounded liberality. Mrs. Diemer like her father was eminent in piety, and sought with a truly missionary spirit to be a fellow helper with her husband in the work of the Lord. Previous to her marriage she was very useful amongst the Romanists at Bandel, and during her stay in Calcutta was greatly beloved by the flock at the Mission Church. Mr. Bento was often sick and laid aside from labour: and at length Mr. Kiernander also lost his sight. Mr Carne draws us a very striking picture of his condition. He tells us "he soon sat solitary in his spacious chambers...all was taken, save the converse of Da Costa and Hanson." The very quotations contained in Mr. Carne's work shew that Da Costa had died seven years before, and that Mr. Hanson had not been engaged at all in the charge of the mission. Mr. Carne has quite misunderstood the position of affairs, as further details will shew. Mr. Kiernander at first could preach, but was eventually obliged to abstain from it. His eldest son, Robert, who had come out with Mr. Diemer, and was now about twenty years of age, had from the time of his arrival assisted in the school: and it was judged best by Mr. Chambers and others that, during the present weak state of the mission, he should read prayers and a sermon in his father's place. Application for help was made at the same time to Tranquebar, and two missionaries came from thence successively to Calcutta to take charge of the native congregation; first M. Koenig, afterwards M. Gerlach whom the Rev. D. Brown describes as a man of true piety and great learning. Mr. Ramalhete continued to officiate as catechist. He was a very devoted labourer, and shewed the sincerity of his attachment to the mission, by doing its work amidst the severest privations. These various efforts to carry on the duties of the mission were not in vain. The congregation continued to increase and improve. A short notice of it at this period occurs in the life of Schwartz and may be quoted. Schwartz had heard

from Mr. W. Chambers concerning it and wrote in reply: "It is cheering to reflect on the externally devout behaviour of the congregation. O may the spirit of Jesus come on them like a rain, that the Bengal desert may become a fertile soil and fruitful field of the Lord!" In 1777, seventy-four were added; in 1778, seventy-five; in 1779 and 1780, ninety-five, and in 1781 there was an increase of thirty, amongst whom were eight heathen.

An event which took place in 1780, though not immediately connected with this history, is worthy of mention, as it illustrates the state of things at that period. On Friday, March 24th, an awful fire occurred in Bow Bazar. It extended southward, caught even the Ján Bazar and went up to Kálinga. *Fifteen thousand* straw houses were burnt down, and 190 persons suffocated in the flames. This fire is described as "the largest that was ever seen in Calcutta." Thousands were rendered houseless and died, especially children, from exposure. Other fires took place near the same spot in the following month.—

In May 1781 Mr Kiernander recovered his sight. The surgeon of an Indiaman removed the cataract from which he suffered, and he was able to see with the help of glasses. Mr. Diemer's health, too, somewhat improved, and he again took charge of the school. In Mr. Kiernander's report to the Society, it is noticed as an extraordinary thing that Lady Coote took great interest in the mission, and, during a short stay in Calcutta, regularly attended the Mission Church. He adds, that her good example had produced a beneficial effect upon others. Next year, six adult heathen were baptized, the English communicants amounted to 149; the Portuguese to 109. Mr. Kiernander also completed the printing of the Portuguese Prayer Book.

In 1783 Mr. Robert Kiernander married Miss Morris, the daughter of Mr. F Morris, formerly the Company's Standing Counsel in the old Mayor's Court. She was a young lady of pious deportment, and all her subsequent history exhibits prudence, generosity and consistency of conduct. A lakh of rupees left her by her father, was settled upon her and her children. On his marriage Mr. R. Kiernander gave a donation of 3,000 rupees to the mission poor-fund already mentioned; and Mr. Kiernander gave 1000. About the same time the Rev. W. Hulse, Sir Eyre Coote's chaplain, presented 500 rupees to the mission. This year the labours of the mission were carried on without interruption in both congregations, and seventeen heathen of different castes were baptized. Mr. Diemer's health, however, compelled him to return to Europe.

It was in 1783 that the Moravians arrived to commence a mission in Bengal, which was however soon abandoned : and in the same year the Military Orphan Asylum was founded on the proposal of Captain Kirkpatrick.

Let us pause for a moment to consider what had been the state of European society for several years previous to this, observing at the outset, that one proof of its improvement was the readiness with which the above proposal was taken up. We have already remarked that at first Europeans in Calcutta were comparatively few, and that the habits of society were comparatively simple. In trade, however, honesty was not the golden rule by which plans and efforts were regulated ; and in this the civilians in the service set a most pernicious example. The love of money grew as it was fed, and it became the ambition of all to be rich speedily. The appearance of society soon changed. The money unfairly acquired was squandered in many instances without thought. Hospitality was practised by all ; but dinners soon became "sumptuous." Extravagance was introduced into household expenditure ; luxury and indolence got a firm footing at the presidency ; and the young men especially ran into "excesses of dissipation." Ladies were ambitious of exhibiting fine dresses and jewellery ; gentlemen were proud of their equipage ; balls, races, theatrical displays and revels, with their attendant scandal, became common. But this was not all. Numerous vices, the offspring and companions of these things, followed in their train. Drinking and gambling had many votaries ; and drinking and gambling led to quarrels and duels. With few ladies at the settlement, society in general was most profligate, and in this Hastings and Francis led the way. If such was the case in London, where princes of the blood royal set the example, and the manners of the aristocracy were debauched in the extreme, what could be expected in a foreign and distant settlement ? The moral aspect of Calcutta was like its physical. Noisome tanks and odours bred disease and death to the body. But the many active vices of the age bred far more disease and ruin for the soul. This was the practice of society ; and its opinions on religion were no better. Though profest infidels were few, a general disregard was felt toward all religion ; the Sabbath was openly violated to a fearful extent ; and God's law knowingly broken. It seemed as though eternity was utterly forgotten in the pleasures and pursuits of time.

These facts exhibit to us the painful position in which Mr. Kiernander was placed. He lived when Calcutta society was

in its very worst state. He was not surrounded by faithful companions, who sympathised with his labours, gave him their help joined in his rejoicings and bore with him his trials. But like Abdiel he stood almost alone "faithful among the faithless." He was even in a worse position ; for while he preached the truth of the Bible to Romanists and the heathen, his fellow Europeans were defying all the laws of religion in their wicked conduct. Such practices had a most discouraging influence upon the missionary's labour. If they be not taken into account, we cannot fully realize Mr. Kiernander's work and appreciate his difficulties. His testimony for the truth amidst such irreligion was faithful and truly useful in its results. As he continued to preach to the English congregation, we notice with pleasure that it greatly improved. The number of communicants on the opening of the Church was eighty-five ; but these increased gradually to 162, not reckoning the removals by death and other causes every year. At the same time Mr. Kiernander gathered around him a small number of men, such as those that have been mentioned, who were earnestly desirous of promoting the cause of religion. Some of them subsequently engaged in translating the New Testament. It would seem that whatever good men there were in Calcutta, attached themselves to the Mission Church. It is said of the Rev. D. Brown, that when he arrived in 1786, "he found in Calcutta a small body of pious Christians, and in a course of years had the happiness of discovering that in hidden retreats there were unthought of individuals, living the life of faith on the Son of God, and some who in utmost privacy exerted themselves to stem the torrent of evil around them by a good example in their own families" Much of this good may we think be justly traced to Mr. Kiernander's missionary efforts. But society in general shewed its improvement too. The English in Calcutta, as we learn from many testimonies, were always liberal in giving : but after his labours their liberality appears still more conspicuous. The subscriptions for the Cathedral in 1784 amounted to 1½ lakhs of Rupees. Large subscriptions were also given on the establishment of the Military Orphan Society in 1783 ; on that of the Free School Society in 1789, and of the Native Hospital in 1792. More decided religious improvement of every kind took place under the Rev. D. Brown and his friends, whose labours immediately followed Mr. Kiernander's. This improvement has continued to the present day : and will, we trust, never cease.

To return to the Mission. In 1785, after long sickness, Mr. Bento died, and thus Mr. Kiernander was left, at the age of

seventy-four and unfit for active duties, to take charge of the mission alone. He engaged a teacher, Mr. Franzel, for the Portuguese congregation, and gave as much assistance as he could. He wished to return to Europe with his son, and had expressed his wish to the Society; but as he could not leave the mission without a head, he remained. During the year, nineteen heathen were baptized and ten Papists received. In the English congregation were 162 communicants, and in the Native 126. In giving this report, Mr. Kiernander remarks with pleasure that the mission had been wonderfully cared for by God's good providence, so that the school and congregation had been all along regularly served and attended to as far as possible, and no part of duty had been set aside. In 1786, he baptized twenty heathens, and received fifteen Papists. Writing of these things to the Society, he observes, that the increase in the congregations had not been so great as he could have wished, but expresses his thankfulness that the duties of both had been uninterruptedly attended to. He says that the natives were beginning to understand Christianity better: and, in a subsequent letter, expresses his conviction that "a glorious prospect was opening in the country for the success of the Gospel." That prospect was indeed brightening, and of it we may judge from the progress of his own efforts. During the ten years, from 1776 to 1786, the increase to his Portuguese and Native congregation was 518. On a careful examination we find that from 1758 to 1786, a period of twenty-eight years, he baptized at least 209 adult heathen, and received into the congregation 300 Papists. Of this number of heathen we are particularly informed; others are doubtless included in the report of those years wherein the origin of the converts is not specified. Two hundred and nine heathen, the majority of whom were Hindus and Natives of Bengal! When we read these things, let us join in those thanks which Mr. Kiernander himself so appropriately renders for the success of his work.

Next year, the year 1787, his part in the Calcutta Mission closed. Mr. Kiernander became bankrupt; and the sheriff in seizing his property, seized, among other things, on the Mission Church, house, school and burying-ground. The circumstances under which the bankruptcy occurred are not widely known. Asiaticus says, "at the time they could not be accounted for, and must now remain a mystery." We trust, however, to clear up the mystery in a measure, and that in a way somewhat satisfactory to the missionary's character. The family papers give the following account, and the story which Bishop Corrie heard

accords with it. Mr. Robert Kiernander seems to have had charge of his father's property during his three years' blindness. An indication of this is found in *Hickey's Gazette* for 1780. He was very young and inexperienced, and was drawn by various parties, in accordance with the spirit of the times, into schemes for making himself rich. Of these interested parties some were natives. In 1782 he especially began to speculate in building houses, then thought to be a sure investment for money. Ready-money was necessary to a considerable amount, and this was raised by bonds. To these bonds Mr. Kiernander put his name as security; and thus the safety of his own property depended upon the success of his son's projects. Mr. Kiernander had in his hand 80,000 rupees belonging to a ward of his. The ward married a worthless attorney, who at once demanded his wife's fortune, and refused to wait for it. It was shown distinctly that if he waited three months, all the houses, finished and unfinished, with the materials, could be sold, and that after paying the above sum with all other debts, two lakhs and a half would be realized for Mr. Kiernander's estate. He still refused, other creditors were alarmed, and the whole property was attached by the Sheriff. It was sold at a ruinous loss. The mission property which cost 1,00,000 Rs. was valued at only 10,000; the house at Bhowanipore, which cost 30,000, was sold to Mr. Charles Weston for 5,000, and so on. No writ was issued against the person of Mr. Kiernander and his son. But as it was expected, they left the whole of their property (except that settled on Mrs. R. Kiernander) in the hands of their creditors and retired to Chinsurah.

Mr. Carne amongst other statements, unjustly reflecting upon Mr. Kiernander's character, attributes these losses to his extravagance. He has said that Mr. Kiernander neglected his missionary work, mixed with the world, adopted their customs, set up a barouche and four, and gave large dinner parties. With respect to his work, his constant correspondence with the C. K. Society, the regular returns from the mission, the high testimony borne to him by the Society as late as 1773, the fact that his duties were never neglected, that many friends on the spot (and who could judge better than they of his labours?) gave him funds for the mission, that the English congregation, and the number of good men around him, continued to increase; all these are evidence which lead to an opposite conclusion, and show that even to old age, the interests of religion were those about which the missionary was employed. Had he not cared for his flock, he could have left them, but he himself, when seventy-five years old, said that

he would not leave them without a pastor. Asiaticus says, "his zeal was great," and all that we read of his doings, tends to prove it. With respect to the charge of worldliness, we can state distinctly, that though he was a wealthy man, there is no proof that his wealth was abused. On the contrary, it was employed to further the cause of religion. Shall we speak again in his defence : of the charity school whose children he supported ; of the gifts bestowed on the poor ; of the church, the schoolroom, the mission-house that he built, and the burial-ground which he set apart for his people ? The customs of society must also be taken into the reckoning. There were in his time no hotels for strangers, and hospitality was general and proverbial. In a state of society like this (not unfrequently seen in mofussil stations to this day) all classes were much mixed up together ; and, in point of fact, almost all Europeans were of the higher class, being civilians and military men. If Mr. Kiernander, a wealthy man, and possessing many excellent qualifications to make him esteemed, *had* mixed in general society, we do not see that *merely* on that account he should be blamed ; all depends upon the tone of his conduct and the spirit in which that intercourse was carried on. We have positive testimony upon this point. A contemporary of his has stated distinctly, that "he lived modestly, and indulged in little more than the expenses befitting a respectable station ; his hospitalities were not displayed in ostentatious banquets, but in a table at which the friendless scholar, the needy ecclesiastic, the disappointed civilian, and the unsuccessful merchant were welcome guests." Asiaticus in order to satisfy himself about Mr. Kiernander made many inquiries within three years after his death, and puts his character in a most favorable light, adding "after most mature deliberation and minute examination, I am not conscious of having made any misrepresentation" In answer to his inquiries, the gentlemen at Chinsurah who knew him well said : "Had he been capable of guile, he could not have displayed that serenity which always beamed from his countenance ; his composed visage bespoke the tranquillity of a soul conscious of its own purity." The worst thing which Asiaticus hopes can be said of him is, that "with Swedish vanity he drove a carriage and four." Here, however, we have evidence again to the contrary ; and find the son's ostentation reflected upon the father. There is distinct proof from Mr. Kiernander's own papers that the carriage and four belonged to his son. "After his marriage he (Mr. Robert Kiernander) kept up a proper establishment and equipage" As collateral

proof we may notice that in a passage in *Hickey's Gazette*, Mr. Robert Kiernander is styled "the famous Phaeton-driver."

The real evil seems to be this. Mr. Robert Keirnander after returning to Bengal, engaged in missionary work, taught in the school, read prayers, and sometimes even preached. But after this, and even while it was going on, he engaged in mercantile speculations. It was really he who was guilty of what is laid to his father's charge. Let good testimony have its due weight; and we do not fear that Mr. Carne's unjust remarks, given without authority, will fall unheeded. Mr. Kiernander, the missionary, however, was not faultless. He encouraged his son, and continued him in spiritual labour, while he was seeking the world's wealth. More than this: he signed the bonds and thus put in jeopardy his property and usefulness; he may have done it also with the hope of adding to his own wealth. The Rev. John Owen, who was a chaplain in Calcutta at the very time of which we write, afterwards addressing a missionary in London upon his work in India, amongst other things said, "I knew two missionaries of excellent learning, and in other respects of unexceptionable character, who were drawn aside by the suggestions of interested natives into such vexations as ended only with their lives." One of these missionaries we have no doubt was a missionary at Madras, the other Mr. Kiernander. While therefore, we maintain that as Mr. Owen says, he was "in other respects of unexceptionable character," in encouraging the schemes of his son during the last three or four years of his missionary life, he acted injudiciously. A missionary's character should be irreproachable. His work is spiritual and has a spiritual aim. He cannot then be too careful. Many eyes watch him, and are ready to detect any inconsistency. Engagement in worldly concerns can never do him good, and always may do him harm. "No man that warreth, entangleth himself with the affairs of this life, that he may please him who hath chosen him to be a soldier." They that carry on spiritual warfare are subject to the same law. Mr. Kiernander, we think, was wrong, but let us remember, he was an old man, his son was entering upon life, and in Calcutta money-getting at that day was the one grand object of all classes. Let us remember these things and pray "Lead us not into temptation."

The church, school and burying-ground were seized, we have said, by the Sheriff, and valued at 10,000 rupees. They were at once redeemed for this sum by Charles Grant, Esq., who had recently come from Malda and joined the mission congregation. By him they were invested in trust for the use

of the mission, and given over to the Christian Knowledge Society for this purpose. The first three trustees were Mr. Grant, Mr. W. Chambers, and the Rev. David Brown. Under the superintendence of these three Christian gentlemen, the missionary work was continued as before, the Portuguese and native congregation being under the charge of Mr. Franzel. Its remaining history is soon told. An urgent appeal was made to the Society to send out one or two missionaries; but however willing they were to adopt the suggestion, they could not find men. Two missionaries indeed arrived, but neither remained long enough to be of any service to the native congregation. It therefore languished on; the changes which it underwent did not increase its numbers; while death and removals diminished them every year. Even in 1804, however, there remained a small remnant, taught by a catechist, under the superintendence of the Rev. D. Brown. The English congregation found many friends, amongst them Sir John Shore; and under Mr. Brown's faithful preaching, received many additions of men truly converted to God. But the native church became extinct, and thus the first Protestant Mission to Bengal, which flourished well during thirty years, passed away, leaving no trace of its existence behind. But such we fear will always be the case with a mission supported by individuals and not by an embodied church. In the labours we have now been detailing, we must, in justice, consider Mr. Keirnander as acting almost alone. He came of his own accord to Calcutta, he received but a small amount of support from the Society in England, and collected most of his subscriptions in Calcutta itself. Indeed, had the C. K. Society wished to devote large sums to the Calcutta mission, they could not have done so. Their report show that their contributions were but small, and given by a few individuals. Out of these they had to send supplies to Madras and Cudalore. Far from proving her missionary zeal, the Established Church, as a body, left the mission to languish: then the missionary was old and weak, did little in answer to his appeals and at length "disheartened," abandoned it altogether. It is a remarkable fact, that notwithstanding so many German missionaries went to London and met the Society on their appointment, not a single Episcopal missionary (as far as we can find,) came out to India during the whole century. Yes, there was one, and he, a few months after his arrival in Calcutta, forsook his work to become a chaplain. All the missionaries who came, whether to Bengal or Southern India, were men from Germany, and chiefly Halle students. They have the honor

of beginning these missions undivided. The English Church, though she gave her money (and excellent and devoted were the men who sustained this branch of the cause), hitherto withheld her men : and it remained for men of other churches, and without the prestige of rank, to be the first *Englishmen*, who from a genuine missionary spirit in the middle classes of English society, set themselves to establish missions in Bengal by means of the Bengali language.

But to conclude Mr. Kiernander's personal history. We have said that on the seizure of his property, he left every thing to his creditors, and went with his son and his son's family to Chinsurah. He was received very kindly by an excellent lady there, Mrs. Spiegle, and lived in her house. now destroyed, which stood in the garden at present belonging to G. Herklots, Esq. His son with his family lived near the south-west bastion of the fort. Up to the time of his coming to Chinsurah, religion had been but little attended to. There had been no regular chaplain at the Dutch settlement : only a reader was employed, who, on the Sabbath, read a sermon and the Dutch Psalms. On Mr. Kiernander's arrival, therefore, the Governor, Mr. Titsingh, appointed him chaplain, on a salary of fifty rupees per month. Mr. Carne tells us in very feeling terms of Mr. Kiernander's impoverished condition amidst the picturesque beauties of Chinsurah. But we regret to say, he is again at fault. In the wreck of the family fortunes, the lakh of rupees settled on Mrs. Robert Kiernander was of course saved. This was invested in houses and yielded a good annual income, probably not less than 800 rupees per month, considering the high interest of those days. Upon this, the whole family lived very comfortably. Mr. Kiernander was fond of botany ; and at Chinsurah had two gardens wherein he delighted to cultivate his favorite science. In 1790 Mr. Robert Kiernander died, leaving his widow with the care of six children, five boys and one girl. Upon his death she removed once more to Calcutta, with her mother Mrs. Morris, her sister and her children, and there endeavoured, in the most exemplary manner, to educate the latter. Some of them are living in Calcutta to this day. The old man, however, remained, provided with many comforts suitable to his age by his affectionate daughter-in-law. He was not alone, as he had many friends at Chinsurah. One of them who is still living, himself an eminent servant of God, cherishes a most pleasing remembrance of Mr. Kiernander, and speaks of him with the deepest respect. He often visited Calcutta, sometimes spending weeks together

with his grandchildren, and they in return visited him at Chinsurah. He was always welcomed in Calcutta by his excellent successor in the Mission Church, the Rev. D. Brown. In 1793 that church was enlarged and improved; a new chancel to the eastward being added. Mr. Kiernander was invited to be present, and to administer the Lord's Supper on the occasion. He did so, and was rejoiced to find so large an attendance. Mr. Brown, in writing of the circumstance to the Society in London, spoke of Mr. Kiernander's poverty, and the Society in return very kindly sent him a present of £40. About this time Mr. Kiernander's second son, who came out with his brother in 1775, and was an officer in the Company's service, died at Chinsurah. His voyage to India is mentioned in the Society's reports, and of his death we have heard from a living witness. In 1795 Chinsurah was taken by the English, and Mr. Kiernander became a prisoner of war. He, however, remained at liberty, and the salary given him by the Dutch was continued during the period of English rule also by Mr. Commissioner Birch. But he was growing weaker and more infirm. Next year he was eighty-five years of age, and being unable to discharge the duties of his office, he resigned it and left Chinsurah altogether. He came to his daughter-in-law's house at the close of the year and was welcomed by the family most affectionately. The house in which they lived was the one in which he had formerly resided. It was situated on the south side of Camac Street: and was called by him Beth Saron or Saron House, in contrast to Saron Grove his other house at Bhowanipore which, since his failure, had been occupied by his good friend Mr. Weston. The family lived in a very retired manner, Mrs. Kiernander being intent chiefly on her children's education. In this, the aged missionary now assisted, superintending their tutor, who seems to have been very irregular. He often attended the Mission Church, and was constantly visited by its worthy minister. It is very gratifying to see the affectionate interest Mr. Brown took in his aged friend, and how the trials of the Mission Church were shared by them in common. He spent much time also with Mr. Weston now sixty-seven years of age, in whose conversion he had been instrumental, and whose pious daughter had been the wife of his brother missionary. Occasionally he paid a visit to Chinsurah.

This was the quiet even tenor of his life during its last three years. His spirit, chastened by afflictions, had greatly profited by them. His heart was full of gratitude and over-

flowing with love. His character was just such as we love to see an old man exhibit, and which none can bear but he whose treasure is laid up in heaven. His fortune was gone, he had had many trials, but he was full of peace. Strange it is that such trials should be met with such calmness! But it is the Christian law "all things work together for good, to them that love God:" and hence every child of God can say, "I have learned in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content" This is a practical effect of practical religion, and shows that there is something which a Christian can value more than wealth; something which he may possess in poverty: something which wealth can never buy.

An affecting but substantial proof of this, once in Mr. Kiernander's possession, is now extant. We have before us his almanac for 1797 and 1798, written with his own hand. The remarkable days, the church festivals, &c., are all noted in it, and at the end is recorded a list of the public occurrences in the year, put in one after the other as they occurred. In this diary are found many little notices of his daily life and that of the family. We make a few extracts from it that the reader may mark the spirit which animated him at the close of life.

The almanac for 1797 opens with the following prayers:

"O Lord my God, imprint deeply and daily in my heart

THIS DAILY MEMORANDUM!

That I read often and meditate frequently on the WORD of the Lord under fervent prayer for illumination from the Lord;

That I be always resigned and contented with the disposals of DIVINE PROVIDENCE;

That I may always observe a propriety of behaviour and preserve my conscience pure and just;

That I may submit to that which the Lord has ordained;

That I may acquit myself faithfully in the DUTIES of my employment;

That I may do every thing in my power to render myself as universally useful as possible;

That I may always eschew evil and do good;

That I may always remember my latter end and my going out of this world, and my entrance into the spiritual world;

That I may never forget that there can be no repentance after death: and therefore, that it be my daily endeavour properly to qualify myself for a happy life in the blessed state of the spiritual world before I go hence, and

That I may carry an Angelical mind with me out of this world.

May such be always my inward state of mind!

My daily general prayer: Our Father which art, &c.

Jehovah God-man and man-God Jesus Christ, Thou art our Lord and

our God ; Thou art our Father, our Creator and Preserver, our Guide, our present helper in all need, our all in all, have mercy upon us. Create in us a new and a clean heart, renew a right spirit within us, incline our will to all what is good, enlighten our understanding to perceive the truth of thy Holy word ; teach us, and lead us and establish us in the way of a willing obedience to all Thy Holy and good commandments through life and to our life's end.

Bless us and all our relations ; bless all Thy children upon earth ; recall and bring into the way of truth all those who have erred and are deceived ; give grace to all infidels that they may turn to Thee, repent, believe, and be saved. And further us all in the right way through this world : and out of this world into Thy heavenly kingdom, for the sake of Thy holy and glorious name.

O Lord our God and Saviour Jesus Christ, help, save and deliver us from all our own sinful, selfish, worldly and carnal snares and entanglings, that for such deliverance we may praise, honour and thank Thee ever. Prepare, qualify and sanctify our souls to Thy service, ah, to Thy service in time and eternity ! O Lord our God hear graciously our prayer, and add to us all and every grace and blessing that we want, and have mercy upon us now and for ever for Thy own name's sake. Amen."

The following are also extracts :—

- Jan. 2 The Tutor, Mr John Turner, began the school with the children.
- " 3. Mr. Turner having business, absented himself to-day.
- " 6. Mr Weston visited me
- " 9. Letter to Christian W Gercke by favour of Captain Hogan,
Commander of the *Marquis Cornwallis*.
- " 10. Mrs Mitchell visited us
- " 14. I visited Mrs Green who is sick with a fever.
- " 17 I wrote a letter for Mrs. Green to Sir Robt. Chambers.
- " 19 Mr Weston visited me.
- " 25. I and the family dined with Mr Weston [at Bhowampore.]
- " 27 I feel my weakness : the mortal body is gradually decaying.
- " 30. The Rev. Mr Blanchard is preparing to go to England upon
an American ship in about a fortnight, worth five lakhs. Mr.
Owen two and a half lakhs. Mr Johnson three and a half lakhs.

[Note.—Mr. Blanshard had been in Calcutta twenty-three years, Mr. Owen ten years, Mr. Johnson thirteen years. It will be seen from this that the chaplains as well as other officers last century made money-making an object. And in it we find another proof that this was the grand evil of the time. Mr. Owen, too, was a very good man. In the address to the Society in London, already quoted, after remarking about the two missionaries who fell, he adds : " Surely these should have known that to a clergyman who finds food and raiment in his profession, there can be no lawful gain out of it ! " Shall we blame the missionary and not the chaplain ?]

- Jan 31. The Governor-General, Sir John Shore, and the Commander-in-Chief are gone up in the country
- Feb. 1. There seems to be a disturbance approaching above in the country : the army is recruiting and augmenting.
- " 6. Letter to the Rev D. Brown and his answer. Mr. Wade is expected as a missionary if the Bishop will permit it.

- Feb. 9. The war that threatened us is finished. Zemaun Shaw is returning to this country.
- " 10. Mr. Weston visited me.
- " 12. Several ships from Europe, and a good number of soldiers about 2,000, arrived in the river.
- " 16. Letter to Sir R. Chambers at Cossipore.
- " 19. For several days my right leg has been swelled, which has caused much pain in walking, as if I had trod upon needles.
- " 27. Letter to Chr. W. Gericke and Daniel Ince, by the Post. The First oratorio was in the new Church, to which 700 Gold Mohurs were subscribed for the Free School, 11,200 S. Rs.
- March 1. Mr. Weston visited me.
- " 2. I visited the Rev. D. Brown.
- " 4. I visited Mr. Weston and took my leave of him as he is going up to Chinsurah.
- " 9. Letter to J. J. rescott with Fox's Book of Martyrs.
- " 12. I visited Mrs. Green and wrote a letter for her to her agents.
- " 15. To day Turner is absent.
- " 18. Jagol Mali's report. Turner absent on his own business the whole day.
- " 20. Turner this afternoon————went home in my Palan-keen
- " 21. Turner came at nine and went away at eleven, before I could speak with him ; in the afternoon Turner promised to come regular.
- " 25. Turner absent the whole day
- " 27. This day received a letter from Sir Thomas Higgins date London, 7th August, 1796.
- April 1. The heat of the weather is great and makes me very weak. Bodily strength is gone.
- " 2. A young woman of the caste Warduga, is desirous to be a Christian, and desires to be baptized.
- " 3. As she understands a little of the Portuguese language I began this morning to instruct her. Turner absent the whole day.
- " 7. I baptized Maria, of the Telinga caste, from the coast, about twenty years old
- " 8. Frequent great fires in the Calcutta bazars and straw houses.
- " 11. The heat and dryness of this weather must be a heavy burden to others as well as to me, who am now depressed and quite faint.
- " 15. The Rev. Mr. Brown is now Senior Chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Limerick the junior, and the Rev. Mr. Buchanan succeeds Mr. L. at Barrackpore.
- " 15. Letters from Mr. Weston and R. Birch, Esq.
- " 24. Turner absented himself on his own business.
- May 1. The Governor-General returned from Lucknow to Calcutta.
- " 16. Letter to Mr. Gericke and George Parry by the Post
- " 22. Several very great fires have been in the Calcutta suburbs and bazars, whereby many thousands of the poorer sort of Bengalees have been sufferers, and lost all they had.
- " 27. Mr. Dumping visited me and brought me a letter from Mr. Gregorius Herklotz to come to Neelgunje and baptize his daughter.
- " 28. Another great fire at the Boutakhana.
- " 31. Dr. Roxburgh, Mrs. R., and George their son, paid us a visit.
- June 4. I went to Anilpore and baptised Adelheid Antoinette, a daughter of Mynheer Gregorius Herklotz.
- " 5. I arrived at Bethsaron at eight in the morning.
- " 13. These several days much hurt has been done by lightning. At Short's bazar a brassman's shop filled with brass pots was struck by the lightning and consumed in fire, and seven Bengalis in the shop were killed by it.
- " 27. I have for sometime ago begun to revise my old sermons and to write them fair anew, and now, on this day, the 27th, finished ten

- July 6. The Mahometan feast ends, not without murders.
 „ 23. The family dined at Mr. Weston's : I excused myself.
 „ 26. I had a great cold, which I caught yesterday ; my great Japan
 Banyan coat cannot keep me warm.
 „ 31. I finished the sixteenth
 August 1. My cold has quite left me, and the swelling in both legs and feet is
 entirely gone away ; and thanks be to God, I find myself perfectly
 well.
 „ 21. I finished the twentieth.
 „ 25. Mrs. Kiernander has a violent headache.
 „ 29. The Rev. Mr. Brown and the Rev. Mr. Buchanan paid me a kind
 visit.
 „ 30. I received a letter from Mr. Gericke.
 Sept 18. Turner absent the whole day.
 „ 25. Mr. Weston visited me.
 „ 26. Turner came in time. Ned had a fall and cut his foot : a very deep
 wound.
 Oct. 12. I had a kind visit by the Rev. Mr. Brown, in company with the
 Prince of [] an officer in the English Military Service.
 „ 22. I went from Calcutta to Chinsurah.
 „ 23. I visited R Birch Esq., and the sick Mr. Prescott.
 „ 24. I baptised Maria Catharina, Mr. Bogaardt's daughter. I baptised
 Alberts Maria, Mr Botser's daughter
 „ 25. I baptised Christian Augustus, Captain Ethardy's son.
 „ 27. I went from Chinsurah to Calcutta.
 „ 30. Arrived, the Rev. Mr W. J. Ringeltaube as the Society's Mission-
 ary for the Mission Church.
 Nov. 1. The Rev Mr. Brown and the Rev. Mr. Ringeltaube visited me
 „ 3. I sent my picture to the Rev. Mr. Brown and my Portuguese books
 to the Rev. Mr. Ringeltaube
 „ 4. Turner came in good time [so for several days]
 „ 19. I made a trial to go to Church . the joy of my heart was there
 „ 20. Mr Weston visited me,
 „ 22. Mr. Ringeltaube favoured me with his good company at breakfast
 and dinner, and I received much pleasure from his conversation.
 May the blessing of God rest on him !
 „ 30. I count the days and hours I close my eighty-sixth year crowned
 with Divine Mercy. The goodness and mercy of the Lord
 my God is every morning renewed. O my soul, praise the Lord
 for ever.
 Dec. 1. 1797 } By the mercy of the Lord, with a perfect state of health,
 1711 } I enter into my eighty-seventh year of age. O Lord be
 — } thou my life and my guide through this world into
 86 } Heaven.
 „ 3. I received the Holy Sacrament in the Mission Church S. D. Gloria.
 „ 29. I visited Mr. Ringeltaube in the Mission Church House.
 „ 31. Mr. Weston visited me The whole year is gone. Time doth not stand
 and wait for us, but is uninterruptedly going. We must therefore
 make use, and good use of it, whilst we have it.
 1798.
 Jan. 2. Finished my address to the Roman Catholics.
 „ 8. Letter to the Rev. D Brown ; and sent for his perusal, the address to
 the Roman Catholics. Letter from Mr. Brown, who is of opinion
 that the circulation will be difficult on account of the prevailing
 apathy to read any thing of Religion.
 „ 11. Mr. Le Beck paid me a kind visit ; he is from Tranquebar, and now
 returns to that place. He has studied at Upsala, and is fond of
 travelling over the world, &c.
 „ 12. My cough has now lasted these eight days.
 „ 15. Mr Weston visited me and sent me a dose of Ipecacuanha.
 „ 16. Mr. Weston visited me. I am much better.
 „ 26. I have now no cough and am thanks to God, well.
 Feb. 9 I went from Calcutta to Chinsurah Letter to Mrs. Kiernander.
 „ 10. I visited Overbeck and Terraneau.

- Feb. 13. I visited Mr. Burch junior. Mr. Bowman visited me.
 " 14. Doctor Geissler and Mr. Verboon visited me.
 " 16. I dined with Mr. Dolle. I visited Seven Biggas.
 " 18. I preached German, Luke 22, 19. I baptized Peter Theodorus
 Gerhardus Overbeck. Do. Wm. Alexander Smith. Do. Carolina
 Terraneau.
 " 20. I went from Chinsurah to Calcutta. All well. S. D. Gloria
 " 22. Little Edward maketh now a beginning to go to school to Mr.
 Turner : and so they are all five boys in a good train of education ;
 and little Charlotte is improvised with me, and thus all six in a good
 way
 March 4. I dined with Mr Weston and took my leave of him as he is going
 up to Chinsurah for some time.
 " 9. Received the news that the Rev. Mr. Schwartz was departed from
 this terrestrial to the spiritual world
 " 11. Many in Calcutta are sick ; but thanks be to God, all in my family are
 very well, and I am in perfect health, though weak by old age and
 its attendant infirmity.
 " 21. Letter to Mr. Ringeltaube. He sent me the Society's account for
 1796.
 " 22, 23 & 24. I have with much pleasure read the account of the Society for
 Promoting Christian Knowledge for 1796, and observed the glorious
 instances of the good Divine Providence, which gives support to
 my depressed spirit, and maketh me rejoice in the good Providence
 of God.
 " 26. Letter to Mr. Ringeltaube and returned the account of the Society
 for 1796.

[NOTE.—This letter is extant, and we would gladly reprint it. It is full of Christian reflections upon the work of the Society and on the goodness of God which, during all the century, had raised up such men for the Indian mission, provided such support, and so filled the schools with educated natives. Mr. K. declares it, in his view, the high vocation of England to enlighten India, and expects that all the English nation will join together to form a society for propagating Christianity in the East Indies. One thing we quote in relation to his work. I was by *old age, fatigue, and other vexations* quite exhausted and under the necessity of leaving my post"]

- April 8. Now near 300 children of the Free School were at Church to-day.
 Calcutta has lost nothing by the cessation of the poor Mission
 School This is a blessing of God upon the good endeavours of
 the Rev Mr Brown.
 June 4. At 4 o'clock I went from Calcutta to Anipore and baptized the son
 of Mr G. Herklotz, Gerhard Andreas.
 " 6. Turner came, and was dismissed.
 " 25 & 26 These two days Mr. Chapman [the new Tutor] did absent
 himself
 July 1. Now seven months are past of my eighty-seventh year. Blessed be the
 Lord the happy eternity draws near !
 " 4. I finished revising, writing fair, the twenty-eighth Sermon.
 " 12. Mr Chapman absented himself this day. [The same many days.]
 " 17. Engaged Mr. John Bland as Tutor to the six children at 100 Rs.
 per month.
 " 24. The Rev. D. Brown visited me. We had a conference about Mr.
 Ringeltaube, &c. Conclusion : to leave him to his own will to
 act, to stay, or go away, as he thinks proper.

[NOTE.—Mr. Ringeltaube was dissatisfied with his salary, and wrote to England about it : before the reply could arrive, he determined to leave the mission.]

- July 27. Mr. Weston paid me a kind visit.
- August 1. Soli Deo Gloria ! I enter into the Ninth Month of my eighty-seventh year in perfect health.
- " 16. Ringeltaube is returned to Europe.
- Sept. 3. Joseph Harris began to teach the children as tutor.
- October 6. First advertisement for printing the well meant address [to the Roman Catholics]
- " 7. The pain in my right eye continues the same.
- " 28 & 29. My eye remains the same.
- Nov. 6. Mr. Weston paid me a visit, about the sun's not setting for fourteen days at Turrow in Lapland.
- " 13. I received a part of the address from the Printing Office.
- " 14. Mr. Michael de Rozario visited me, one given to him
- " 19. Letter to Rev. David Brown with one well meant address.
- " 30. With this day my eighty-seventh year is ended. I heartily thank Thee, O Lord my God, for all Thy long suffering and patience with my failings, for all Thy love, mercy and blessings.
- Dec. 1. This day I entered into my eighty-eighth year of age, and thanks be to my Lord and God, for good health, and for His manifold blessings. May His Commandments be my rule of life, and I His servant for ever.
- " 3. I sent ten packets of the address to Luis Bareto, &c., &c.
- " 6. Letter to Philp D'Cruz, and the address which he angrily returned.
- " 11. I began to make an almanac for the ensuing year 1799.
- " 31. This year is now at an end. But thou, O Lord, shalt endure for ever. Thou art the same, and Thy years have no end. Blessed be the Lord for ever.

The almanac which Mr. Kiernander prepared, he did not live to finish. He had lived long, expecting the coming of the Lord, and at length he was called home, "as a shock of corn fully ripe" On the 28th of April 1799, one of his old flock called to request that Mr. K. would baptize his child. He was desired to come next morning at 7 o'clock. On rising that morning from his bed, Mr. Kiernander suddenly slipped and fell. The fall broke his thigh. Medical skill was of little avail, and after lingering for a few days, he died on the 10th of May, aged eighty-eight years. He was buried in the grave of his second wife in the mission ground, and the service was read by Rev. D. Brown.

Such was the end of this servant of God. His is an eventful history, and one which, upon his dying bed, he must have viewed with much pleasure, so tender had been the dealings of God's providence towards him. His early training, his studies at Halle, his first charge at Cudalore, his expulsion thence, the way open for a new mission in what was soon the Metropolis of India, its establishment and increasing prosperity for thirty years, his sorrows and his poverty, were the steps through which the Redeemer had let him and

through which his probation had been carried on. He had laboured for nearly fifty years in active missionary life, and in the last mission had received so many converts into the Church of God. Were not these things themes for thankfulness? He had laboured, too, not amongst the great, though some had joined his congregation, but amongst the poor,—the Natives and Portuguese. And shall we not say he was a good soldier of Jesus Christ, and bless God that, in the heathenism of last century in Calcutta, he gave such a witness for truth.

A portrait of Mr. Kiernander formerly existed, and was given by the missionary to Mr. Brown, but it has been lost. An engraving of him, from a painting by Imhoff in 1772, hangs in the Mission or Old Church Rooms, and has the following inscription in German:—

Not in thy cold, Sweeden, no,
On Ganges' bank it is thy lot God's messenger to be !

* * * * *

SIR ELIJAH IMPEY.

BY SIR JOHN KAYE, K. C. S. I.

Memoirs of Sir Elijah Impey, Knt., first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William, Bengal; with anecdotes of Warren Hastings, Sir Philip Francis, Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, Esq. and other contemporaries; compiled from authentic documents, in refutation of the calumnies of the Right Hon'ble Thomas Babington Macaulay, by Elijah Barwell Impey. London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1846.

* * * * *

For more than half a century Sir Elijah Impey has been one of the ogres of Indian history. Warren Hastings, for some time, shared with him—perhaps had the larger share of—the execration of an unenquiring world. But Hastings contrived to outlive his unpopularity. After long years of persecution—persecution which consumed his fortune, destroyed his health, and broke his spirit—the tide turned suddenly in his favor. Public sympathy set in strongly towards the injured statesman. All acknowledged that he had done great things; all knew that he suffered greatly. When the eloquence of Burke and Sheridan, which, for a while, rendered even Hastings himself mistrustful of his own innocence, ceased to vibrate in the ears, to touch the hearts, and to warp the judgments of the community, men began to bethink themselves of the great services he had rendered to his country, to see something noble in his daring, something admirable in the fertility of his resources, and to ask themselves whether these were not extraordinary occasions to palliate or justify his departure from ordinary rules of conduct. But for Impey there were no such pleas to be put forth in extenuation of his alleged errors. He had not saved a great empire. Services he had rendered, but they were not of the brilliant—of the dazzling kind. If evil had been done by Hastings and Impey combined, the former might have acted, nay, doubtless did act, in the heat of a fierce gladiatorial conflict, reputation for reputation, life for life, and he seemingly on the weaker side. But Impey was not a gladiator, but a judge: with the strife of parties he had nothing to do. If he erred in conjunction with Hastings, he erred not in passion, but in deliberation. He was not the originator but the instrument. If great crimes were committed by the two, Impey must have been the passionless, calculating, sordid tool—a bravo, and yet a judge!

And all this was Impey declared to be. History set its seal on the verdict, nay, rather, history fraudulently endorsed the reckless assertions of the prosecution, for the verdict was on the other side. The denunciations of Sir Gilbert Elliot became history—the history of the *Annual Register*, under the

conduct of the master-prosecutor, Burke. From the *Annual Register*, Mill exhumed the libels, which had lain there some thirty years. He adopted, with little stint, the charges of Sir Gilbert Elliot. For any use made of it by the historian of India, Impey's defence might as well have been never spoken and never published. Other writers, without investigation, followed in the footsteps of Mill; and, in the words of the work before us, "by this most obstinate and wonderful credulity, by the untiring malice of faction, and by the carelessness, indolence, presumption, and averseness to research of public writers—journalists, annalists, reviewers and essayists—the exploded calumny of sixty years ago has been kept alive, and outrages and indignities have, at intervals of time, continued to be heaped upon Sir Elijah's memory." *

And never did calumny run a more successful career. To the unreflecting and unenquiring public Sir Elijah Impey has during more than half a century been known only as a corrupt and cruel judge—one who stained the judicial ermine by acts of almost unparalleled turpitude. It was so easy to describe such a character—so easy to understand it. The crimes of the first chief justice of Bengal were both in India and in England traditionary. People for the most part knew as much about him as they knew about Blue Beard. He was rather the embodiment of certain qualities than an actual historical personage—the incarnation of judicial baseness as Blue Beard of marital cruelty. It is so pleasant to take things for granted—to adopt a faith without the trouble of enquiry. The criminality of Sir Elijah Impey was a belief, which few people knew how they came by, though all clung to it as tenaciously as to Gospel truth: and when at last Mr. Macaulay emphatically declared, that "no other such judge had dishonored the English ermine since Jefferies drank himself to death in the tower," he only gave utterance to an opinion which had been for sixty years rooted in the public mind. In that one crushing sentence was embodied the creed of the million, handed down from sire to son. Its enunciation in such unmistakeable terms, brought matters to a crisis. This was the turning point of the fortune of Sir Elijah's reputation. Thousands had gone down to the grave with a rooted faith in his official turpitude—thousands had grown up from youth to manhood, and declined from manhood

* Mr. Impey says, in his *Memoirs of Sir Elijah Impey*, that Mill "seems never so much as to have known of my father's printed defence." This is a mistake. The historian refers to it in a note at page 382, Vol. II., first (4to.) edition.

into grey-haired age clinging to the same convictions. It has been said that every lie has sentence of death written down against it from the day of its birth. A lie cannot live for ever. The sentence may be long before it is put in execution; it was very long in the case now before us—but the lie *was* destroyed at last

In the year 1841, there appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* one of the most brilliant articles that had ever adorned that celebrated publication. The subject of this paper was the career of Warren Hastings. Its author, as all the world knew, was Mr. Thomas Babington Macaulay. A short time before, an article from the same fascinating pen, had been devoted to the kindred history of Lord Clive. In India, these glowing articles were perused with even greater avidity than in England. Accustomed as we were to study Indian history in the erudite, but somewhat sterile volumes of Mill, it was refreshing indeed to dwell upon such graphic sketches as these, rife with all the accessories of romance: vivid, picturesque, heart-stirring; full of incident and of character; in matter most suggestive, in manner most eloquent. Suddenly, as by the wand of the enchanter, the dry branches of history were clothed with leafy verdure—the barren plain became a flowering garden. Nothing so life-like—so gorgeous—so, all in all, characteristic of the “shining orient” had ever before been written. It was impossible not to recognise the hand of the master in these sketches—impossible not to discern those touches of nature, with which even the master-hand, not guided by the experience of the senses, would have been powerless to impart life and reality to the whole

Mr. Macaulay had seen at least something of the scenes that he described. He had resided some years amongst us. It is true that he had not travelled far; that the actual range of his observation had not been very extensive. A dull man would have made little of such opportunities. But Mr. Macaulay being the very reverse of a dull man, saw as much one morning from the verandah of his house in Chowringhi, as an ordinary person would have seen in a year. A drive through the Chitpore bazar was as suggestive in such a case, as under ordinary circumstances a journey to Delhi or Lucknow. If Macaulay had spent only a week in Calcutta, he would have returned to England better qualified to write a history of India, than when his ship left the London docks.

Nay, this much may be said of any man with ordinary powers of observation. The gain may not be much, but it will be something. To such a man as Macaulay, the gain would

have been immense. It is the faculty of genius to crowd into a week the experience of years.

And this glowing article—read, admired, commented upon, quoted in all the public journals, and studied even by men who cared little about any graver literature than that of the *Picwick Papers*, albeit with the blue and yellow party-stamp upon it—was received as genuine history. The statements it contained were not questioned. The graces of the style—the vivid word-painting—the graphic portraiture, bringing past scenes before us distinctly, as in a moving panorama, and historical personages with all the fidelity of actual life,—led the imagination captive and defied the criticism of documentary research. Men read the memoir of Warren Hastings as eagerly as though it were a new and brilliant romance. If they pondered at all, it were only to assure themselves that statements put forth with such a dashing air of truth, with such a semblance of a whole-hearted reliance upon the justice of the denunciations they contained, and the general soundness of the views they enunciated, could not be otherwise than in strict accordance with clearly ascertained fact.

It is not to be denied that this gorgeous chapter of Indian History, or Indian Romance, added much to Mr. Macaulay's reputation as an eloquent, a vigorous, a graphic chronicler of the past. The article was read by thousands upon thousands in the pages of the *Edinburgh Review*, whence in a short time it was elevated into the upper air of recognized history, to become part and parcel of the essayist's collected works, and in that form to attract to itself new thousands of admiring readers. Four large impressions of the "Historical and Critical Essays, by Thomas Babington Macaulay," have now found their way into circulation. The work has taken its place in almost every library in Great Britain; and it is precisely one of those books which are never permitted to rest long on the library shelves. The dust never accumulates about them. Hundreds and thousands of books are purchased every year, as furniture, like chairs and tables. But no man ever purchased Macaulay's essays without reading them; and few who purchase and read these captivating volumes do not retain them to read again and again. They never find their way to the book-stalls; but the place of all others where you are most sure to chance upon them, is the table of the library or the drawing-room.

And of these charming volumes, it is not to be questioned that the memoir of Warren Hastings has long constituted the main charm. No similar essay has ever achieved so ex-

tensive a popularity ; and yet it would have been better for Mr. Macaulay's reputation if that article had never been written. Six years have passed away since it was first published. The graces of the diction, the picturesque sketches, the skilful contrasts and combinations—the entire cleverness of the whole piece—still remain unquestioned. But it now stands before the world as a cheat—a delusion—a painted sepulchre. It no longer, in the convictions of men, glows and scintillates with truth. Our faith in its revelations is broken down for ever. The religion which we once professed has been shown to be a great imposture.

The history of the exposure is soon told. To hundreds and thousands of English families Mr. Macaulay's volumes were a source of unmingled pleasure, to one English family they brought nothing but unmitigated pain. That one family was the family of Sir Elijah Impey. "If there be a slanderer," writes one of the sons of the chief justice in emphatic italics, "base enough to find pleasure and triumph in having tortured the feelings of delicate and sensitive women, aged and honorable men, he may take my assurance for the fact that these calumnies have not only embittered the remnants of life, but mingled with the sharpness of death" These sufferings had been long silently endured, but the silence was now to be broken. Whilst the article on Warren Hastings remained unacknowledged, it was treated by the sons of Sir Elijah Impey as an anonymous libel. The republication of the essay, with the name of the author on the title page, gave a new aspect to the affair. Forbearance no longer appeared to be a virtue ; and the surviving children of the deceased judge bethought themselves of coming forward, now at the eleventh hour, to vindicate the fame of a revered and beloved parent, whose integrity they could not question, and whose mercy they could not doubt.

The language in which Mr. Macaulay had spoken of the conduct of Sir Elijah Impey was harshly, bitterly, condemnatory, beyond the limits of calm historical discussion. It was a mixture of sarcasm and invective—of broad denunciation and subtle inuendo. It was at once vehement and venomous ; the nature of the wolf and of the serpent combined. A few familiar samples will suffice to indicate the character of Mr. Macaulay's vituperations :—"The chief justice was Sir Elijah Impey. He was an old acquaintance of Hastings ; and it is probable that the Governor-General, if he had searched through all the Inns of Court, could not have found a more serviceable tool." "It is our deliberate opinion, that

"Impey, sitting as a judge, put a man unjustly to death in order to serve a political purpose." "The bargain was struck, Bengal was saved, an appeal to force was averted, and the chief justice was rich, quiet, and infamous." "No other such judge has dishonored the English ermine since Jefferies drank himself to death in the tower." It would be difficult to throw a greater amount of bitterness into a few short sentences, than we see in these extracts from the "Historical Essay." A son might well resent such imputations as these upon the memory of a beloved father: and if some expressions of warmth were to creep into a vindication suggested by filial love and piety, it would be hard to condemn, with much severity, the vehemence of the offended writer. These and other similar passages, consigning to everlasting infamy the character of the first chief justice of Bengal, were indeed too surely calculated to excite the indignation of the children of Sir Elijah Impey, and, in due course, one came forward to rescue from obloquy the name of one whom party virulence had ranked with the basest, the most degraded *notorieties* of the age in which he lived.

It appears that when the public vindication of the character of Sir Elijah Impey was first determined upon, the precise course, which, under all the circumstances of the case, it was most expedient to adopt, became a subject of much and earnest consideration. Various modes of procedure were canvassed and rejected. Among these the question of a prosecution in a court of law was considered. Not, we believe, that the family of Sir Elijah Impey ever seriously contemplated a resort to such a tribunal, but that the question, in its legal bearings, was incidentally discussed. The question has been before considered, and that, too, by such eminent authorities as Dr. Johnson and Mr. Solicitor General Murray.* The latter contended that there should be reparation in such cases, unless the author could establish the truth of the condemnatory assertions put forward in his work; whilst Johnson, with far greater truth, and more comprehensive regard for the interests of society, maintained, that if nothing were written but what could be proved in a court of law, the wheels of history would be locked for ever, and that it was of far greater consequence that truth should be told, than that the feelings of surviving relatives should not be hurt. For our own part we are of opinion that nothing could more effectually prevent all freedom of historical investigation than the power of commencing such actions, in courts of law, against free-spoken historians; and that, therefore, the recognition of any such principle would be to the last degree injurious to the

* Afterwards, Lord Mansfield, says Mr. Croker, led astray by a similarity of names. The party referred to was afterwards Lord Henderland.

literature of the country. Whatever we may think of the case, as it stands between Mr. Macaulay and the relatives of Sir Elijah Impey, we cannot for one moment question the right of the former to treat the character of the chief justice with as much freedom as he would treat that of Sir Thomas More, or Lord Strafford, or any other historical personage. Hastings and Impey are public property, no less than Oliver Cromwell and Lord Bacon. Literature can assert its own prerogative. There are literary courts more cogent than any courts of law, and in these, sooner or later, the calumniator of the dead will meet with fitting punishment. History must not have the sword of the law hanging over it by a single thread. Falsehood—whether born of malice or of carelessness, will perish without the aid of the law. The public is the best—the safest—arbiter in such cases. There are no such severe damages as those of a lost reputation.*

The Impey family, without encouraging such convictions as these, abandoned, as soon as formed, the idea of a prosecution in a court of law. Other paths were open to them. They might have taken up the defence of Sir Elijah Impey in the public journals; they might, perhaps, have obtained the insertion, in a rival review, of an antagonistic article, which avoiding direct controversy, might have neutralised the venom of the paper in the *Edinburgh*; or they might have prepared a more elaborating memoir of the chief justice, setting forth the whole truth as established by the evidence of public records and other undeniably authentic documents. The last of these three courses it was finally determined to adopt, and the task of preparing this elaborate defence of an injured man, devolved upon Mr. Elijah Barwell Impey—a son of the chief justice; a gentleman of quiet, scholarly habits, well acquainted with ancient and modern tongues; possessed of no inconsiderable knowledge of history, especially the history of those modern times which embrace the Government and trial of Warren Hastings; an intimate and confidential friend of that great man, and of other celebrated contemporaries of Sir Elijah Impey. All this and much more; but little skilled in book-making,

* A different opinion, on this subject, appears to be prevalent in France. There literary disputes are often settled by legal tribunals. Even last spring, Alexandre Dumas was cited for having defamed, in a work of fiction, an ancestor of the Marquis St. Luc—one who flourished as far back as the times of Henry III. of France. The court, after reading the work, sentenced the romance-writer to substitute, in all future editions of his tale, some other name for those of the Marquis' calumniated ancestor. Imagine Mr. Macaulay being condemned to make restitution, after this fashion, and in all future editions of his "*Historical Essays*," to substitute the name of Zechariah Macaulay for that of Elijah Impey!

Mr. Impey addressed himself to the task of composing his father's biography, animated by the purest filial piety, and fixed in the determination, at all hazards, to speak the truth. If in so doing, under the influence of feelings which in moderation are commendable, and in excess venial, he has been betrayed into expressions of undue warmth—if he has written, in some parts of his work, with an acrimony which he may himself regret, and marred the effect of the whole by imparting to it a controversial rather than an historical character, and has, in his eagerness to leave nothing unsaid, fallen into frequent repetitions by anticipating the progress of his narrative, and retarded that progress by ever and anon halting to deliver himself of feelings of personal indignation and animosity no longer to be controlled,—the man and the critic must alike forgive him. The provocation was great; the temptation very grievous. And a "sense of intolerable wrong" will, at times, lash even the patient man into a whirlpool of excitement, and make the most self-collected forget himself.

But we may deeply deplore what we cannot severely censure. Mr. Impey has spoilt his book, and damaged his cause—spoilt a good book and damaged a good cause. Had he thought only of convincing—not at all of convicting—he would have made for himself a larger circle of readers, and gathered around him a denser crowd of sympathising friends. The controversial character of the "*Memoir of Sir Elijah Impey*" will limit the sphere of its influence. It should have been the determination of the filial biographer to send into the world such a standard history of the life and times of the calumniated chief justice as should supersede all other histories, and, based upon evidence heaped up, pile above pile, form the staple of all future histories of the same memorable times. For ourselves we lament that such a work was not written more than a quarter of a century ago. The error which has so long taken root in the public mind is more difficult to weed out than one only just beginning to strike. Sir Elijah Impey died in 1809. Had a memoir of the deceased judge been put forth shortly after this period, the present generation would not have grown up in the belief that Sir Elijah Impey was a corrupt judge, and Mr. Macaulay would not have set his seal upon the injurious error.

For we hold that Mr. Macaulay, though a prejudiced writer, is not a dishonest one. He would not knowingly falsify history. The leading Reviews of Great Britain are avowedly party publications; and a leaning, even in historical dissertations, to one side or the other, is an understood result of the connexion

with Whiggism or Toryism. If the reader be not an arrant simpleton, he makes allowance for this taint of party; and knowing this, the writer is induced—we might almost say compelled to give way—in some measure to exaggeration, just as the huckster, who knows that he is to be beaten down, is compelled to ask for his goods a higher price than they are worth. This, perhaps, will be granted by Mr. Impey and his friend; but it will be expected, on the other hand, that an anonymous article in a Review is one thing, a volume of "Historical Essays," bearing the author's name, is another. It must, however, be borne in mind that Mr. Macaulay published his essays avowedly as "Contributions to the *Edinburgh Review*." There is no attempt upon *his* part to elevate them into higher regions of literature than those to which they originally belonged. He sent them forth to the world with the stamp of the *Edinburgh Review* upon them, and left the world to make what abatements they might think fit.

Moreover, it ought not to be forgotten, that the assertions made by Mr. Macaulay had often been made before—that the view he took of the character of Sir Elijah Impey was the view which public writers had almost always taken—that grave historians had done their best to perpetuate, and that the public had accepted it, without stint or qualification. Mr. Macaulay may have added a few bitter drops to the cup of censure which had been passed from hand to hand, but he did not poison the stream of public opinion. That he took, somewhat too readily, for granted all that Burke, Francis and Elliot had declaimed in Parliament, and Mill had recorded in his ponderous history, and reproduced their calumnies in his own striking antithetical language, with, perhaps, somewhat too keen a relish, is not to be denied. But we do not doubt the strength of his convictions. He believed that he was uttering the truth; and the fact that Mr. Mill had more than a quarter of a century before denounced "the atrocious condemnation and execution" of Nuncomar—adding, that "all regard to decorum, to the character of the English government, to substantial justice, to the prevention of misrule and the detection of ministerial crimes, was sacrificed to personal interests and personal passions, the impartial enquirer cannot hesitate to pronounce"—the fact, we say, that these broad assertions had been made in the only standard history of India in 1817, and that up to 1841, no contradiction had been put forth, might have done something to rivet—as indeed it was well calculated to do—the error which the reviewer imbibed at school, took with him to college, and clung to, without misgivings, on his entrance into public life.

Some such considerations as these, we think, might have blunted the edge of Mr. Impey's resentment. The conduct of Mr. Thornton appears to us more indefensible and more inexplicable than that of Mr. Macaulay. When the former gentleman was publishing his History of India by periodical instalments, Mr. Impey called upon him at the India House and offered to place at his disposal all the family papers, manuscript letters, books, and other documents in his possession, relative to the career of Sir Elijah Impey. "Politely, but coldly enough," says Mr. Impey, "he declined accepting my offer. I spoke of the difficulty of finding any copy of Sir Elijah Impey's defence, and of the importance and conclusive nature of the vouchers contained in that volume. But he wanted not the loan of my book, and I left him upon receiving his assurance that *"full justice would be done by him to Sir Elijah."* within a short space of time his part came out. The justice which Mr. Thornton had done my father had been, to take upon trust the charges of his persecutors, to repeat the slanders of Mr. Mill, and to modulate his abuse in the manner of Mr. Macaulay."

We have read this passage with no small measure of astonishment. Mr. Thornton we have always regarded as a prejudiced, but in the main, an honest and a temperate writer; and we are totally incompetent to understand upon what grounds he could have refused to examine the papers offered to him by Mr. Impey. So strange, so indefensible, appeared such conduct to the latter gentleman, that "in the heat of the moment," he in conjunction with his brother Admiral Impey, "presented an ineffectual memorial to the East India Company." "We ought," adds Mr. Impey, "rather to have despised so impotent an attack. The dullness of Mr. Thornton's book was quite sufficient to limit its circulation. It is already consigned to merited oblivion. I have not met the person that has read it." The memorialist urged that, as the book had been gratuitously circulated by the E. I. Company to many of the proprietors of India Stock, they, in some measure, rendered themselves responsible for its contents. This, however, the court denied. They had only "given their patronage to the work." We confess that the gratuitous circulation of a work, written by one of their servants, if not tantamount to an approval of its contents, is very likely to be mistaken for it. The ordinary patronage of the court would signify nothing. The court might with propriety extend its patronage to a work of a generally useful character, without regarding all the opinions expressed

in it, with unmixed approbation. Were no latitude of this kind allowed, the liberality of the India House could not flow, as now, through a broad channel. But it may be questioned whether that extraordinary patronage, which extends as far as the gratuitous circulation to proprietors of East India stock of a work compiled by an India house official, does not, in some degree, render the court responsible for the opinions contained in the work thus liberally patronised. The endorsement does not lie in the purchase of a certain number of copies of a book, but in the gratuitous circulation of it ; and we are well aware that many of the proprietors, who in this manner received Mr. Thornton's volumes, considered that the book had the India House stamp upon it, and contained the only authorised version of Indian History yet given to the world.

We may now leave the controversy, to which we have already devoted too large a portion of our article, and pass at once to the biography of the first chief justice of Bengal.

Elijah Impey was born at Hammersmith, on the 13th of June 1732. His father was a London merchant, connected largely with the East Indian trade ; and his mother the daughter of Dr. Fraser, the historian of Nadir Shah uncle of that Lady Lovat, whom the notorious Simon Fraser married, or rather outraged, under circumstances of almost unparalleled atrocity. Elijah was the youngest of three sons, between the second of whom and himself there was an interval of nearly eleven years—a circumstance which was advantageous to the subject of this article, inasmuch as, that James Impey, with tender fraternal regard, devoted much of his time to the education of his younger brother, and subsequently left him the greater part of his fortune.

The process of home education, however, was arrested at a very early age. In his seventh year Elijah Impey was sent to Westminster school, then under the superintendence of Dr. Nicoll. The celebrated Latinist, Vincent Bourne, who wrote the tidiest verses and wore the most untidy clothes, was one of the under masters, and among the students—Impey's school-fellows—were many who, in after years, and in various fields of honourable ambition, obtained for themselves lasting reputations. There was the trembling sensitive Cowper, who durst scarcely lift his eyes above the shoe-buckle of the elder boys—the morbid, broken-spirited poet over whose young mind, in that cruel Westminster school, passed the first faint shadows of that huge affliction which in his manhood thickened into total darkness. There

was Churchill, the vigorous, but course-minded, who in that scene of boyish strife hardened himself for the after-life of antagonism, in which he seemed to exult—the very antithesis of Cowper as a man, and yet as a poet, in some sort, his model. And there, too, was Warren Hastings, who as a boy, even as a man, took the lead of all his fellows, whose great mind, encased in a weakly body, shot ever in advance of all difficulties and triumphed over all obstacles; who beat all his contemporaries at Westminster, as he outshone all his associates in India, and would have been, on any arena, the foremost man of his age. There, too, were the proud-spirited, the ill-starred Lloyd; the scholarly and successful Colman; the voluminous, self-satisfied Cumberland, and many men of note as politicians and divines, as Lords Stormont and Shelburne—the Bagots—Sir Richard Sutton: * a crowd of men to whom the Georgian æra owes much of its varied lustre. Many of these were Impey's personal friends—nearly of the same age and of the same standing in the school.† Impey and Hastings were close allies and constant associates. "Stimulated," says Mr. Impey, "by the same generous emulation, they were friendly rivals in every boyish exercise, whether of play or study. They swam in the Thames, and rowed upon it with each other; they played at cricket and capped verses together." "We may safely venture," writes Mr. Macaulay, under an incontrollable impulse to deliver himself, at all hazards, of something smart, "that whenever Hastings wished to play any trick more than usually naughty, he hired Impey with a ball or a tart to act as a fag in the worst part of the prank"—an inuendo, which we think Mr. Impey might well have left without any serious notice. Such "guesses" as these may be abandoned, with perfect safety, to the judgment of the public, which can never experience much difficulty in deciding whether they most damage the object, or the author of the impertinent surmise.

In 1747 young Impey was a candidate for admission to the

* It is believed by some—and we acknowledge that it was once an article of our own faith, that Thurlow was among this glorious batch of Westminster schoolboys. His intimacy with Cowper and Impey, and his acquaintance at least with Hastings, warranted the supposition. Indeed, we remember reading, many years ago, an interesting series of sketches, or rather *tableaux*, based upon the hypothesis that Cowper, Hastings and Thurlow were school-fellows. The last was never at a public school. Cowper was his fellow student in a solicitor's office; and his (Thurlow's) acquaintance with Impey commenced in the Inns of Court. They were born in the same year; but Thurlow had considerably the start of him as a man, having quitted Cambridge, in disgrace, before Impey's matriculation.

† Impey was born in 1732; Hastings, in 1732, Cowper, in 1731, Churchill, in 1731; Lloyd, in 1733.

benefits of the foundation. On the list of King's scholars, nominated on this occasion, Hastings held the first place and Impey the fourth. In 1750, the former sailed for Calcutta, but it was not until the following year that the latter quitted Westminster school and "was admitted pensioner of Trinity College, Cambridge, having on the 8th of December entered as a law student at Lincoln's Inn." At Cambridge he greatly distinguished himself. Every year added something to his honours. He was a Wrangler and a Chancellor's Medallist—second in the tripos of 1756; and in the following year he obtained a Trinity Fellowship. In the meanwhile (1756) he was called to the Bar. "There," writes Mr. Impey, "he soon became acquainted with all the most eminent or rising characters in the profession of that day." Among these was Thurlow, a man of rare talents and little courtesy, who had learnt early in life the true worth of genuine manhood, and carried the independence of the schoolboy through all the stages of his journey to the Woolsack, who looked down upon the proudest peers, and with level eyes confronted the throne. Among them, too, was Dunning, a man of more genial and kindly nature: who dearly loved a joke, and never forgot a friend.* Among them, too, were Mansfield, Wallace, Heath and the upright Kenyon, who, years after the return of Impey from the East, nodded, one day, from his seat in the Queen's Bench, familiar recognition at his old fellow student, and with characteristic cordiality exclaimed. "Ah! Impey, had you stayed at home, you might have been seated here."

With no ordinary powers of application did Impey devote himself to the cultivation of the law. He was assiduous in his chamber studies, and regular in his attendance in the courts. We have now before us a manuscript volume in Impey's handwriting, containing a recital of cases tried in the King's Bench, Guildhall, Westminster, &c., &c., commencing shortly after his call to the Bar, which indicates the earnestness with which he devoted himself, from the very outset to his profession, and the systematic vigour with which, as time advanced, he prosecuted his calling. Business, however, did not flow in very rapidly; it seldom does, under like circumstances. He who would pluck the golden apples of the law must be content to wait for years beneath the cold shadow of the tree. In 1766-67, Impey was not so overburthened with business that he could not find leisure to take "an extensive tour on the

* To Thurlow and to Dunning, Impey constantly wrote from Calcutta details of all his proceedings—but with very different results. Thurlow had a knack of forgetting his old friends.

continent." Setting out with Dunning and Popham as his travelling companions, he visited Naples and Rome. At the former place he shed some fraternal tears over the grave of his brother James, and in the latter, he sat for his bust to Nolletkens, then just at the outset of his eccentric career. Before the close of 1767 he found himself again in England.

In January 1768, he took an important step—he married. The lady of his choice was the daughter of Sir John Reade, Baronet, of Shipton-court, in the county of Oxford. In one of those streets leading from the Strand to the river Thames, now principally occupied by attorneys and courtesans, though once favorite and fashionable localities, they took up their abode. Mr. Impey says that his father "lived sparingly and worked very hard as became a barrister who had to make his way without patronage or extraneous support." The last expression is somewhat ambiguous. It can scarcely signify that his parents were in straitened circumstances; that they relied entirely on the professional earnings of the young lawyer, for James Impey died in 1756, and "left a considerable property to his youngest and favorite brother," Elijah, who was not the man to squander a comfortable fortune in a few years. Be this as it may, they lived quietly and happily. "I have often heard my dear mother say," writes Mr. Impey in the memoir before us, "that this was by far the happiest period of their lives. An increasing family was a stimulus to exertion, and his warm affections rendered toil easy. In all the cares, crosses, and vexations attendant on an always harassing profession, he was never known to lose his sweetness and cheerfulness of temper." And this we can readily believe—Impey retained to the very last all the characteristics of an affectionate husband, an indulgent parent, and an amiable man—an assertion which we have no doubt Mr. Macaulay would treat with a sneer of the same quality as that with which he received a certain plea, real or imaginary, in behalf of King Charles the first.

Impey went the western circuit. In those days, it was not uncommon for lawyers to ride their own horses from town to town;* and lawyer Impey's hack was as well known

* A horse, indeed, appears to have been as indispensable to a lawyer as a wig and gown. Lord Campbell tells a story of Thurlow to the effect that, in order to procure a nag to carry him round the circuit, not having one of his own, and being overburthened neither with money nor honesty, "he went to a horse-dealer and said to him that he wished to purchase a good roadster—price being no object to him—but that he must have a fair trial of the animal's paces. The trial being conceded he rode off to Winchester, and having been well carried all the way round, but still without any professional luck, he returned the horse to his owner saying, 'the animal

as himself. Dunning went the same circuit, and *led*; Impey held the second place, and distinguished himself in several difficult cases, to one of which in particular the biographer attributes much of his father's ultimate success. Impey was opposed to Dunning and beat him. The witnesses of the latter could not withstand the searching examinations of his friend. How much this case, which was tried in the picturesque city of Exeter, at the Assizes of 1769, may have contributed to the making of Impey's fortune, we are not competent to determine—but there is another more celebrated case, in which Impey was prominently concerned, but of which his son makes no mention, not to be lightly regarded in the estimate of the causes of his professional advancement—the well known Cumberland and Grosvenor case, in which Impey was employed as counsel on the side of the Duke.

That Impey's old associate, Thurlow, was mainly instrumental in obtaining for him the well-salaried Indian appointment, we have the recipient's own authority for believing. In the letters of the Indian judge to the English lawyer, then making his way by rapid strides to the woolsack, we find many such allusions as these :—"It is to you I shall always hold myself responsible for my conduct," and again, "it is to you I hold myself answerable, and to whom I look up for protection." But still more unmistakable is the import of the following :—"My income is much larger than I had any hope to expect "when in England, and your kindness gave it to me at a time, "when the critical situation of my affairs made me look to little "further than to being extricated from embarrassment."* We do not think that, after perusing these passages, any reader will hesitate to believe that Impey was indebted for his judgeship to the recommendation of Thurlow.

notwithstanding some good points, did not altogether suit him."—*Lives of the Chancellors, Vol. V.*

* M.S. letters (unpublished) in the British Museum, deposited by Mr. E. B. Impey. It is right to add, that Sir Elijah never forgot his obligations to Thurlow. He constantly wrote to his old friend; constantly expressed his gratitude. But that friend was the most uncourteous of men, and never answered his letters. Thurlow had some good qualities, and was a great lawyer, but he was not a gentleman. He was intensely selfish; utterly incapable of generous friendship. Cowper complained of his neglect—or rather spoke of it without complaining. He described the character of the man *ad unguem* when he said, "He will give grudgingly in answer to solicitation, but delights in surprising those he esteems with his bounty." And again, "he is well aware of the tricks that are played on such occasions, and after fifteen years' interruption of all intercourse between us would translate my letter" [he did not write it] "into this language—pray remember the poor. This would disgust him because he would think our former intimacy disgraced by such an oblique application." Impey did not understand him so well. He wrote constantly, often asking for support and assistance, and Thurlow, in all probability, thought him a bore.

Whatever may have been the secret history of Impey's elevation to the bench—and we have no right to seek for any other cause than that which lies on the surface, the merits of the man—he was selected in 1773 to fill the office of Chief Justice in the Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta, then recently erected under the Regulating Act. The ostensible recommendation came, of course, from the Lord Chancellor (Bathurst) and on Impey's old school-fellow, Lord Shelbourne, devolved the duty of making out his commission. Under the Regulating Act, the new court was composed of a chief justice and three puisne judges; the former with a salary of £8,000 per annum, the latter of £6,000. The amount being fixed according to the English currency, was a constant source of trouble and perplexity to Impey and his associates, who were nominally allowed the sum mentioned, and yet never knew how to remit it, and seldom how to obtain it.

The other judges were Chambers—a man of high character and good parts, who had been Vinerian Professor at Oxford, and an associate of Dr. Johnson, Hyde, who had gone the western circuit with Impey, and Le Maistre, who appears also to have been an acquaintance of the chief justice. Indeed, there is reason to suppose, that both Hyde and Le Maistre owed their appointments, in some measure to Impey's recommendation, for we find him, three or four years afterwards, writing to Thurlow, "I have every day more and more reason to "be concerned at my having assisted in getting Hyde and La "Maistre appointed judges."* The cause of his concern we shall come presently to consider.

Early in April 1774, Impey, who had been previously knighted, embarked on board the *Anson*, then bound for Calcutta. His wife was the companion of his voyage. She does not appear to have hesitated. The undertaking was not only a formidable but a painful one. People in those days had a much greater dread than at present, both of the Indian climate and the Indian voyage; and lady Impey was called upon to leave her young children in England—a trial which, even in these days of rapid communication, breaks the spirits of many a mother, and which seventy years ago, when it was the work of a year to receive and respond to tidings from home, must have well nigh broken the heart.

Of the incidents of the voyage from England to Calcutta we have few particulars. In these days a voyage round the Cape is principally remarkable for an utter absence of incident

* Unpublished letters in the British Museum.

of every kind, and the description of one such passage may, with scarcely a variation, be rendered applicable to all. But in the last century, even under ordinary circumstances, an Indian voyage was far more eventful than in these peaceable prosaic days, and that was no ordinary voyage, which witnessed the assemblage in one vessel of Francis, Clavering, Monson, Impey, Chambers, Hyde and Le Maistre. Mrs. and the Misses Clavering appear to have accompanied the general; whilst lady Anne Monson also followed the fortunes of her husband. It was more than ten years later that Mrs Shore allowed her husband to embark alone, because, as the biographer of Lord Teignmouth affirms. "The voyage was then seldom attempted by ladies"*

On the 15th of October, the *Anson* reached Kedgerie,† but it was not until the 19th that she was opposite to Chandpal Ghât. Mr. Impey seems to question the truth of the story relative to the offence given to the new councillors by the salute of seventeen guns. "Mr Macaulay," says the biographer, "who loves to put every thing pointedly and dramatically, and who seldom objects to a loud report or striking effect, says that the Members of Council expected a salute of twenty-one guns from the batteries of Fort William, that the Governor-General allowed them only seventeen, and that this trifle was sufficient to give occasion for dispute." Now this story is not Mr Macaulay's; but Mr. Gleig's—or rather Warren Hastings,' on whose authority that gentleman narrates it. We see no reason to doubt its authenticity. Another anecdote, more immediately relating to the subject of this article, has obtained for itself greater currency than it deserves. It is said that Impey, when the vessel anchored off Calcutta, was greatly moved by the sight of so many bare-legged and ill-clothed people, and exclaimed to one of his brother judges—"See the wretched victims of tyranny! The Crown Court was not established before it was needed. I trust that it will not have been long in operation before all these poor people will be comfortably clothed in

* See "Calcutta Review," vol. I Art "Lord Teignmouth."

† Impey and his family appear to have received much attention during the voyage from one of the ship's officers—a Lieutenant Atkinson—and it is a proof of the kindly and grateful nature of the chief justice, that he never forgot this man; but subsequently exerted himself greatly to serve him, and succeeded in obtaining for him the command of a ship. Impey endeavoured to obtain for him the good offices of Thurlow, whom he appears to have offended by a strange bit of *gaucherie*; for, calling at the great lawyer's house, a little way out of town, and not succeeding in obtaining admission through the door, he made good his entrance by the window. Thurlow seems, however, to have forgiven the rough sailor; and subsequently to have appreciated his rugged worth.—*MSS. letters in the British Museum.*

"shoes and stockings." The joke is a very good one ; but it appears to be at least apocryphal

In the meanwhile Warren Hastings was chewing the cud of bitter fancies in Calcutta. It was not possible that he should have regarded with any complacency the appointment of the new Members of Council, and the establishment of the Supreme Court. He saw before him endless embarrassments and undying contentions. It was beyond the limits of reasonable expectation, that even with the best intentions on all sides, peace should be long maintained. Here were suddenly let loose upon the Indian Government seven gentlemen of mature years, educated in the courts of law, the bureaus, or the saloons of Great Britain, with all their English prejudices and predilections strong upon them ; and with just as much knowledge of India, its laws and institutions, the temper and character of the people, the fiscal and judicial systems of our own provinces, and the politics of neighbouring states, as though they had been transported to a new planet. Impey appears to have been the most Indianised of the whole batch of Europe importation, for his father was a real East-Indian merchant, and his maternal grandfather had written a history of Nadir Shah !!

But the prospect before the Governor-General was not all evil. Impey was his old associate and friend. The school-fellows appear to have renewed their intimacy, when Hastings visited England in 1765 ; and the intelligence of Impey's appointment to the chief seat in the new court was a source, to his harrassed mind, of infinite consolation. As early as the month of August he addressed a letter to the new chief justice, intended to meet him at Madras, in which he says, "My dear Impey, advices from England seldom afford either pleasure or pain unmixed, but the news of your new appointment to preside over the high Court of Justice, constituted by Parliament, affords me every cause of satisfaction without a circumstance of regret to alloy it. In truth, my friend, nothing else could have reconciled me to that part of the Act, which, if any latitude is left to you in its first establishment, may, and I am sure will, be made a source of the most valuable benefits to this country. I need not say how much I rejoice in the prospect of seeing so old a friend, independently of the public advantages which that friendship, cemented (if it required it) by the same connexions, cannot fail to produce in the conduct of such affairs as are likely to fall to our respective or common lot."* And a few months

* Glegg's Memoirs of Warren Hastings.

afterwards he wrote to Sullivan.—“ The court of justice is a
“ dreadful clog on the Government, but I thank God the head
“ of it is a man of sense and moderation. In all England a
“ choice could not have been made of a man more disposed to do
“ good and avoid mischief—which, however, is not wholly in his
“ power, and I am sorry for it.” And again he wrote to his
friend Palk :—“ I find Sir Elijah the man you describe him,
“ and much as I have always known him, moderate, sensible,
“ and to myself friendly. It is happy for this country and for
“ the Company that he is so, and that two persons, so mutually
“ well inclined, are at the head of two departments most admir-
“ ably adapted for hostility.” And because such was Impey’s
disposition, Mr. Macaulay has asserted, that in all the Inns of
Court, Hastings could not have found so serviceable a tool.
This, however, at least is certain, that if Impey were well
inclined to be a tool, he showed very little wordly wisdom in
placing himself in the weaker hand. To have conspired with
Francis would have been a much safer game, and no man knew
this better than Impey himself.

It was, as we have said, on the 19th of October 1774, that
Impey and the other judges of the Supreme Court landed
at Chandpal Ghat. Without loss of time they “ proceeded
to open the King’s Commission, and to organise and establish
the Supreme Court. The XIIIth clause of the “ Regulating
Act” had established a Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort
William, “ to consist of a chief justice and three other judges ,
which said Supreme Court shall have full powers to exercise
all civil, criminal, admiralty, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and
appoint such clerks and other ministerial officers, with such
salaries as shall be approved of by the said Governor-General
and Council, &c, and also shall be at all times a court of record,
and a court ofoyer and terminer and goal delivery, in, and
for the said town of Calcutta and factory of Fort William
in Bengal, and the limits thereof, and the factories subordinate
thereto.” The next clause defined the precise limits of the
court’s jurisdiction, which was to extend to all British subjects
residing in Bengal, Behar and Orissa—to all the Company’s
servants, and to all other European subjects of the Crown. The
court had no power to try the Governor-General and Mem-
bers of Council for any offence not being treason or felony ,
but was competent to try all other persons being His Majesty’s
subjects, on all suits or actions against any inhabitant of the
provinces above mentioned. Another clause enacted, that all
offences should be tried by a jury of British subjects resident
at Calcutta. But though the Regulating Act thus defined

the powers of the Supreme Court, it was deemed expedient more fully to declare the precise boundaries both of the competency and responsibility: and in the letters patent issued, 26th March 1774, establishing the Supreme Court, it was declared competent to adjudicate "in all trespasses against the Company, Mayor's Court of Calcutta, or others in Bengal, or others who have resided there, or who have effects there, or are, or have been in the Company's service or of the Mayor's Court, or of others, but not against such as have never resided there"; and in the XIXth clause, the court is commanded "in all respects to administer criminal justice, in such or the like manner and form, or as nearly as the conditions and circumstances of the place and the persons will admit of, as in the courts of oyer and terminer, in that part of Great Britain called England, and to hear and determine and award judgment and execution of all treasons, murders, felonies, forgeries, &c. committed in the districts and provinces called Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, by British subjects, or other persons who shall at the time of committing them, have been employed by, or shall have been directly or indirectly in the services of the Company." It further makes it "unlawful for offenders to object to locality, or the court's jurisdiction, or to juries; and orders all offenders to be tried, as if their crimes had been committed in Calcutta" Nor will it be amiss to add, that the XXXIXth clause, strictly "charges and commands all the King's governors, commanders, magistrates, officers and ministers, civil and military, and all his Majesty's liege subjects in Bengal, Behar and Orissa, &c., that they be aiding, assisting, and obedient in all things unto the Supreme Court, as they shall answer for the contrary at their peril."

Such was, in its main features, the constitution of the new Court of Judicature in Bengal. It is right, that at least we should do this much to render the nature and scope of its powers intelligible to our readers. We should be carried even beyond those extended limits which we have allowed, ourselves on the present occasion, if we were to discourse however relevant to our subject, and however interesting the enquiry, upon the condition of public justice in Bengal prior to the establishment of the Supreme Court, and the general effect of its establishment on the natives of the country. It is necessary that we should assume the possession by our readers of a certain amount of information on these and many other points incidental to our narrative—some of which have, indeed, been already enlarged upon in the pages of this journal, and others may hereafter present themselves for separate discussion.

That it must have cost the new judges an immensity of labor to get the machinery of the new court into working order ; no one, who has the least acquaintance with the nature of the judicial establishments which had preceded it, will find any difficulty in believing. On Impey the principal share of the toil necessarily descended ; and he did not shrink from the trouble or from the responsibility. He appears to have applied himself, from the very day of his arrival, with unflinching assiduity to his official business, drawing up the necessary rules and orders for the regulation of the procedure of the new court, and yet finding time to devote to the study of the Persian language. The business of the Supreme Court was to be carried on in the English tongue ; but Impey well knew how much his efficiency as a judge would be enhanced by an acquaintance with the ordinary judicial language of the country. "I am laboring hard at the Persian language," he wrote to his brother, not long after his arrival, "and therefore, hope you will not neglect sending me Richardson's dictionary." At the same time he made great and successful efforts to acquire a competent colloquial knowledge of the Bengali. There have been judges since on the Indian bench, who at the close of their career, have possessed scarcely as much knowledge of the native languages as would enable a subaltern officer to qualify himself for the command of a company.

But there was other and more exciting work in store for the new judges. Scarcely was the machinery of the court in order, when it was applied with all its formalities and technicalities to the trial of an exalted offender. The first criminal brought before it was the Maharajah Nuncomar. He thought himself—all Bengal thought him—too high for the law to reach. He had wealth—influence—caste—the support of the Supreme Council. He was the head of the Brahmins of Bengal. He was the friend of Francis, of Clavering, and of Monson. He would have been at the head of the native administration of the province, if Hastings had not shivered to atoms the double government at a blow. Strong in all these outward adjuncts he was stronger still in himself. His unscrupulous audacity was almost sublime. Actuated alike by avarice and ambition, there was no wickedness so great as to appal him, in the pursuit of his own ends. Baffled by human agency, his malice and vindictiveness were as boundless as the rapacity of his desires. The Governor General had foiled him, and against the Governor-General he employed all the artifices of consummate craft, and all the energies of untiring hatred. The time seemed auspicious. The enmity

of the majority was a great fact, which he at once resolved to turn to account. It appeared easy to compass the destruction of the Governor-General. He attempted; and was on the brink of success.

Hastings, as we have seen, had regarded with no little jealousy and apprehension the establishment of the Supreme Court. The erection, at the very gates of the Council Chamber, of a totally independent estate—armed with gigantic power and competent to sit in judgment upon the Governor-General himself—was enough to alarm the sagacious understanding of one who well knew the necessity of retaining that broad margin of official rectitude, which in a more settled state of society, it is not only safe but expedient to narrow. He little thought how soon this tremendous engine would be set at work for his own salvation. Nuncomar brought his charges, and the council heard them. A charge was also brought against Nuncomar; and the terrible truth soon began to dawn upon him, that there was a power in Bengal even stronger than the Supreme Council itself, and that that power was now to be put forth for his destruction.

But it was some time before the Brahman came to a full understanding of this stupendous truth. He was arrested on a charge of forgery. This was a small matter. He thought nothing of the crime. His countrymen thought nothing of it. It was almost as common as lying, in a country where a false oath can be bought for a few pence. Forgery and perjury had long been Nuncomar's stock-in-trade. It seemed strange that so small a matter as the forgery of a bond—and that, too, five or six years before—should ever bring him into trouble: incredible that it should bring him to the gallows.

Nuncomar, at the time of his arrest, was under recognizances, together with Mr. Fowke, to appear before the judges to answer to a charge of conspiracy preferred against them by Mr. Hastings. Other parties had been accused, but after a searching examination, Impey and his brethren decided that the evidence against Nuncomar and Fowke alone was sufficient to warrant their being called upon to give bail. Hastings was bound over to prosecute.

Nuncomar was at large and in high honor, for the majority having elevated him to the rank of a hero, were paying him all possible honors, when on the 6th of May, he was arrested for the forgery of which we have spoken. The crime had been committed some years before, and since the date of its commission Nuncomar had been honored and rewarded by the Government. But it does not, therefore, follow that the

offence was one which had for years escaped recognition. The fact is that Nuncomar had been charged by the same party, with the commission of the identical offence, during the existence of the old Mayor's Court, he had, too, been arrested and committed, but subsequently released through the instrumentality of Mr. Hastings. The forged instrument was, on the arrival of the new judges, in the archives of the old Mayor's Court, from which it was rescued by Sir Elijah Impey and his colleagues, and by them returned to the original prosecutor, Mohunpersad, some time before Nuncomar brought his charges against the Governor-General. It is right that these circumstances should be kept distinctly in view, for it is often urged, and generally believed, that the offence for which Nuncomar was executed, had been wholly unnoticed until it suited the purpose of his enemies, six years after the crime had been committed. to produce the evidences of his guilt. That there are at least certain coincidences to give a color to the suspicion, that the ostensible prosecutor was influenced by other motives than those of mere private revenge, it would be dishonesty upon our part to deny. But at the same time it must be stated that, assuming no concealed influence were employed, nothing can be more intelligible than the conduct of the ostensible prosecutor. He had brought his charges against Nuncomar, during the existence of the old Mayor's Court; but the Governor-General was stronger than that court, and had obtained the liberation of Nuncomar. On the dissolution of that tribunal, the document, which had been lodged as proof of Nuncomar's guilt, was, as we have shown, returned to the prosecutor; and nothing can be more probable than that he, on learning that the new court was wholly independent of the Government, should now have felt himself in a position to recommence the prosecution with every prospect of success.

Mr. Macaulay has, with characteristic confidence, asserted that "it is the opinion of every body—idiots and biographers excepted—that Hastings was the real mover in the business." We should not be inclined to judge him very harshly if he were, but for Impey there could have been no valid excuse if he really became, as alleged, the judicial tool of the Governor-General. There is, however, no sort of evidence to criminate the chief justice. Nuncomar had been arraigned for the identical offence before the appointment of the new judges, who found the condemnatory document, which hanged the wily native, among the records of the Mayor's Court, and returned it to the original prosecutor some time before they could by any possibility have suspected the uses to which it

would be turned. Much has been made of certain coincidences of time and circumstances; but nothing has been written or spoken to shew that the Supreme Court did, not from the commitment to the execution of Nuncomar, proceed through every judicial stage, with the strictest formality. Nuncomar could not have been committed sooner or later—or tried sooner or later—than he was. And as to circumstances, nothing, as we have said, can be more probable than that the prosecutor took advantage of the circumstance of the establishment of the new court, the circumstance of its in dependence, and the circumstance of the strife between the Governor-General and his old opponent, to renew the charges against the latter.

It was on the 6th of May 1775—just two months after Nuncomar had placed in the hands of the majority his charges against Hastings—that the Maharajah was arrested on a charge of forgery, under a warrant issued by judge Le Maistre.* He was thrown into prison—the “common gaol of Calcutta.” Francis and his associates, exasperated almost to madness, vainly endeavoured to rescue their baffled confederate. The offence was not a bailable offence. The judges could not be induced to swerve from the straight line of formal justice. Nuncomar was cast into prison; and there he remained to take his trial.

But the councillors who could not remove him from the prison, could at all events visit him there. They could flatter and console him; could buoy him up with false hopes, and heap upon him empty honors. His son Gúrdas was promoted, and his prison was turned into a *darbar*. The majority visited him in state and all their *posse comitatus* of hangers-on and protégés flocked eagerly to the prison. Lady Anne Monson, and the ladies of General Clavering’s family, sent friendly messages of condolence; and the aides-de-camp and secretaries of the General were always passing and repassing between his house and the gaol. Men on the look out for promotion—the crawling, creeping adventurers who, in those days, swarmed in the dusty atmosphere of Calcutta, found a visit to the felon’s prison more serviceable than attendance at the General’s levee. Fellows, who in their hearts hated and despised every native in the country, thinking them all, from Nuncomar downwards, only fit to be hanged like dogs, now were suddenly filled with virtuous sympathy and enlarged tolera-

* Le Maistre was the sitting magistrate when the charge was exhibited. He subsequently requested the assistance of Hyde, and the examination which ensued, lasted from nine in the morning till nearly ten at night. The commitment was then made out in the usual form under the authority of the two judges.

tion. Great men talked about what they would do ; and little ones echoed their opinions. The judges were threatened with disgrace ; it was generally believed that a rescue would be attempted, and the prisoner was promised an eventual triumph, greater than any he had achieved before. And Nuncomar hoped and hoped ; and hope grew into confidence, for he did not know the strength of the law.

The scorching month of May wore on to its close. In spite of the sultriness of the weather Nuncomar's levees were well attended. His prison-quarters were not so intolerable as they were represented. It was afterwards shown in evidence that the apartments to which he was removed were better than those in which he was arrested. Every effort, indeed, was made by the judges and their officers to alleviate the bitterness of his lot. His rooms were in a detached part of the gaol, separate from those of the other felons. Every possible convenience was allowed to him, for the performance of his ablutions and the ceremonial observances of his caste. Free access was permitted to his presence ; and the Chief Justice sent frequent messages to the keeper of the gaol, desiring him to treat the prisoner with all possible consideration and respect. He did more than this. When it was reported to him that Nuncomar's health was failing, he immediately sent a physician to him ; and subsequently, against the remonstrances of Judge Le Maistre, permitted the prisoner to "eat the air" outside the prison walls.

In due course the day of trial arrived. Nuncomar, it has been seen, was arrested on the 6th of May. In June the sessions commenced. A true bill was found against the prisoner ; and on the 8th, he was called to the bar to take his trial for forgery, before the Chief Justice, the three puisne judges, and a jury of twelve British subjects. Chambers was of opinion that the indictment should be laid under an act of Queen Elizabeth, in whose time forgery was not a capital offence ; but this suggestion was overruled by the other judges, who could see nothing to absolve them from the necessity of administering the English law as at that time administered in England. The Regulating Act, indeed, plainly interpreted, had left them no alternative. Much has been said and written to show that Nuncomar was not within the jurisdiction of the court, and that the English law was not applicable to India ; but we confess our inability to understand how any man of ordinary comprehension, with the Regulating Act and letters patent before him, can so interpret the clauses of either, as to arrive at a conviction that a British subject, like

Nuncomar—one actually in the employment of Government—was not amenable to the English law. The articles of Sir Gilbert Elliot's wordy impeachment contains nothing to shake our conviction of the legality of the indictment. The assertion that the Supreme Court had not "any criminal jurisdiction whatever, in any case whatever, over the native inhabitants of the provinces" named in the Act, is in these days valued at its true worth. The most desperate party-writer would not venture to endorse it.

But there is something more plausible in the assertion, that Nuncomar was rited unjustly by an *ex post facto* law. The felony had been committed some years before the erection of the Supreme Court; and to try a man capitally for an offence, which was not capital at the time of its commission, would clearly have been a gross violation of the principles of justice. All this is undeniable; but the argument proceeds upon the assumption that forgery was not a capital offence in Calcutta, when Nuncomar forged the instrument on account of which he was summoned to take his trial in the Supreme Court. But the assumption is mere assumption. Nuncomar might have been hanged for forgery, if the Supreme Court had never been established. Some years before, a native of rank, named Radachand Mittra, had been tried for forgery and sentenced to be hanged—but had been subsequently pardoned; and it appears from the evidence of Mr. Barwell, a man of unimpeachable integrity, that before the establishment of the Supreme Court, natives of Calcutta *had been* hanged for forgery. It would be monstrous, therefore, to assert that Nuncomar was ignorant of the penalty attaching to the crime of forgery. He must have known that it was a capital offence.* He might have been hanged, if he had been tried before the old Mayor's Court: and no man knew this better than Nuncomar himself.

The trial came on. The court was densely crowded. In the suffocating month of June—just before the first falls of rain freshen the arid dust-charged earth and revive the languid energies of prostrate humanity—Nuncomar was formally arraigned. Men of different countries and of all classes, regardless of the exhausting heat, thronged into the sultry court. The European and native communities were alike interested in the issue of the trial. The Company's servants, civil and

* This is not mere conjecture. Nuncomar was one of those who signed the petition in favor of Radachand Mittra—which petition urged, that the sentence of death, without the execution—if the penalty were remitted—would be sufficient to deter other natives from the commission of the crime.

military, of all ranks, made their way into the court-house, and the natives of Calcutta and the surrounding country, the highest and the wealthiest, jostled and strained and sweated, with outstretched necks, eager to catch a sight of the new judges, in their robes of office, and of the exalted culprit, by many hated and by many feared. The chief justice and the three puisne judges were on the bench; Mr. Farrer and Mr. Brix, two of the most eminent English lawyers in the settlement, were retained for the prisoner. The counsel did not question the competency of the court. Nuncomar did not doubt it. The principal witness, Mohunpersad, was called in, and stated his case with great distinctness. Witness followed witness. Evidence was accumulated upon evidence. It was made clear to the court—to all the assembled spectators—that Nuncomar had been guilty, not of one act of forgery but of many. His own witnesses were called in; and the grossness of his iniquity was rendered more and more apparent to all present. New lies were told—new perjuries committed—nay, indeed, new forgeries were perpetrated. There is always an unlimited amount of false swearing to be obtained in India at the smallest possible price. Nuncomar made the most of this facility—but his witnesses swore to no purpose. The trial was an unusually long one. There was no limit to the swearing; and there were two languages spoken in court. The necessity of interpreting every word greatly protracted the natural length of the proceedings. The court summed up, and with what fairness, all who read the charge may determine. There could be no doubt of the sufficiency of the evidence; but Impey, as the presiding judge, leaned, as far as mercy may assert itself without a culpable violation of justice, towards the case of the prisoner. But the jury did not hesitate. A verdict of guilty was returned—and one without qualification. The twelve Englishmen who sat in the jury-box could see no good reason to recommend the prisoner to mercy. The judges then proceeded to pass sentence. Impey, as chief justice, was of course the mouth-piece of the court, but not his alone, the sentence. The judges were unanimous. Even Chambers, who had objected to the manner of the indictment, did not demur to the sentence; and sentence of death was passed. Nuncomar heard it with fortitude; but in this there was something more than the stoic patience of his race. His confidence in the strength and constancy of the "majority" had not forsaken him. They had made large promises—vaunted their supremacy without stint—and the unhappy prisoner had relied on the genuine worth of all their

protestations. Even when he left the Supreme Court a convicted felon—condemned to the gallows—he had not yet learnt to estimate the omnipotence of the *law*.

And we would here pause to consider the charge of inhumanity brought against Sir Elijah Impey—inhumanity manifested in the absence of all efforts to save the unhappy prisoner—but that his own defence of his conduct is on record; and every point of attack is fairly repelled in the annexed passage of a manuscript letter to Governor Johnstone, in the archives of the British Museum:—

“My wishes to have represented him as an object of mercy, and to have procured the extension of it to him, were (considering the heavy task I had on my hands), give me leave to say, more strong than yours could possibly be, and I call God to witness it was my firm intention to do so, in case he should be convicted, had not the conduct of that unhappy man, and of the gentleman who possessed the powers of Government, in my opinion, rendered it absolutely necessary both in support of the administration of justice and of my own honour, to pursue efficient measures. The fabrication of new forgeries, and the most gross perjuries during the time of his confinement, and even during the course of the trial, was an atrocious aggravation of the original offence. The eyes of the whole country were drawn to it; it was attended by men of all ranks in the service, and the principal natives in and round Calcutta, for a considerable distance, flocked to it. The grossness of the forgeries and perjuries was much more striking to those who saw the witnesses and heard the *verba voce* examinations than they can be to those who read the trial, gross even as they there appear.

No explanation could have made the natives (if the Europeans had been inclined to think better of us) understand that the escape from justice, if the sentence had not been carried into execution, had not been occasioned by the artifices of the prisoner, unless, indeed, it had been attributed to corruption or timidity in the judges, or a controlling power in the Governor-General and Council. I leave it to your consideration the effect any of these opinions must have had, on the institution of a new court of justice, among the inhabitants whom the weight and terror of their oppressions have enslaved bowed and depraved that the most intolerable injuries cannot rouse them to sufficient confidence to look up to the purset and firmest tribunal. This consideration had certainly great influence on my mind. Corruption in this country has no doubt been, in all courts of justice, a most efficacious instrument. The natives have thought it, and with reason, infallible and omnipotent. Had this criminal escaped, no force of argument, no future experience would have prevailed on a single native to believe that the judges had not weighed gold against justice, and that it would ever preponderate. In India it was universally believed that large sums were offered to the judges, and perhaps a rumour of the kind may have reached England. When the charges were first exhibited against the Rajah, those who ought to have used their authority to strengthen, employed it to weaken and insult the administration of justice, to overawe, and even to threaten the judges. Not only public compliments, such as were never received by natives of a rank much above his, from Europeans, were paid to him, but the prison was converted into a Durbar. Ladies of the first rank condescended to send public condolences; those who meant to pay court knew they did it more effectually by an attendance at

the gaol, than at the breakfasts and levees of their patrons. Aides-de-camps and secretaries paid daily visits, and publicly repeated assurances of safety and protection. These assurances made too great an impression on the unhappy man; they gave him and his dependants a security and insolence ill-suited to his circumstances: they gave out that the judges dare not execute the sentence. To this he was too much encouraged by those in power here and influence at home. The Governor-General and Council interfered in the process, claimed a power to protect, examined the officers of justice, and attempted to overrule the proceedings of the judges, and some of the members of that board openly threatened to procure the dismissal of these judges if they did not relax their sentence. It was afterwards confidently asserted by one member, that he had effected the dismissal of those judges who were most obnoxious to him, and that it would be brought out by the ships of the season. Besides what was open, many private intrigues and insinuations were put on foot to prejudice the opinion of the public, both with regard to the institution of the court and the character of the judges I am sure you will give me credit for sufficient common sense to prevent me from flattering myself that the measure was likely to be either popular or serviceable to me in England I knew the relations of what part here would be accompanied by partial representations, false colorings, and even false facts and direct accusations. A paper was introduced into Council here intended to be recorded as an accusation personally against me, but the person who presented it, after a little consideration, did not dare to persist in his first intention. He changed it and himself moved, that it should be burnt by the hands of the hangman, and it was burnt accordingly. I knew the power and weight in England that gentleman possessed I trust that you will give credit to the acuteness of my sensations, when I found myself inevitably urged to carry into execution a sentence against a prisoner, whom, taking into consideration his original crime only, I most ardently desired to have saved, and would have done it, even under the aggravated circumstances, had it been reconcileable to the sense I had of the trust committed to my care. I had great reason to believe that I wished more to save him than those who promised him protection. I suffered much, by the necessity I was under, perhaps as much as the convict himself, but I had a public character to support, in which a numerous people here was interested, and therefore of more consequence than my reputation in England, where I am but an obscure man, and could only be individually affected. I had the dignity, integrity, independence and utility of that court to maintain, which I enthusiastically labored to make a blessing to the country. To produce that effect I knew it to be absolutely necessary to convince the natives that it was superior to imposition, corruption, influence or control. I thought I did my duty, and therefore determined to sacrifice my feelings and abide every consequence. Had I taken the part those feelings strongly biased me to, I had the fullest assurances that that influence which was held forth as a terror to me, and which, in truth, I had reason to dread would have been exerted to its utmost extent to my benefit."

All this and much more may be found clearly stated in Sir Elijah's printed defence; but, perhaps, the substance of the argument has never been put forth in more succinct and yet more lucid language, than in this extract from an unpublished letter, without date, in the Impey collection. The letter was written from India, long before Sir Elijah could have enter-

tained any reasonable apprehension that the conviction and execution of Nuncomar would have formed the principal article of a great parliamentary impeachment of his conduct on the bench at Calcutta. It is remarkable that in the above extract, the interference of the Governor-General and Council is spoken, as though Hastings and the "majority" had co-operated in an endeavour to save Nuncomar. And it is worthy of remark that Impey appears at this time to have entertained a mistaken impression of the course pursued by Clavering and Francis in Council, relative to the introduction of the paper, which was burnt by the hands of the hangman—the libellous petition of Nuncomar to which we shall presently allude.

The Maharajah—now a convicted felon, under sentence of death—was sent back to the common gaol. No man lifted a voice to save him. Europeans and natives, all were equally silent.* Even the family of the convict gave no sign; perhaps they relied on the power of the majority. It was a broken reed; and they were betrayed.

A petition, however, was addressed to the Council. It came from Nuncomar himself. On the 4th of August it was left at the private residence of General Clavering. It was opened on the 6th. On the 5th Nuncomar was hanged.

Up to the very day of his execution it appears that the unhappy man, relying upon the influence of Clavering and Monson, was confident that the sentence of the law would not be carried into effect. These gentlemen sent frequent messages to him; but the more cautious Francis appears to have been silent and inactive. Much, it would seem, was said—much promised—but nothing was done. The majority if they talked about rescuing Nuncomar, resorted to the strangest method of doing it. Clavering, who, according to Mr. Macaulay, vowed that he would save the Maharajah at the foot of the gallows, would not open a letter he received from Nuncomar, because he thought it "might contain some request that he should take steps to intercede for him."

And so Nuncomar was hanged. Of the memorable scene of the great native's execution a vivid picture is extant. It was said to have been drawn on the very day of the event by Mr. Macrabie, the sheriff; but no body had the good fortune to see it until twelve years after the Maharajah had expired his

* So Mr. Impey—and so Sir Elijah in his defence; but it would appear from the Appendix of the Report of the Select Committee of 1781, that a letter was sent to Impey by the Nawab of Mûrshedabad, the precise nature of which is only to be inferred. Sir Gilbert Elliot declared that petitions had been sent in by the Nawab and others.

guilt upon the gallows. Like the manuscript of *Dictys Cretensis*, after long inhumation, it was cast up by an earthquake. A great political convulsion brought the long-buried document to light; and Sir Gilbert Elliot hurled it, with terrible vehemence, at the head of the Chief Justice.

In this remarkable paper, of which Mr. Macaulay has made such effective use, the fortitude of Nuncomar—the grief of his relatives—the consternation of the natives—the gathering of the multitude on the great plain—their incredulity before the execution—their horror when the drop descended—the tumultuous rush of the howling crowd towards the river, to wash away the guilt of having witnessed so terrible an impiety—all are described with graphic minuteness of detail. The description must be received with caution. It is a suspicious circumstance that so interesting and important a document, if drawn up at the time of the execution, should have remained for twelve years, in utter obscurity; and perhaps it is a still more suspicious circumstance that the writer of this long-buried document was the brother-in-law of Philip Francis.

On the 14th of August the Council met and went into the Secret Department. General Clavering then stated, that on the 4th a paper in the Persian language had been brought to his house open, by a servant of Nuncomar. "As I imagined," said the General, "that the paper might contain some request that I should take some steps to intercede for him, and being resolved not to make any application whatever in his favour, I left the paper on my table until the 6th, which was the day after his execution, when I ordered it to be translated by my interpreter. As it appears to me that paper contains several circumstances, which it may be proper for the Court of Directors and His Majesty's ministers to be acquainted with, I have brought it with me here, and desire that the Board will instruct me what I have to do with it: the title of it is "a representation from Maharajah Nuncomar to the General and Gentlemen of Council." Upon this Francis moved that the paper should be laid before the Board. Barwell then said, that he could not understand how a question could arise regarding it. The paper having been addressed to the Council, ought of course to be laid on the Council-table. After some explanation from the General, Colonel Monson expressed his opinion that the paper should be laid before the Board; the Governor-General then declared his inability to understand the air of mystery which enveloped so very obvious a matter; and it was finally "resolved that the paper delivered by the servant of Nuncomar to General Clavering be produced and read." It was accordingly read, in

the translation of the General's interpreter ; but was subsequently, it would appear, sent back for revised translation, and on the 16th was produced again and read in the Secret Department.

It then appeared that the petition was addressed, not to the General and the Gentlemen of Council but to the Governor-General and Council in the usual form. The petition set forth his case, in no very striking terms, adding, " Lord Impey " and the other judges have tried me by the English laws, which " are contrary to the customs of this country in which there was " never any such administration of justice before ; and taking " the evidence of my enemies in proof of my crime, have condemned me to death. But by my death, the King's justice will " let the actions of no person remain concealed ; and now " that the hour of death approaches, I shall not, for the sake of " this world, be regardless of the next, but represent the truth " to the Gentlemen of the Council. The forgery of the bond " of which I am accused never proceeded from me. Many " principal people of this country, who are acquainted with my " honesty, frequently requested of the judges to suspend my " execution till the King's pleasure should be known, but this " they refused, and unjustly take away my life. For God's " sake, Gentlemen of the Council, you who are just, and " whose words are truth, let me not undergo this injury but " wait the King's pleasure. If I am unjustly put to death, " I will, with my family, demand justice in the next life. " They put me to death out of enmity, and from partiality " to the gentlemen who have betrayed their trust and in this " case the thread of life being cut, I, in my last moment, again " request that you, gentlemen, will write my case particularly " to the just King of England. I suffer, but my innocence " will certainly be made known to him " *

The paper having been read, Hastings moved that a copy of it should be sent to the judges of the Supreme Court. To this Francis objected, saying, that he " considered the insinuations contained in it against them (the judges) as wholly unsupported and of a libellous nature," and he, therefore, proposed that " orders should be given to the sheriff, to cause the

* The judges applied to the Council for a copy of this document, and were told that it was impossible to furnish them with a copy, " having ordered the original and translations to be destroyed and no copy to be kept." In this same letter, Hastings and the other Members of Council, beg to be informed " from whom you (the judges) received the imputed information which appears to have been conveyed to you, on this and other occasions, of the proceedings of this Board in our Secret Department." No man was more competent to supply the answer than Hastings himself.

original to be burned publicly by the hands of the common hangman." And by the hands of the common hangman Nuncomar's petition was burnt, as an atrocious libel on the judges of the Supreme Court. Many years afterwards, Francis, staggered by a reference to this circumstance, asserted that the document was libellous, not because it reflected upon Sir Elijah Impey, but because it equally condemned the conduct of the other judges. The lie was as transparent as it was malicious.

But although Francis had proposed that the libel should be burnt by the common hangman, and Clavering had openly declared that he could not bring himself to read it before Nuncomar was hanged, the majority very soon began to repeat, in numberless letters to England, the substance of the libel; and to enter, in official minutes forwarded to the India House, condemnatory remarks of a similar tendency. In the following January, Impey, writing Mr Smith on the subject of the appointment of an Advocate-General, remarked—

"You will see me most egregiously abused. The treatment I have met with from the moment I landed is most injurious, to a degree, that can hardly be credited. I don't think your mind is prepared to receive the worst impressions of my humanity or integrity. Do not believe declamatory abuse. Let facts and arguments be alluded to, and I shall stand fair with every honest and candid man."*

And again, writing to Thurlow, under the same date, he says—

"Dear Thurlow, by the *Godfrey*, I have despatched to Lord Rockford. remarks and answers to some violent charges made upon the judges in minutes dated 15th of September and 21st of November, by General C, Colonel M, and Mr F, and which have been long since sent to the India [House]. They were meant to be secret, and it was but this week that I had intelligence of them, when Mr Hastings communicated them to me, under an oath of secrecy, that I would not disclose the contents in Calcutta. I wrote to you before that I suspected that secret attacks were made on me. I had no suspicion of the malignancy of them. I fear that as there has been no possibility of answering them before, they may have made a bad impression in England. I must beseech you to suspend your judgment till the facts can be examined, and the answers and proofs, which I have sent up, can be read. . . . I do most solemnly assure (you) that I have to the best of my ability assisted in every instance, though the gentlemen complain of the Court's giving opposition to Government. The hauteur, insolence, and superior air of authority which the new members of the council use to the Court, may be partly discernible in the style of their minutes; but on the spot they maintain no colour of decency. My conduct to them has been absolutely the reverse, and I believe they are the more angry with me for it."†

* Unpublished MSS letters in the British Museum.

† Unpublished correspondence in the British Museum.

The judges had taken the precaution of sending home a complete report of Nuncomar's trial. Alexander Elliot, a young civilian of high promise, an intimate friend of the chief justice—he, whose early death Hastings subsequently deplored in the well known Horatian he addressed to Mr. Shore,* was entrusted with this authenticated version of the judicial proceedings. All the four judges had appended their names to a document authorising the publication of this report; Elliot was, moreover, the bearer of numerous letters to the friends of the chief justice and his associates. He had interpreted, throughout the trial; and, perhaps, there was not in the whole country a man better qualified to afford the fullest possible information regarding all the circumstances of this memorable event. To him Impey entrusted his reputation; and it could not have been in better keeping. Strange that we should have to add, that the Sir Gilbert Elliot, who moved the articles of impeachment against Impey—the most venomous of all the assailants of the chief justice—was the brother of that young man.

"This version of the trial," writes Mr. Impey, "was drawn up by Samuel Tolfrey (the under sheriff) by the order of all the judges, and with the assistance of three of them. The materials for it consisted of notes taken by the sheriff and by the under-sheriff; by *the counsel* for the prisoner; and by Mr. Elliot, who had acted as interpreter; by the judges, and by one or two other parties. *All* the judges at different times looked over the trial, whilst Tolfrey was writing; when it was finished it was sent round to the judges; and the authority for publishing was signed by all." Some years afterwards, that Mackintosh, of whom we have spoken in a former paper † declared in his travels in *Europe, Asia and Africa*, that "the trial published in England is universally declared, on this side, to be spurious and false"—A statement which is very much on a par with other statements, affecting the characters of Hastings and Impey in that veracious work.

Mr Impey asserts that no such person as Mackintosh was ever heard of, and Mr. Macfarlane, in his *Indian Empire*, has hazarded a similar opinion. It is surmised that Francis was

* An early death was Elliot's doom;
I saw his opening virtues bloom,
And manly sense unfold,
Too soon to fade! I bade the stone
Record his name midst hordes unknown,
Unknowing what it told.

† "Calcutta Review," No. IV. Art. Sir. P. Francis.

the real author of the book. Now Mackintosh was quite as real, though not as distinguished a personage as Francis, and abundant mention of him, his character, his appearance, his sayings, and his doings may be found in the pamphlets of the day.* Some anecdotes of the man have already been recorded in the pages of this journal. Mackintosh was a tool of Francis, but he was not Francis himself—*alter et idem*; Junius in disguise. His book, indeed, is in no wise worthy of the honor of such putative paternity. It is a very dull affair. We confess that we expected to find in it much more cleverness and pungency. The personalities are neither very numerous, nor very stinging. It has scarcely the air of a book written for a political purpose.

There are, however, occasional passages in the *Travels*, venuous enough to be attributed to Francis, and of these the most vigorous are condemnatory of the conduct of Impey, Hyde, and Le Maistre. The following is, perhaps, the most remarkable:—

“Corruption hath usurped the sacred seat of justice and, shielded by the power of a venal government, hath held quiet possession of this station for six lingering years, without even the veil of hypocrisy to shade the horrors of oppression and savage violence. Here, however, I might joyfully remark a single exception in the soul of Sir Robert Chambers, had nature, extending to this amiable person her kind liberality, fortified his virtue with resolution to withstand magisterial frowns and supercilious arrogance. The mind overwhelmed with a confusion of cruel, iniquitous and violent decisions and executions, is incapable of arranging the various ideas that occur upon this subject of horror Let the protectors of such men demonstrate their disappointment and concern at their conduct, by yielding them up as sacrifices to that justice, which they have so heinously offended.” The writer goes on to declare that the offences of the judges “cry aloud for examples of just vengeance upon the spot where the abominable deeds were perpetrated;” and as a proof of “the rapacity of the court, he alleges that the fees of processes and writs issuing from the Supreme Court have amounted annually to the enormous sum of £426 000.”

It is not impossible that Francis may have thrown in a few touches here and there with his bold, masterly hand, but the main stock of the work is obviously the production of the swarthy creole.

Impey, it will have been seen, soon found that the chief seat in the Supreme Court was not a bed of roses. Every month seemed to add something to the perplexities which worried him. It was barely possible that even, with the best understanding between the council and the court, no inconvenience should

* Especially in those of Captain Price. Mr Impey speaks of Price's single pamphlet. But the sea-captain was a very prolific scribe. he must have written a dozen pamphlets.

have resulted from the exercise of the powers of the latter. The application of a new and mighty machinery to a condition of society in no wise adapted to it, must, under any combination of circumstances, have thrown the country into a state of disorder, but with the supreme legal authority at open war with the Supreme Government, it is difficult to conceive a more embarrassing and more disastrous concurrence of events. Writing as we are a memoir not of the law but of the judge, it would be beside our present purpose to enlarge upon the characteristics of the former. It will be sufficient, on this occasion to observe, that the Supreme Court of Calcutta was established for the special protection of the natives of India against the presumed rapacity and oppression of the Company's servants. It is probable that,—as Francis and the other members of the new council sailed for India with very exaggerated ideas of the oppressive character of the Indian Government—of the general corruption which had been eating its way along the whole length and breadth of the country,—the judges also may (for it was a popular belief) have somewhat magnified the evil influence of the Company's Courts, and looked upon themselves too confidently as the saviours and deliverers of the country. Relying, without any misgivings, on the salutary effects of that "perfection of human reason," the English law, and knowing little or nothing of the peculiar prejudices of the people of India—their religion, their institutions, their laws of caste, their customs and ceremonies—they seem to have overlooked the fact that an instrument of protection may, unfitly applied, become an instrument of oppression. That the establishment of the Supreme Court did not bring with it the blessings with which it was intended to be laden, we may readily admit, without casting any heavy slurs upon the character of the Chief Justice and his judicial brethren. The problem to be solved was the most difficult of all difficult problems. There is no doubt that the state of things, before the passing of the Regulating Act, was sufficiently bad; that the law required radical reform; that justice had, in many instances, been set at naught most flagrantly; and that the people of India had really no remedy against the oppressions to which they were subject. But it might have puzzled even a greater lawyer than Elijah Impey—a greater statesman than Warren Hastings—greater lawyers and statesman than those in England who had been concerned in the framing of the Regulating Act—to determine how to render the English law a blessing to the natives of India. "The Company's Treasury," wrote Impey in 1776, "is full, but the country is depopulated. The ryots are

" leaving their lands and flocks ; and turning fakeers, or entering among the banditti. Everything has been undone by the present rulers, and nothing substituted " That Impey was impressed with the conviction that the Supreme Court would, in process of time, remedy much of this evil, we confidently believe. It was not unnatural that he should have relied on the efficacy of the English law ; nor have we any reason to doubt the sincerity of his convictions.

But Impey, though imbued with strong faith in the general excellence of the English law, could not but see the defects inherent in the constitution of the new court The Regulating Act had been framed in a most slovenly manner ; the powers of the Supreme Court were not distinctly defined, and it was liable, therefore, every day to find, that the legality of its acts was openly questioned That Impey was not only willing, but anxious to have these defects formally remedied by the British legislature, is a matter of fact, not of conjecture He wrote, by almost every ship, urgent letters to the most eminent English lawyers—to Lord Chancellor Bathurst, to Thurlow. to Dunning, and sometimes to the minister, Lord North. Hastings, too, bore frequent testimony to the moderation, the sound sense, and the good intentions of the Chief Justice. ' I assure you,' he wrote to Sullivan in March 1776, " that it is scarcely possible to have acted with more moderation or caution than Sir Elijah has observed in all cases in which the ordinary process of the Supreme Court was likely to affect the collection and management of the public revenue. Indeed, the other judges merit the same testimony in their favor. Had a cordial understanding subsisted between the Court and the Council, much of the inconvenience that has arisen from the writs of the Court would have been avoided, nor would the revenue have been in the least affected by them, but it seems to have been a maxim of the Board to force the Court into extremes for the purpose of finding fault with it. Yet, in many cases, the acts of the Court have been and must continue to be, the unavoidable cause of embarrassment. This is owing to a defect in its constitution. By the limitation of its powers it must ever remain a doubt what is the extent of them, as every man in the provinces is in reality subjected to the authority of the Company. If it was constituted to protect the people from oppression, that design would be entirely frustrated, were the Board at liberty to employ agents who should be exempt from its authority ; and you will have seen many instances in the papers which I have sent home, of the most glaring acts of oppression committed by the Board, which would have

produced the ruin of the parties over whom they were exercised, but for the protection of the Court. Great complaints have been made of Zemindars and others, who are not liable to the jurisdiction of the Court by the plain construction of the Act, having been arrested, and some thrown into prison by its warrants. But no attention has been paid to the necessity which there is of bringing the persons, who are even excluded by the Act from the jurisdiction of the Court, in the same way before it to establish their exemption. They may plead to its jurisdiction, and obtain their discharge; but till this is done, I cannot see how it is possible to make the distinction; for if every man, who declared himself to be no British subject, nor employed by any, *was in virtue of his own declaration to be exempted from their authority, all men would make the plea* The truth is that a thing done by halves is worse done than if it were not done at all. The powers of the Court must be universal, or it would be better to repeal them altogether I hope that my plan will be found to provide the most effectual relief against all the imperfections of the Act as it now stands. On the one hand, it proposes to give to the Supreme Court an unlimited (but not exclusive) authority over all, and on the other, it provides for the administration of justice in all cases to which its jurisdiction cannot conveniently extend, without the danger of a competition with it. In this coalition of the British judicature with the Dewany, the latter will obtain a more steady and confirmed authority than it has ever yet possessed; and, being open to the daily inspection and control of the judges, the Dewanny courts will acquire a more regular and legal form than they could have, if left to themselves.”—(*Gleig's Hastings*) This new scheme, the heads of which were laid down by Hastings, was put into legal shape by Impey, and sent to England for the adoption of his Majesty's Government.* It shared the fate of many other propositions for the better Government of our Indian territories. It was quietly shelved, and there left for the dust to accumu-

* Writing, a few months afterwards Hastings observed, “I grieve that the Chief Justice's Bill did not go home eighteen months ago. My diffidence of my own ability on a subject so remote from all my occupations, deterred me from attempting anything of the kind and I found when I seriously pressed Sir Elijah on the subject, that he was withheld from it by the want of local experience, and had expected me to form the plan of a judicial establishment for the whole country. How we missed the knowledge of each other's sentiments on such a subject, and with a daily communication, I know not; as soon as I knew his, I instantly set about it. My plan was written on the eve of the close of one packet, and his Bill, for similar causes and from sickness, was begun and finished during the despatch of another.

late upon it. Lord North thought that he had done enough in sending out the new councillors and the new judges, and having plunged the settlement in civil discord, he thought it best to leave the combatants to fight it out in their own way.

The private letter from the Governor-General which we have quoted above, is marked by his characteristic good sense, and is written in a conciliatory spirit. He did not always express himself with equal moderation and candour when writing official minutes on the subject of the proceedings of the Supreme Court. Indeed, in the prosecution of the present enquiry, the conviction has been forced upon us that the character of Hastings is fairly chargeable with extreme duplicity. Some allowance must be made for the embarrassments of his position; he may have felt that perpetual antagonism to the Council, whilst distressing to himself, was injurious to the interests of the State, and may therefore sometimes have put his name to letters and resolutions which had not received his cordial approbation; but, whatever may have been the cause, we find it difficult to reconcile the conflicting expressions which, from time to time, present themselves in the course of such an investigation as this, and are forced, therefore, into the utterance of an opinion that candour and single-mindedness were not elements in the character of Warren Hastings.

But whilst allowing all possible weight to the mitigating circumstances set forth by the Governor-General, it is impossible to close one's eyes against the conviction, that the operations of the Supreme Court were often attended with violence and injustice—that outrages were committed on individuals, and that the affairs of Government were obstructed by improper unauthorised judicial interference. It may not be strictly true that "a reign of terror began," but there is no doubt that many very unrighteous acts were committed in the name of the Supreme Court. Seventy years have passed away since the time of which we are now writing, and still do the understrappers of the law, whether in the employ of the Queen's or the Company's courts, commit inconceivable outrages in the name of public justice. Alas! for our magistrates and judges, if they were answerable for all the iniquities committed by the Police!

That the myrmidons of the Supreme Court committed excesses for which there is no justification it is impossible to deny. The vivid sketch of the "reign of terror," under the new judicial system—a sketch which forms one of the most striking passages in Mr Macaulay's glowing article—is, doubtless, in the

recollection of our readers. That passage is founded upon undeniable fact ; but it is excessively over-charged. The rhetoric overlays the truth. The article throughout resembles the brilliant address of a prosecuting counsel, not the dispassionate summing-up of a judge. The extreme cases spoken of, as of frequent occurrence, were not many but few ; and even these few cases, stripped of all adventitious aids of strong language and passionate appeals to the imagination, and reduced to the sober guise of matter-of-fact evidence, wear a very different aspect from that which they assume in Mr. Macaulay's *Historical Essays*.

It would occupy too much of our space if we were to enter minutely into the merits even of those few cases, which were brought prominently to the notice of the public ; and which really created some sensation in Bengal. But to one or two of these we may briefly allude. The well-known "Patna cause" present itself first for notice ; and it is one of so complicated a nature that we may well despair of being able to lay before our readers, in a small space, such an abstract as will enable them to comprehend it in all its bearings. There was a Mussulman adventurer, named Shah-baz Khan, who came from Kabul to seek his fortune in Hindustan. Like most of his race he was an expert horseman and a good soldier ; and after a while he obtained service from the British Government as commander of a body of horse. He was recommended, it would appear, by Mr. Watts, and cast no discredit upon his patron. At the close of the war with Kassim Ali, having obtained some wealth in the service, and received a grant of land in Behar from the Mogul, he retired from active life and settled down quietly at Patna. There he married a young wife, but begat no children—a circumstance which his needy relatives were not long in turning to good account. A nephew came down to Patna to comfort the old man ; and was soon duly installed as his adopted son. In due course, the veteran died, and there was a disputed inheritance. The widow, Nadarah Begum claimed the proceeds of his estate ; and Bahadur Beg, the nephew, asserted his right to the whole. The young man lost no time in sending in a petition to the Patna Council, and the case was referred to the Mahomedan law officers, who were directed to take an inventory of the goods of the deceased, for it was alleged that the Begum who was in possession, was secreting and carrying off the money and other valuables. This was accordingly done. The kazi and muftis went to the Begum's residence : and, after some slight resistance upon her part proceeded to carry out the direc-

tions of the council—the widow, whilst the process was going on, having moved out of her accustomed apartments into another part of the house. Having taken the inventory, the law officers proceeded to investigate the respective claims of the two parties to the inheritance. In behalf of the widow, it was alleged that the property had been made over to her by Shah-baz Khan, and a deed of gift, to this effect, was produced. The nephew on the other hand, alleged that this was a forged instrument, and claimed the estate as adopted son and heir at law. The kazi and muftis, after examining several witnesses, declared their opinion that the deeds produced by the Begum's vakil were spurious ; and accordingly decided that the widow should receive a fourth of the estate, and that Bahadur Beg should possess himself of the residue. This decision was confirmed by the Patna council , and the Mahommedan law officers proceeded to the house of the late Shah-baz Khan to divide his effects in accordance with this decree. On this the Begum, in great dudgeon, quitted the house , took up her abode in a nest of fakirs, situated in another part of the town, and refused to take possession of the property which had been legally assigned to her.

After some months, it occurred, or was suggested to the Begum, that she might obtain redress from the Supreme Court. She had obstinately refused compliance with the orders of the Patna council , and accordingly a guard of sepoy's had been placed over her, for she had carried off with her all the slave-girls and the title-deeds of her husband's estates. The armed force had no effect upon her, and it was withdrawn. The Begum then set off for Calcutta.

Then she brought an action in the Supreme Court against Bahadur Beg, the kazi and the muftis, for assault and battery, trespass and false imprisonment—alleging that she had been grossly injured and insulted—and laying her damages at six lakhs of sicca rupees *

Bahadur Beg pleaded that he was out of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, and that he was " not guilty." The Musalman law officers pleaded generally " not guilty." The former alleged that he was in no wise, directly or indirectly in the employment of the Company , but the plea was overruled on the score that he was the farmer of certain lands held under the British Government. It is true that he was not avowedly the farmer of the district, but only security for

* Mr. Impey says, that Nanderah Begum commenced her action in 1779. This is either a mistake or a misprint. The action was commenced in 1777.

the otensible and recognised farmer—a circumstance, which could scarcely, by any forced construction, have brought him within the jurisdiction of the court, had it not been alleged, by certain witnesses, that he was generally regarded as the *bonâ fide* farmer of the land. Public opinion, at all events, pointed to him in that capacity; and the Court determined that the jurisdiction was made out. The attempted justification was not more successful. Bahadur Beg set forth that he was only a suitor in the Patna Court, and the law officers that they acted in accordance with the instructions of higher authority; but both pleas were set aside.

An European bailiff—one Savrey by name—was accordingly sent to Patna to arrest the parties accused. This officer was, it appears, instructed not to receive bail under an amount of four lakhs of rupees. On the 13th of December 1777, Bahadur Beg and the kazi were arrested in the public streets. The latter, an old man of three score, was on his way home from cutcherry, in a palanquin, attended by the officers of his court. The indignity offered to the person of a public servant of such high rank, seems to have astounded the Patna council. They met, deliberated, and finally resolved to bail the kazi. He, and Bahadur Khan, had been put on board a boat in close arrest, and the bailiff declared his inability to accept bail for one prisoner, without the terms of the recognisances including all the rest. He, however, consented to refer the case to the judges; and the issue was that, on the 29th of December, the case having also been referred by the Patna Board to the Governor-General and Council, bail was accepted for the whole party, and the two prisoners were released.

Bahadur Beg was soon afterwards sent down to Calcutta to surrender to his bail; but there, the Government bailed him again, and he was sent back to Patna in the month of July, there to await the issue of the trial. The case did not come on for adjudication before the beginning of the year 1779. The proceedings lasted for several days; and on the 3rd of February, judgment was given. The defendants were cast in damages to the amount of 3,00,000 sicca rupees; with 9,000 rupees costs. The kazi's salary was a *hundred* rupces a month, that of each of the muftis about *twenty-five*.

Judgment having been given, the defendants were sent down to Calcutta to surrender. The kazi died upon the way. Bahadur Beg and the two muftis, not so fortunate,

* It is to this, perhaps, that Mr. Macaulay alludes, when he says, that "there were instances, in which men of the most venerable dignity persecuted without a cause by extortioners, died of rage and shame in the gripe of the vile alguazils of Impey."

were cast into the common gaol of Calcutta, and confined in a filthy, reeking dungeon, used by the prisoners as a cookroom, and turned to much viler uses.

After some time the prisoners, at the instigation of Sir John D'Oyly, were removed to more endurable apartments; and there they remained, for about the space of two years. Bahadur Beg, in the course of the autumn of 1779, sent in a memorial, which was referred to the Advocate-General, Sir John Day, who undertook, with the permission of the Governor-General and Council, to afford the prisoners all the legal assistance in his power towards obtaining constitutional redress. The result was that there was an appeal to the Privy Council—the “Patna cause,” with others were investigated by a Parliamentary Committee, on the receipt of the memorial of the British inhabitants, generally known as Touchet’s petition, and the prisoners were ordered to be released,* it is from the report of this committee, with its numerous appendices, that we have drawn up this abstract of the case. Nine years elapsed before the appeal was heard in Privy Council, and then it was dismissed. The case formed the second article of the Impeachment against Impey in 1787, but was never brought on to a hearing. The proceedings were quashed after the production of the Nuncomar charge.

The friends of Sir Elijah Impey have reason to regret that he had not an opportunity of vindicating himself against *all* the calumnies cast upon him. The Patna case appears, *prima facie*, to indicate considerable harshness, to say the least, on the part of the judges of the Supreme Court. Bahadur Beg seems to have been brought, by a very forced construction, within the jurisdiction of the Court, but we may not unreasonably suspect, that there was something more than is apparent on the face of the committee’s report, to render him

* The muftis, it appears, were subsequently restored to their appointments. It is curious, on perusing in these days, the Articles of Impeachment drawn up by Sir Gilbert Elliot, to stumble upon such passages as the following:—“That in particular, the said Impey, in endeavouring to establish the corruption of the kazi and muftis, and thereby to obtain a colorable pretence for their persecution, did state that corruption was the necessary consequence of poverty declaring that it was not surprising that they should be mean, weak, ignorant and corrupt, when the salary of the principal Judge does not exceed 100 Rupees a month. That the said principle (continued Elliot) is false, scandalous, and immoral, highly disgraceful in the lips of a British judge, and highly dangerous to that stability and purity of character which is absolutely necessary to the adequate performance of the duties of his high office.” This false, scandalous, and immoral principle has since been universally recognised by men of all degrees, from the Sovereign downwards, and has been beginning to be acted upon. When Bishop Corrie, on his consecration, went to kiss the King’s hands, His Majesty (William IV.) told him that he did not like to hear so much about the reduction of salaries of the Company’s servants, as he was afraid, that if their incomes were reduced, a new reign of corruption would commence.

amenable to the English law. An autograph note, in Sir Elijah Impey's copy of this report, now before us, states that Bahadur Beg was brought within the jurisdiction of the Court, *not because he was a farmer of land, but because he was a farmer of revenue*. The law officers, there is little reason to doubt, greatly exceeded their authority, and were guilty of excesses, for which there was no justification. But far greater excesses were committed by the officers of the Supreme Court; and under any circumstances, it may be questioned whether a sentence, tantamount to imprisonment for life (for it was totally impossible for the muftis, whose joint salaries had not exceeded fifty rupees a month, to pay such exorbitant damages) was not out of all proportion to the offence. That Impey himself was confident in the justice of the Court's decision, we believe. On receiving the report of the Parliamentary Committee, he wrote to Dunning and others:—"In the report, appendix, &c, I see many things I never heard of before; many things which excite my ridicule as well as indignation. *That the Patna cause should, by any temper, be turned against the Court, astonishes me. It is sufficient to damp the seal of any man*."* That the committee, the list of which includes the names of Burke, Sir Gilbert Elliot Mr. Farrer (who had been Nuncomar's counsel) and others, who were certainly not prejudiced in favor of the judges, drew up a report not distinguished by any extraordinary amount of candour and impartiality, is obvious on the very face of the proceedings, but we regret that no detailed defence is on record, and that even Mr. Impey, in his memoir of the Chief Justice, is not quite as full and satisfactory in his explanations as we could desire.

Upon the "Dacca Case," though one of more general interest, we do not purpose to enlarge. Sir Elijah Impey was not held responsible for the outrages which attended it. He was absent from his duties on account of ill-health, at the time that it occurred, and the official documents connected with it, for the most part, bear the signature of Mr. Justice Hyde. The case is briefly this. In the autumn of 1777, a writ was issued for the arrest of one Juggernat, dewan of the Principal Fouzdar of the Dacca Court, to whose house Mr. Peat, the sheriff, with his *posse comitatus* proceeded in force. The gateway was broken down, and there was a serious affray, in the course of which the father of the Fouzdar was wounded on the head by a blow from a tulwar, and his brother-in-law dangerously injured by a pistol discharged by Mr. Peat himself.

* It is to be noted in several instances, in writs by extortioners, &c.

* Impey's Memoirs, page 345.

These proceedings appear to have thrown the affairs of the whole province into disorder. Mr. Peat himself was in such danger, that he applied for the protection of a military force; and a guard was accordingly placed over his house. The excitement, which prevailed in the neighbourhood, was almost unprecedented; and the administration of justice seems to have been for some time at a stand-still,—so great was the alarm occasioned by this attack, *vi et armis*, on the principal officers of the provincial court. That Mr. Peat, the deputy sheriff—a young hot-headed attorney, clerk to Mr. Justice Hyde, was guilty of great indiscretion; that unjustifiable acts of violence were committed, and that the province was thrown into great disorder by these unwarrantable proceedings, we see no reason to question; but it has not been alleged by the enemies of Sir Elijah Impey that he was responsible for these outrages. We may, therefore, pass them by without further comment.

The "Cossijurah Cause" is more immediately mixed up with the career of Sir Elijah Impey. In this case the Supreme Council and the Supreme Court were brought into open collision. The spectacle which presented itself was a most unseemly one. The Government were driven to resort to measures, which they confessed to be illegal, and in a short time, the Company's troops were actually waging war against those of the sheriff. The case is one of considerable interest. There was a native merchant in Calcutta, one Cossinath Babú, who had managed the Zemindary of the Rajah of Cossijurah in the district of Midnapore, and stood security for the payments of the rents accruing to Government some of these payments having fallen into arrears. Cossinath was arrested and confined, under orders from the Governor-General and Council; upon which an application for a writ of Habeas Corpus was applied for to the Supreme Court and obtained, but on account of some informality it could not take immediate effect. Cossinath, however, was released by the consent of Government, on his undertaking to make good the balance against him, if the final settlement were not in his favor, and eventually depositing the amount. This took place in 1777. Two years passed away, and the matter still remained unsettled. At last Cossinath weary of the delay, applied for an immediate decision of the matter in dispute. The case was referred to the superintendent of Kalsa records, but whilst it was still under investigation Cossinath brought it before another tribunal, by flinging himself into the arms of the Supreme Court.

In August 1779, he commenced a suit against the Rajah of Cossijurah; Mr. Justice Hyde received the Babú's affidavit

and issued a writ of *Capias* for the apprehension of the Rajah. The sheriff was authorised to take bail ; but it was not to fall short of three lakhs of rupees. The writ went forth. The Zemindar concealed himself. The Collector of Midnapore wrote immediately to the Governor-General and Council asking for instructions. The Board referred the matter to Sir John Day, the Advocate-General, who declared his opinion, that under the extraordinary circumstances of the case, the Government would be justified in sanctioning a resistance of the process of the Court. Upon this the Board wrote at once to the Collector that the Rajah was out of the jurisdiction of the Court, and desiring him in no wise to recognise its authority. At the same time the Collector was ordered not to call out the military without further instructions.

Those instructions, however, were soon issued. The first writ having been returned as unexecuted, on account of the concealment of the Rajah, a second writ was issued by Mr. Justice Hyde, ordering the sequestration of his lands and effects. Determined not to be balked this time, the sheriff mustered a strong force of peons—increasing the levy by getting together a party of those private sepoys, whom, armed and accoutred after the fashion of the Company's troops, we may even now see posted at the gates of some of the principal native houses in the neighbourhood of Calcutta—and still further increased his force by picking out of the gullys and bazaars, the punch-houses and the brothels, all the dissolute, discharged seamen to be found adrift in the town. This levy of desperate men, the Babú took care to arm with muskets, and bayonets, and tulwars ; and thus equipped the sheriff's army set out for Midnapore. The Council being apprized of their march, lost no time in issuing orders for the preparation of an antagonistic force. A letter was dispatched to Colonel Auchmuty, commanding at Midnapore, stating all the circumstances of the case, and ordering him to detach a sufficient force to intercept the sheriff's party, apprehend them, and keep them in custody till further orders.

But before the military could seize their prey, the sheriff's *posse comitatus*—a vile and disorderly crew—had besieged the Rajah's house, beaten his servants, seized his goods, violated the sanctity of his zenana, defiled his place of worship, and stripped the ornaments from his idol-gods. Their victory was but of brief duration. On the 3rd of December, a detachment of Company's troops, under Lieutenant Bunford, appeared in sight, and in a short time had made prisoners of about sixty of the rioters.

The next step taken by the Government was a heavy blow

to the court. On the 17th of December the Governor-General and Council issued a proclamation to all the zemindars, chaudris and talúkdars, requiring them as "not being (except in certain cases afterwards stated,) subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, not—in case of any summons, warrant, or other process of the said Supreme Court, being served upon them by the sheriff or his officers—to appear, nor plead, nor do, nor suffer any act which may amount on their part to a recognition of the authority of the judicature, as extending to themselves," and so open war was declared by Government against the Supreme Court. The prisoners taken by the former were brought down to Calcutta and released; but the severity of the conflict in no degree abated. The Court, on the 18th of January, moved an attachment against the Assistant Collector of Midnapore, and against Lieut. Bunford for contempt of Court, in rescuing the house and property of the Rajah from the clutches of the law. But before the attachment was issued, the Governor-General and Council apprehending the course that would be adopted by the Court, had ordered all the parties concerned to resist the execution of any writ that might be issued, in consequence of the protection afforded by them to the person and property of the Rajah.

Nor were these the limits of the Court's daring. It was moved that rules should be made against the Governor-General, Mr. Barwell, and Mr. North Naylor, the Company's attorney. To this the Chief Justice strenuously objected. He alleged that, as regarded the Governor-General and Mr. Barwell, it would be preposterous to grant a rule which the Court could not enforce; but he ordered that there should be a rule to show cause why an attachment should not be issued against Mr. Swainston and Lieutenant Bunford and Mr. Naylor, that the Governor-General and Mr. Barwell should be served with copies of the rules, and all the members of Council should be called upon to assist in executing them.

But the Governor-General and Council, after again consulting the Advocate-General, determined to adhere to their original opinions, and to act in accordance with them. The sheriff's officers had attempted to arrest Mr. Swainston and Lieutenant Bunford, but General Auchmuty had defended the cantonment too well for the law officers to obtain ingress; and the court was again baffled. Upon this, the sheriff officially demanded assistance from the members of Council, separately and collectively, but received no reply. Soon afterwards, Mr. North Naylor was arrested and thrown into the common gaol of Calcutta.

Early in March, Mr. Naylor was committed to prison. On the 16th he was released. In the course of the following August, he died. He was a friend and protégé of Impey, to whom he had been recommended by Dunning. The Chief Justice was greatly attached to him, and deeply deplored his early death.

An attempt was subsequently made to prove that the treatment to which Naylor was subjected occasioned the illness which terminated his life. The Select Committee, in their report of 1782, state that "Naylor's death had been, in all probability, hastened, if not caused, by his sufferings under confinement." It is stated also, that he was imprisoned for *upwards of a month*, and that he died soon after his release. All this is readily disproved; but when Mr. Impey, in his memoirs of his father, endeavours to show that the Chief Justice had nothing to do with the committal of Mr. Naylor, he falls into an error, which we are sure he will be anxious, in a future edition, to correct.

"On the 1st of March," says the biographer, "North Naylor was committed to prison at Calcutta; on the 16th he was set at liberty. From the 6th of July 1778, to the 15th of March in the following year, my father was with his family at Chittagong, above three hundred and sixteen miles from Calcutta. He was in ill-health, and my mother brought to bed at that place, which will account for so long an absence; and during those seven months, Mr Justice Hyde presided in the Supreme Court. It was Hyde, therefore, and not the Chief Justice who committed Naylor to prison." We are sorry to shake the credit of such a circumstantial alibi as this. We do not doubt that what Mr Impey asserts, relative to the absence of his father from Calcutta during the time specified, is strictly correct; but unfortunately it was not during that period, that the proceedings connected with the attachment of Mr. North Naylor took place. The events connected with the great Cosijurah cause, of which we have given a rapid outline above, occurred, not in 1778-79, but in 1779-80, — a year after Sir Elijah's absence with his family at Chittagong. It was in March 1780 that North Naylor was committed. Sir Elijah Impey presided in Court, and personally ordered the attachment. It was the Chief Justice who refused to accept bail. It was the Chief Justice who said — "The Court must vindicate its authority. If we accepted bail, it could be no punishment. We mean to inflict an exemplary one." And it is added, in the minutes of the Supreme Court, "lest the sheriff should not understand the mode of confinement on attachment, it is necessary he should understand that he must

confine his prisoner within the walls of the gaol."—These proceedings are dated 4th March 1780. All the three judges were present: Impey, Chambers, and Hyde. Le Maistre had died more than two years before, and no successor had been appointed.

We need not pursue further the annals of this great strife, which indeed belong rather to the general history of India than to the biography of an individual. It is our conviction that Impey sincerely believed the course he took upon this occasion was the only one that could with propriety have been taken without an utter sacrifice of the dignity and an abnegation of the powers of the Supreme Court. But we are also convinced that he permitted his conscientious desire to uphold the integrity of the Court to carry him beyond the limits of common prudence; and that by straining the powers of the law to an undue extent, he violated the principles of moral justice and oppressed where he sought to protect. It is true that much of the evil which arose from the execution of the orders of the Court resulted directly from the inefficiency of the tools, which he was compelled to employ; but it must, at the same time, be acknowledged that it was the great mistake of Impey's judicial life, that he did not sufficiently bear in mind the danger of working with such tools. It does not seem to have occurred to him, that the authority of the law, however excellent in itself, is the most dangerous of all dangerous weapons in the hands of the vicious or the weak. It would be hard to render a Chief Justice responsible for the excesses committed by a sheriff's officer; but the judges must, early in their career, have learnt how liable they were to have their decrees executed with violence and tyranny—so as to render the law not a blessing but a terror and a scourge to the people; and this knowledge, at least, ought to have taught them more caution. Wedded too, indissolubly to their conviction of the infallibility of the law, they determined to assert its supremacy on all occasions. It was an article of their religion that the law could do no wrong, and in place and out of place, in season and out of season, the processes of the King's court were deemed sovereign remedies for all social evils. We are not sure that there was not some infatuation in this, but there was, at all events, no dishonesty. And we may question whether there was a lawyer in any of the Inns of Court when the Regulating Act was passed, who would not, under similar circumstances, have been equally prone to magnify the advantages of the English law, and to push the jurisdiction of the King's court into places which it was never intended to reach.

It must also be borne in mind, by all who would take an impartial view of the conduct of the judges, that the opposition which the new court encountered from the first day of its establishment was but too surely calculated to impel the judges to push its powers to the utmost limit. The judges believed that they were contending for a great principle: the supremacy of the law, the stability of British justice. They saw in the opposition erected against it, the most striking proof of the indispensability of the new court; and they felt that the only means of rendering the institution one to be respected and revered, was by the maintenance of its rights in all their integrity and an assertion of its utmost powers. They were anxious to demonstrate, in the eyes of the natives of India, the majesty of British justice. The opposition of the council at once opened their eyes to the necessity of acting vigorously and fearlessly, as a body amenable to no higher power in India, and subject to no control from the Governor-General and Council. The Government would gladly have rendered the court a mere subordinate agency, taking its cue from the Council Chamber, but the court was not so to be influenced. It determined to assert its independence; and in so doing was betrayed into errors, which humanity must deeply deplore. The independence of the Court it was essential to demonstrate, but independence "in its largeness and overflow" degenerates into excess; and we are afraid that the control of the Government is not the only control which it resisted.

We believe that with the exception of Chambers, the Chief Justice was the most moderate of the four judges. There was any thing but unanimity on the bench. Hyde and Le Maistre were anxious to carry the interference of the Court in the affairs of Government to an extent which the Chief Justice could not sanction. Impey always contended that it would be dangerous and unjustifiable for the Court to interfere in revenue matters, and by so doing, disorder the whole fiscal system of the country but Hyde and Le Maistre desired to coerce the tax-gatherers and throw the ægis of the court's protection over the taxed. The contentions within the Court appear to have risen almost to fever heat. In August 1777 we find the Chief Justice writing to Dunning, "Every day's experience shows me more and more the truth of your prediction about Hyde. He and Le Maistre are violent beyond measure. They have set themselves in direct and determined opposition to me, and Hyde is even abusive on the bench, to which I have never been provoked to reply. Chambers, on the contrary, supports

"me, and behaves very handsomely to me."—And again to Thurlow, "I have every day more and more reason to be concerned at my having assisted in getting Hyde and Le Maistre appointed judges. Hyde (in whom the seeds of the disorder which he had a little before he left England still remain) and Le Maistre are violent beyond all measure. They have set themselves in direct and determined opposition to me in every thing. Hyde is peculiarly abusive to me even on the bench, to which I have not, nor ever will, be provoked to reply. The sole object of disgust to Hyde and Le Maistre is my not having joined them in opinion to prevent the collection of the revenues being enforced by the officers of the Company"* Impey elsewhere mentions that his possession of the casting vote was a thorn in the side of his colleagues

Hyde, indeed, appears to have been the most uncompromising of the judges; and to do him justice, the most indefatigable. He was the acting justice of the peace, and therefore, his name appears with much greater frequency, than those of his colleagues, on the different legal instruments handed down to us in connexion with the great causes to which we have referred. He seems seldom or never to have been absent from his post; and if there were any culpability in these transactions, he was assuredly more culpable than Impey, for he it was who generally committed the court to a line of conduct from which, once entered upon, it could not depart. Chambers, on the other hand, exhibited a much greater disposition to side with the council. He was the intimate friend and constant associate of General Clavering, who was extremely anxious to see Impey removed and Chambers promoted in his stead. There was, however, no want of cordiality between the two judges, and the intimacy between them lasted till death removed one from the scene. Chambers died at Paris in 1802; and Impey attended him throughout his last illness, "arranged his funeral and followed him to the grave."

To Impey himself this violent contention between the court and the council was a constant source of pain and mortification. Attached, as he was, to the Governor-General, and anxious, as far as was possible, without sacrificing the honor of the court, to promote the interests of the Supreme Government, the open war in which he was now engaged preyed upon his spirits and injured his health. "The public outrages," he wrote to Dunning, "committed against the court have been without any

* Unpublished letters in the British Museum.

"provocation. *The power, which is exerted against me, would not have existed in the hands in which it is, if I had not myself helped to keep it there,* and it was used against me at the time when, to all appearance, I was living, in the utmost confidence and familiarity, with the possessor of it;" and again, in the same letter, "I was a guest in his house, when he meditated these hostilities, without my receiving the least intimation of his discontent with the court. I only learnt it by the military force of the Company being used to oppose the process of the court in the ordinary course of justice. This has hurt me much more than any anxiety which I felt, during all the time that I knew Clavering was endeavouring to ruin me in England No situation can possibly be more irksome. I have scarcely a social comfort beyond my own family. The flattering expectation of credit and reputation from the happiness I was bestowing on this country, and the benefits I thought would from thence have been derived to my own, totally blasted, and my private fortune and public duty compelling me to remain where I must waste my life in perpetual vexation and ineffectual struggle." About the same time Hastings wrote to Sullivan: "I suffer beyond measure by the present contest, and my spirits are, at times, so depressed as to affect my health. I feel an injury done me by a man for whom I have borne a sincere and steady friendship during more than thirty years, and to whose support I was, at one time, indebted for the safety of my fortune, honour, and reputation, with a tenfold sensibility. And, under every consciousness of the necessity which has influenced my own conduct, and the temper with which I have regulated it, I am ready to pass the most painful reproaches on myself on the least symptom of returning kindness from him. Such is my weakness, if this be a weakness We are both of us unhappily situated and associated. Myself linked in the same cause with a man equally his enemy and mine*—he with one man, who has made no scruple to avow himself my enemy†—God knows why—and another, who, though not personally indisposed to me, but governed by a harsh and petulant temper, and possessed of the most extravagant opinion of the omnipotency of his office, is the acting justice of the peace and issues almost every preparatory process of the court, which his colleagues must maintain or their authority and dignity suffer by a diminution of his. In him our present controversy originated, and from acts of which, however

* Francis.

† Chambers.

"the Chief Justice may now think of them, I in my heart believe it impossible for him to have been the author." We need not add that the party here described is Mr. Justice Hyde. It was to the eager haste with which Hyde issued his processes that much of the evils which arose must in fairness be attributed.

It is hard to say whether Hastings or Impey felt more keenly the severance of those ties which had bound them together since their boyhood. It is probable that they both exclaimed, in the touching words of the afflicted David, each imputing the greater blame to the other :—"For it is not an open enemy that hath done me this dishonour ; neither was it mine adversary that did magnify himself against me ; for then peradventure I could have borne it, but it was even thou, my companion, my guide and my own familiar friend." It was the very closeness of their former intimacy which rendered their present separation so galling.*

Nothing hurt Impey so much as the circumstance that at the very time when the Governor-General struck the most crushing blow at the Chief Justice, the latter was a guest in the former's house. There had been, previously, some coolness between them, as indicated by a modification of the familiar style of address observed in their respective letters ; but about November 1779, Impey having fallen sick, we find Hastings writing to offer him the use of his country house. In September their correspondence had been stiff and formal. The "dear friend" and "dear Hastings" had grown into "dear Sir," and Impey had even written to Hastings complaining of "an additional affront from Government," which had been put upon the Supreme Court, but friendly relations had been re-established, and Impey with his family had taken up his abode in the Governor-General's house† It was not long, however, before

* We cannot offer a better proof of the strong friendship that existed between them, than is to be found in the following passage of a characteristic letter from Hastings to Impey, which is contained in the manuscript correspondence in the British Museum—"My mind is not without its painful sensations, and those are often the most painful which are confined to it. As I write to you what is uppermost, and from the disposition which prevails at the instant, you must bear with me if I am petulant, you must allow me to exult in the moment of levity, and let it pass if what I write is nonsense. May God bless you, my friend, and give you confirmed health."

† Hastings wrote, "I have examined the house, and hope I have provided such accommodations as will be acceptable to you, and I venture to make it my request—a request in which Mrs Hastings joins me—that you will come and make trial of them. . . one circumstance I must apprise you of, which did not occur to me when I saw you—that we shall be obliged to return to town for a few days, on account of a wedding which is to be celebrated in our family on the 28th, and will require some previous arrangement.. We shall return again presently after for an indefi-

they stood in a very different relation towards each other. For a time they "stood aloof"—neither, we may venture to say, ceasing to take the deepest interest in the welfare of his old friend, but outwardly frigid and distant. The cold weather of 1779-80 saw a great chasm between them. There is a note in Hastings' own writing, in the Impey collection, commencing "Mr. and Mrs. Hastings present their compliments to Sir Elijah and Lady Impey, and request to know how their little Marian is" The child was a god-daughter of Mrs. Hastings, who took the liveliest interest in the little girl. In the time of their alliance, letters of affectionate inquiry were constantly passing between the two families.

It was about this time that Impey wrote to his friend, Dr. Flemming, then with the army, a letter containing the following passages:—

"As to my public situation it has been rendered so irksome to me, that the very reciting the circumstances is too disgusting to me to suffer me to enter on the subject. All that I shall say on it is, that at the very time the Governor-General was caressing me and entertaining me as his guest in his house, after my recovery from a tedious illness, he was meditating a stroke, which must interest both my fortune and reputation, the first intimation of which came to my knowledge by the éclat of the Company's military forces having committed hostilities against the officers of the Court. *This behaviour from a man, who would not have been in the Government, if I had not contributed to support him, you may imagine must have been a little galling*, especially as no provocation had been given him. We were only proceeding in the ordinary course of our business, as it had been practised ever since our establishment. As this is diametrically opposite to repeated and warm promises made to me, it is unaccountable, except from lust of power to which all things must yield, and unless I was to be made a sacrifice to new connections. But however close the present union may be between Mr. H. and Mr. F., I believe, you will join with me in thinking that it cannot be durable. Mr. H. seemed to be very glad to get rid of Barwell, and no doubt would likewise be pleased if I was out of the way. But though the treatment I have received from him is not what I had reason to expect, I am resolved not to act adversary to him in any respect, but in the cases in which he has, or shall make it necessary to me so to do for self-defence. I am determined to leave this country (except my situation should be mended) as soon as I can with honor to myself and justice to my family.*"

The reader will observe in the letter from Hastings to Sullivan, and in those from Impey to Dunning and Dr. Flemming, passages of a similar tendency, distinguished by italics.

nite time, and it will afford both Mrs. Hastings and myself great pleasure to have you, Lady Impey, and your little ones of the party."—*MSS. correspondence in British Museum.*

* This letter contains much matter relative to a commission sent to Dr. Flemming to purchase a set of pearls for Lady Impey—which is only noticeable as setting forth Impey's character in an amiable light as an affectionate and indulgent husband.

Mr. Macaulay asserts "that the 'strong words' in the Governor-General's letter can refer only to the case of Nuncomar, and they must mean that Impey hanged Nuncomar in order to support Hastings." If Impey really committed this judicial murder, it is strange, indeed, that he should have boasted of it both to his friends in India and England. But the fact is that the strong words, which "could only refer to the case of Nuncomar," in all probability refer to a totally different affair. The interpretation lies much nearer at hand. It was to the support of Impey that Hastings was mainly indebted for his continuance in office after General Clavering had attempted to usurp the Government—an event of which we have not spoken in its proper place, partly because it belongs more to the general history of India than to the biography of Sir Elijah Impey, and, partly because, in a former article, we gave some particulars of the memorable circumstances attending the attempt to wrest the reins of Government from the hands of the only man who was capable of holding them. But to return to the breach between Hastings and Impey. Affairs were in this condition when the Governor-General, deeply sensible of the disastrous consequences attending a continued struggle between the Government and the Supreme Court, entered, on the 29th of September 1780, the following proposal in the Minutes of Council :—

"That the Chief Justice be requested to accept of the charge and superintendency of the office of Sudder Dewany Adalut under its present regulations, and such other as the Board shall think proper to add to them or to its substitute in their stead, and that on his acceptance of it, he be appointed to it and styled the judge of the Sudder Dewany Adalut.

I shall beg leave to add a few words in support of this proposition on different grounds. I am well aware that the choice which I have made for so important an office, and one which will minutely and nearly overlook every rank of the Civil Service, will subject me to much popular prejudice, as its real tendency will be misunderstood by many, misrepresented by more, and perhaps dreaded by a few.

I shall patiently submit to the consequences because I am conscious of the rectitude of my intentions, and certain that the event will justify me, and prove that in whatever light it may be superficially viewed, I shall be found to have studied the true interests of the service, and contributed the most effectually to its credit.

The want of legal powers, except such as were implied in very doubtful constructions of the Act of Parliament, and the hazards to which the superiors of the Dewany Courts are exposed in their own persons from the exercise of their functions, has been the cause of their remissness, and equally of the disregard which has been in many instances shown to their authority, they will be enabled to act with confidence, nor will any man dare to contest their right of acting, when their proceedings are held under the sanction and immediate patronage of the first member of the Supreme Court, and with his participation in the instances of such as are brought in appeal before him, and regulated by his instructions.

They very much require an instructor, and no one will doubt the superior qualifications of the Chief Justice for such a duty.

It will be the means of lessening the distance between the Board and the Supreme Court, which has perhaps been, more than the undefined powers assumed to each, the cause of the want of that accommodating temper which ought to have influenced their intercourse with each other.

The contest in which we have been unfortunately engaged with the court, bore at one time so alarming a tendency, that I believe every member of the Board foreboded the most dangerous consequences to the peace and resources of this Government from them. They are at present composed ; but we cannot be certain that the calm will last beyond the actual vacation, since the same grounds and material of disunion subsist, and the revival of it at a time like this, added to our other troubles, might, if carried to extremities, prove fatal.

The proposition which I have submitted to the Board may, nor have I a doubt that it will prove an instrument of conciliation with the court ; and it will preclude the necessity of assuming a jurisdiction over persons exempted by our construction of the Act of Parliament from it ; it will facilitate and give vigour to the course of justice ; it will lessen the cases of the Board, and add to their leisure for occupations more urgent and better suited to the genius and principles of Government ; nor will it be any accession of power to the court, when that portion of authority which is proposed to be given, is given only to a single man of the court, and may be revoked whenever the Board shall think proper to resume it."

Against this proposition, Mr. Wheeler, who had succeeded to the place in Council left vacant by the death of Colonel Monson, entered a long minute. Francis vigorously protested against it ; but urged that he had "no idea of personal disrespect to the Chief Justice." And Sir Eyre Coote, occupying the place of General Clavering, who had been carried off by one of the scourges of the country, gave his assent to the proposal as a provisional arrangement. Mr. Gleig, in his life of Warren Hastings, asserts that "Mr. Barwell, who had not yet retired, gave it his support ;" and the resolution was carried. But it appears that the proposal was not put forth before the 29th of September 1780, and that Barwell left India in the preceding March.

Still the measure was carried, for Sir Eyre Coote voted with Hastings and the Governor-General had the casting vote. On the 24th of October, it was resolved "that the Chief Justice should be requested to accept of the charge and superintendence of the Sudder Dewany Adalat, under its present regulations, and such other as the Board shall think fit to add to them, or to substitute in their stead ; and that on his acceptance of it, he be appointed to it, and styled the judge of the Sudder Dewany Adalat." Nothing was said about salary ; but on the following day the appointment was offered to Impey and accepted.

Two or three weeks afterwards the Chief Justice wrote to his brother, that the Sudder Dewany had been offered to him

and accepted adding, "such a trust reposed in me under "circumstances, which bear the strongest testimony of my "having acted, though in a manner adverse to them, yet under "a sense of public duty, cannot but be flattering to me. This "new office must be attended with much additional labour ; "yet in the hope that I may be able to convert these courts, "which from ignorance and corruption have hitherto been a "curse, into a blessing, I have resolved to accept it. No pecu- "niary satisfaction has been offered or even mentioned to me, "but I do not imagine it is intended that my trouble is to go "unrecompensed"* On the 22nd of December, the Council agreed upon the salary of the new judge, and advised the Court of Directors of their proceedings.

On the 27th of January 1781, Impey wrote to Barwell— "The Sudder Dewany Adalut is placed under my manage- "ment. It will be no agreeable thing to me, but as it was the "Governor's act, I am contented." He appears to have devoted himself to the duties of his new office with characteristic assiduity—drawing up rules and regulations for the Company's Court, and otherwise superintending its machinery ; but though he toiled and toiled, so that his little stock of health soon failed him, he never drew the salary attached to the appointment. He appears very soon to have doubted the propriety of accepting the emoluments of an office, under the control of the Company, without the consent of His Majesty's Government ; and in the following July he addressed a letter to the Council Board, in the Revenue department, declining to appropriate any part of the salary attached to the judgeship of the Sudder Dewany. On this point, the Council replied, "We can "offer no opinion upon that resolution, which appears to have "proceeded from a delicacy of which you yourself can be the "only proper judge. But we must express our regret that "you should have thought it necessary to prescribe to yourself "this forbearance, because the labour and importance of the "office which you have accepted from us, would most certainly "entitle any person who possessed it, to an adequate recom- "pense, and must, in our estimation, be considered as more "especially your due, from the very qualifications which are "immediately connected with the only circumstance that could "have given occasion to your doubts of the propriety of receiv- "ing it." But still Impey refused to accept the salary, and kept strict account of all the fees paid into Court, during the the time that he presided at the Sudder Dewany (a period of

* See private correspondence in Impey's Memoirs.

only a few months) in order that these sums might be paid into the General Treasury. And that they were so paid, there is in the India House incontestible documentary evidence to prove. The truth appears to be, that Impey took upon himself an immense amount of labour and never profited by it to the extent of a farthing.

And it was for this that Impey was recalled from Calcutta—it was for this, in part, that he was impeached—it was for this that Macaulay declared that no other such judge has dishonoured the British ermine since Jefferies drank himself to death in the tower!

The hot weather of 1781 was more than usually trying to the constitution of Sir Elijah Impey. An accumulation of labor in a country, whose exhausting and deteriorating climate renders excessive intellectual exercise always dangerous and often fatal, had made it necessary that the Chief Justice should seek, in change of air and comparative relaxation, a remedy for his complicated ailments. He accordingly determined upon taking a river-trip; and, with Lady Impey, put himself on board a pinnace, towards the close of the month of July. It was characteristic of the man, that even in this shattered state, he could not induce himself to take a voyage solely for the purpose of renovating his health, but was desirous of turning his journey to purposes of public utility, by inspecting the different local Courts subject to the Sudder Dewany. With this view, he sailed from Calcutta, turning the head of his pinnace up the river.

The Governor-General was, at this time, in the Mofussil. The memorable affairs of Benares were engaging his attention; but when Impey quitted Calcutta, no danger was apprehended. The crisis arrived on the 16th of August. Mrs. Hastings was at Monghyr, where Sir Elijah and Lady Impey joined her, and by their kindness did much to console her at this most anxious period of her life * “When the insurgents,” says Mr.

* By this time the friendly relations between the two families had been completely re-established. Hastings wrote frequently to his friend, and often on common and familiar subjects. It is amusing to find the Governor-General writing to the Chief Justice about the best means of keeping his pinnace cool. In the M. S. collection deposited by Mr. Impey in the British Museum, there is a letter in which Hastings says, “I am afraid that you do not contrive well, as you complain “of the heat of your pinnace. You should keep a broad awning spread over the “deck of your cabin, and continue on the sunny side of it moveable canvas purdahs, “sloping beyond the bottom of your windows in this manner,”—and then he appends a diagram, with references. On the 13th of December 1781, the Governor-General wrote from Chota Mirzapore: “The cheerfulness and satisfaction expressed in your “letter afforded me the greatest pleasure, and it is with a happiness, at least equal to “yours, that I see so perfect a cordiality confirmed between our families. I have no “doubt of its lasting as long as we live. It has ever been the wish of my heart.”

Impey, " had driven the Governor-General from Benares to " the rock of Chunar, and when his life was in peril, he wrote " a hasty note in pencil to the Chief Justice. The purport of " it was to request him to urge on the marching of troops to " Chunar, where for some time the Governor-General was left " with only fifty men Sir Elijah did urge on the troops, and " promoted, by other measures, the relief of Mr. Hastings from " his perilous situation."

On the 1st of October the Governor-General wrote to Impey from Benares to thank him and his lady for their kindness to Mrs Hastings, adding, "I have written that I should " desire Mrs. Hastings to proceed to this place, and in that case, " I shall still hope that you and Lady Impey will be of the " party." A fortnight afterwards he wrote another letter to the same effect, addressed to Lady Impey, and about the 26th of October—some three months after they had quitted Calcutta, the Chief Justice and his party reached Benares.

It was whilst at Benares—having proceeded so far in pursuance of his original project—that the Chief Justice was solicited by Hastings to continue his journey as far as Lucknow, that he might take certain affidavits which were required to substantiate the Governor-General's "Narrative" of the proceedings at Benares and in Oude With those proceedings, which form so interesting and so important a chapter in the history of British India, we have assumed the reader's acquaintance; nothing more was required from Impey than that he should take the affidavits He proceeded to Lucknow and took them He did not pretend that he had any jurisdiction in Oude; he did not pretend that the business was one which properly came within the scope of his office. He went out of his way to render, what he believed to be, a service to the State. "I have yet to learn," he said in after times, "that official " men are restricted, by the exact line of their official functions, " from doing essential, though extraordinary service, to the " State." That he did not read the affidavits he acknowledged; but he contended, at the same time that he was not bound to do so—that the party taking an affidavit has nothing to do with its contents. He, indeed, refrained from mixing himself up, in any way, with the proceedings, so as to make himself reponsible for the measures which rendered the affidavits necessary. He merely acted as *amicus curiæ* in a great emergency—giving the stamp of authenticity to documents, which were necessary to substantiate the statements of the Governor-General. He had nothing to do with the truth or falsehood of those documents. It was his part only to stamp them, as being what

they professed to be—the genuine depositions of the parties whose names were appended to them.

"After the business of the affidavits was finished," writes Mr. Impey, "the Chief Justice returned to Calcutta with his wife and attendants, travelling leisurely, though not quite so slowly as he had done, from that capital to Lucknow. He was thanked by the members of the Supreme Council and nearly every Englishman for the trouble he had incurred."

Early in the following year, Sir Elijah Impey, who had been previously employed in perfecting the machinery of the court, took his seat in the Sudder Dewany. He appears to have presided throughout the months of April, May, June, July, August and September. But his career as a Company's judge was soon cut short. Sir Elijah Impey was recalled.

Francis had quitted India soon after the Sudder Dewany had been conferred upon Impey. He had protested against the appointment; and we see no reason to doubt the sincerity of the protest. But he hated Impey with a deep and unrelenting hatred; he hated him as the friend of Hastings, and he hated him on his own account.* When he left Calcutta he knew nothing more than that the appointment had been offered to Impey, and had been accepted. Not a word had been said about salary. But Francis had no sooner set foot again on the shores of England, than he began to scatter abroad insinuations fatal to the character of the Chief Justice. From insinuations he proceeded to direct aspersion, the press was called into his aid. Junius knew how to write,† and it was soon generally believed that Impey had accepted the judgeship of the Sudder Dewany, with a salary of about £8000 a year.

The question of the legality and propriety of the combination of the two judgeships in the person of Impey soon came under discussion at the India House. Mr. Impey says, "that the Directors had at first expressed their unqualified approbation of the measure; that is to say, so long as they understood the appointment to have been accepted—as it had been without the salary. But at the close of 1781, six months after the return of Francis from the East, taking umbrage at his report of the acceptance of a salary, the Directors resorted to legal advice." We may fairly question the propriety of such an imputation as this—but we have no space to discuss the subject.

* We need not here refer to the Grand and Francis case, tried before the judges of the Supreme Court.—See *Calcutta Review*, No. IV. Art. *Sir P. Francis*.

† Among other pamphlets published at this time, was one entitled "Extract from an original letter from Calcutta, relative to the administration of justice by Sir Elijah Impey—1780." It was undoubtedly written by Francis. Mackintosh's *Travels* soon followed.

The point was referred, as a point of law, to three of the most eminent lawyers of the day—Dunning, Wallace, and James Mansfield. The opinion returned was conveyed in the following words:—

“The appointment of the Chief Justice to the office of judge of the Sudder Dewany Adalut, and giving him a salary, besides what he is entitled to as Chief Justice, does not appear to us to be illegal, either as being contrary to the 13th George III, or incompatible with his duty as Chief Justice, nor do we see anything in the Act 21, George III., which affects this question.

(Signed)

J DUNNING.
JAS WALLACE.
JAS. MANSFIELD.

Lincoln's Inn, 19th Dec 1781.

Three days after the date of this opinion, Mansfield, who was Solicitor-General, began to entertain some misgivings as to the soundness of his decision, and accordingly wrote, that he had reconsidered the matter, and it was “by no means clear to him that the acceptance of such an office, with a salary or other profit annexed to it, is not forbidden and rendered illegal” by the 13th George III. Mr. Rous, the Company's standing counsel, expressed a similar opinion; but the decision in both cases was grounded upon the supposition that Sir Elijah Impey had received the salary, as well as the office of the Sudder Dewany.

The Court of Directors appear to have taken a very dispassionate and correct view of the case. They recorded their opinion that “It would hardly have been expected that the Chief Justice should give up his hours of relaxation, and enter on a fresh scene of labour and perplexity without compensation. The offer of a salary was at once a necessity and a judicious sacrifice. But the property of the Company has by no means been wantonly lavished. £8,000 bore no proportion to the sums which must eventually be saved. Perhaps, they were ten times the amount, and of this salary we are yet to learn that a single shilling has ever been received, though the appointment was passed in Council in “October 1780.” This passage is sufficient to clear the Court from the imputation of mean and unworthy conduct cast upon them by Mr Impey.

And there is little doubt that the Chief Justice, thus supported at the India House, would have triumphed in spite of the malignant activity of Philip Francis, if just at this time the administration of Lord North had not tottered and fallen to the ground. In March 1782, there was a change of ministry, and with the Marquis of Rockingham and Lord Shelburne, Mr.

Burke came into power. The influence of the great orator over the mind of the Prime Minister, especially in all that related to Indian affairs, has never, we believe, been questioned. Burke was for a time dominant; and with the new administration, new influence sprung up in the India House: but not altogether, we are inclined to think, of the character which Mr. Impey, whom we are now about to quote, supposes. There was, we believe, a change of persons:—

“A few weeks *before* the resignation of Lord North, they negatived a motion for removing Sir Elijah Impey from the office of judge of their Adalat. A few weeks *after* the formation of the Rockingham and Shelburne administration, they did the very opposite to this, voting on the 30th April, that the Governor-General should be written to, and the Chief Justice removed from the said office on the receipt of their letter.

“This decision only went to deprive my father of the laborious and unpaid presidency of their Court of appeal, which was a relief rather than a deprivation. But Mr. Burke, who had by this time deeply imbibed all the prejudices of his inferior, was not disposed to rest satisfied with this simple measure. Francis had openly declared, as well in India as in England that he would bring about my father's recall, and to this object he and his party applied themselves with the greatest ardour and activity

“On the 3rd May 1782, three days after the vote of the Court of Directors, an address to the king was carried in the House of Commons, for the immediate recall of Sir Elijah Impey, to answer the charge ‘of having accepted an office not agreeable to the true intent and meaning of the Act 13 George III’ On the 24th June following, notice of motion was given in the House of Commons, for a censure on Mr Chambers, for having accepted the office of Company's Chief Justice at Chinsurah. But General Smith, who had given notice of this motion, thought proper to postpone it until the next session. The next session came and was allowed to elapse without any such motion being made; and thus Mr Justice Chambers was not even so much as censured, though the Chief Justice was recalled. This cannot but appear strange until accounted for; and the solution of the mystery is this General Richard Smith had, in the interim, become not only the friend and ally of Francis, but chairman of the Committees of the House of Commons, which drew up the charges of accusation against Sir Elijah Impey.

“A large salary, variously stated from £3,000 to £5,000 per annum, was attached to the office which Chambers accepted from the Company, and afterwards, upon his resigning this Chinsurah judgeship, he accepted the superintendence of the police, with another salary, which he enjoyed so long as he remained in India. Mr Justice Hyde, another of my father's assessors, was allowed to unite to his office of puisne judge in the Supreme Court that of another judgeship, and to receive another salary from the Company. Yet as far as I have been able to discover, after the faint attempt to obtain the vote of censure upon Justice Chambers in the House of Commons, neither their conduct nor their motives were ever publicly called in question, and far—very far—be it from me to question them”

In the manuscript collection in the British Museum there is a singular commentary upon this passage—and one which, on many accounts, is worth quoting. On the 13th of November 1782, Mr. Macpherson wrote to the Chief Justice:—

"I further think that you cannot, *with safety to yourself*, even if the government permitted it, exercise the ultimate power of decision in the Adaluts from the arrival of the new Act, which should certainly have been immediately published, as I told the Governor on my return. I beg you to consider this matter calmly, and to consider whether your friend in England means more in his letter than that you should not move under the impressions of a recall, until the event takes place—an event he thinks he can contravert. I have a letter of authority which mentions, that even in the Direction in January last, when Sullivan was in the chair, the number for and against your new appointment and salary were equal. the treasurer drew the choice in your favor. But the new Direction will proceed with violence on the subject of the salary and other appointments to refund * I have a letter from Mr Macdonald which is friendly to you, but which states, that the Chancellor fended off the first impressions in the House of Lords from your acceptance of the Adaluts, by disavowing the charge as a fact. I wish you to reflect whether it would not be essential to your interests, if you remain here as the head of your own Court (which I heartily wish you to do) that the act of relinquishing the charge of the Adaluts should be your own, and that it should be followed with more marks and testimonies of approbation upon the part of the Government, which would show the public utility of what you had done, and whether all should not go home by this packet under the proper date. I declare to you candidly that I mention this would be the step to serve yourself and Mr. Hastings in what is past and what is to come.—(*Unpublished MSS. in the British Museum*)

From a very rough draft of a reply to this letter in the MSS. correspondence, it would appear that Impey refused to throw up the appointment on the ground that the act would have been tantamount to a confession of culpability in accepting the Sudder Dewany. There is an allusion in it to the legality of acceptance of office in connexion with the question of refunding; but we confess that we do not very clearly understand this part of the correspondence. The passage in Macpherson's letter is totally unintelligible. It is obvious that if Sir E. Impey accepted neither salary nor fees, he had nothing to refund. The "refund," in all probability, referred entirely to the "other appointments," which we conclude were those held by Chambers and Hyde.

Whether this reply to Macpherson's letter was ever sent or not, we have no means of ascertaining, but it is obvious that the friendly advice of that gentleman had some effect upon the Chief Justice, for, two days afterwards, Impey resigned the presidency of the Adaluts. On the 27th of January he received, under the hand of Lord Shelburne, who had made out his original appointment, official notice of his recall.

But it was not before the following December, that the Chief

* See in original.—ED.

Justice and his family were able to embark for England. Had he sailed earlier he would in all probability have been captured by the French fleet in the Bay of Bengal. When he finally set sail on board the *Worcester*, he appears to have carried with him the regrets and the good wishes of a considerable portion of the community of Calcutta. "In public addresses and in other less ceremonious forms," says Mr Impey, "Sir Elijah brought away with him many testimonials of regard and affection, and left behind him more than one memorial publicly voted to preserve the remembrance of his fame and person among the wealthier inhabitants of Bengal."

We must hurry on to a conclusion of our narrative. Our article has already far transgressed the usual limits, and what remains must be briefly told. The *Worcester* sprang a leak on the way home; the captain of the vessel died; and the ship was nearly wrecked off St. Helena. Landing on the rocky island, he secured a passage, which cost him a thousand pounds, in a safe vessel, and proceeded homewards in the *Dutton*. "The voyage from St. Helena," writes Mr. Impey, "must have been drawing towards its close, when I witnessed a little domestic scene on board the *Dutton*, which is embalmed in my memory as one of my first and tenderest recollections. On a calm evening the ship was under easy sail, and my father standing on deck, surrounded by his wife and three children, with our ayahs or Indian nurses. There, on the deck of the old *Dutton*, I well remember his playfully describing to us the new scenes to which we were about to be introduced, the new brothers and sister, uncle and aunt and governess, with whom we were shortly to be made acquainted; and well do I recall to my mind the transition from playfulness to gravity which passed over his features, when, changing his tone, he began thus early to instil into our minds the duty we were bound to pay to those several relations."

In June 1784 Sir Elijah Impey again planted his foot on the shores of old England; his friends and ancient associates welcomed him with cordiality. He did not appear among them as a disgraced man. Dunning was dead; but Bathurst, Thurlow, Dutton, James Mansfield and others were still living. All held out the hand of friendship, and Impey was soon settled in London, with a house and establishment provided for him by the family of the first of these eminent lawyers.

Impey had been recalled from India to answer to the charge of having accepted the Presidency of the Company's Court contrary to the existing law, but he was not removed from

the office of Chief Justice. He, indeed, continued to draw the salary of the appointment for some years* after his arrival in England, and his return to India appears to have been contemplated by others, though never by himself. For the specific offence, on account of which he was summoned home, he was never called upon to answer, and it was not before 1787, that any other direct charges were brought against him, though malice was busy with his name. Then it was that Burke moved the articles of impeachment against Warren Hastings. The Nuncomar charge was one of them, and the criminality of Sir Elijah Impey was urged in a torrent of vituperatory eloquence.

It was on the 4th April that the charges against Hastings were moved by Mr Burke. On the 12th December, Sir Gilbert Elliot presented to the House of Commons six articles of impeachment, charging Sir Elijah Impey with high crimes and misdemeanours committed in the capacity of Chief Justice of Bengal. Sir Gilbert Elliot was the friend of Burke and Fox—the friend of Sir Philip Francis, to whose specious representations he had lent a too willing ear. There can be no doubt of the ability with which the charges were set forth. The *Annual Register*, indeed, asserts, that “in the style of persuasive eloquence, it was never exceeded in either House of Parliament.” He began, of course, by pleading an exemption from the ordinary weaknesses of humanity; he was not influenced by personal feeling, he was not influenced by party spirit. He talked about great principles. He contended that India must either be redressed or lost. He then laid down, “that the only means left of reforming Indian abuse was the punishment, in some great and signal instances, of Indian delinquency.” He then proceeded to speak, in general terms, of Sir Elijah Impey’s delinquency—declared that the Chief Justice had been sent out to protect the people of India, and had oppressed them,—and then advancing from generals to particulars, brought forward his specific charges. The articles of impeachment occupy 128 pages. We can only, therefore, give the heads of them, as contained in the *Annual Register*; and the details, which we have given of the events which form the basis of them, render it unnecessary that we should do more:—

“The first related to the trial and execution of the *Maha Rajah Nuncomar*.

* That is, till November 1787.

The second, to the conduct of Sir Elijah Impey in a cause commonly known by the name of the *Patna Cause*.

The third is entitled, *Extension of jurisdiction*, and comprehends various instances, in which the jurisdiction of the court was extended illegally and oppressively, both as to persons and subject matter, beyond the intention of the Act and Charter.

The fourth charge is entitled, *The Cossijurah Cause*, and belongs also to the class of offence contained in the third charge, being another instance of illegal extension of jurisdiction; but it was distinguished by such circumstances of peculiar violence, and led to consequences so important, as to become properly the subject of a separate article.

The fifth charge is for his acceptance of the office of *Judge of the Sudder Dewany Adalut*, which was contrary to law and not only repugnant to the spirit of the Act and Charter, but fundamentally subversive of all its material purposes.

The sixth and last charge relates to his conduct in the provinces of *Oude and Benares*, where the chief justice became the agent and tool of Mr. Hastings in the oppression and plunder of the Begums.

"Such are the charges," said Sir Gilbert Elliot, "which I have thought it my duty to present at this time to the house. I will venture to say, that there never was an accusation which became better recommended to your enquiry and investigation; and it is matter of the most substantial comfort to my mind, that in accusing a fellow-citizen of crimes so atrocious, I do not trust to my own vain imagination and opinion, but am prompted in every line by the previous judgment of this House of Parliament, and of every authoritative body by whom the transactions were cognizable."

"The conduct of the Supreme Court, and especially of Sir Elijah Impey, had been the subject of complaint and accusation in India from the first months of its institution. He was accused by a majority of the Supreme Council, of one of the most atrocious offences that was ever laid to the account of man; and this made the subject of the *first charge*. Parliament judged it proper, on the report made by the select committee of the *Patna Cause*, to express its sense of the injustice and oppression of that judgment, by denouncing the defendants from its consequences, and ordering an indemnification for the losses and injuries they had sustained under it. Parliament has not only granted the indemnity desired by the members of council, for resisting the acts of the Supreme Court, but has expressly abridged that court of the extravagant and oppressive, as well as mischievous jurisdiction claimed in the instances comprised in my *third charge*; and these were similar, though somewhat inferior to the pretensions which produced the singular occurrences in the *Cossijurah Cause*, detailed in the *fourth charge*. The house recalled Sir Elijah Impey from his office of Chief Justice, expressly for having accepted that of judge of the Sudder Dewany Adalut, which is the subject of the *fifth charge*. And Mr. Hastings was at that moment under the prosecution of this house, by impeachment before the lords, for the very crime in which the *sixth charge* accuses Sir Elijah Impey as accessory."

The charges were referred to a committee of the whole house, and the 4th of February 1788 was the day appointed for its sitting. Before the committee proceeded to business, a petition was presented from Sir Elijah Impey, praying to be heard at the bar of the house. This was granted; and the

accused appeared, attended by his counsel, the Attorney-General (Pepper Arden) the Solicitor-General (Sir Archibald Macdonald) and assisted by his son Archibald Impey, then a young student at law. The defence was not read, but orally delivered. In this Impey had greatly the advantage over his distinguished friend, whose impeachment had led the way to his own. Hastings had read his defence, Impey spoke, distinctly and impressively, retaining his self-possession throughout his long and masterly address. In this oration, he spoke only to the first charge, declaring that, "his mind had been so strongly affected, and even his health so much impaired by the anxiety and horror he had felt at being charged with having committed a deliberate legal murder, that he feared he should be unequal to the exertion of entering into his defence against the other articles, before he was acquitted of the first. That the rest he considered as so light in comparison with this, that he had scarce any objection to their going without further discussion to the Lords, if this were decided against him. To this request Sir Gilbert Elliot gave his consent."*

Of Sir Elijah Impey's defence we are unable, at this advanced stage of our article, to afford our readers any adequate idea. The defence was printed by Stockdale, and corrected by Sir Elijah himself. Very few copies of it are in existence. There was not one in the British Museum until Mr. Impey there deposited his own private copy. It has been supposed that the greater part of the impression was bought up and destroyed.

The defence, a considerable part of which is printed in Mr. Impey's memoir of his father, and which is, therefore, accessible to all our readers, we conceive to be a triumphant one. It relates entirely, as we have said, to the Nuncomar charge. Much of the substance of it we have, in a manner, anticipated, when dwelling upon the events of the trial. After alluding to the specific charge upon which he had been recalled—a charge referring to a period much later than the date of the principal crimes which were imputed to him, he said —

"It is now twelve years since this nation has been deluded by false and perpetual informations, that the Supreme Court of Judicature had most absurdly, cruelly, and without authority obtruded the complex and intricate criminal laws of England on the populous nations of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, whose law, religion, and habits, were particularly abhorrent to them, that a Native of Bengal of high rank, had been tried and convicted on a

* *Annual Register*, 1788.

capital law of England for an offence punishable in the place where it was committed by a fine only ; and that the Court which had tried him, had no jurisdiction over his person ; that he was brought within the limits of the jurisdiction by force, and in that state, that the Court adjudged that its jurisdiction had attached upon him ; and to sum up all, in the words most deservedly odious to an English ear, he was finally executed under that, which if a law at all, was *ex post facto* law."

He then complained of the numerous calumnies that had been heaped upon him by the press—quoted in his favor the authority of Blackstone, who had greatly commended his conduct—of Mansfield, of Dunning, all of whom had been falsely reported to have condemned his proceedings, asked if such men would have supported him, if he had been the atrocious criminal his enemies had represented him to be. He then spoke to the immediate charge. firstly, of the question of jurisdiction—

"An Hindu inhabitant of Calcutta," said he, "was as much amenable to the English law in Calcutta, as if the said Hindu had been an inhabitant of London. The unjust, with equal propriety, objects to being tried by any law but that of his native country ; at the Old Bailey as at the Court-house in Calcutta. Gibraltar, in the kingdom of Spain, is—Calais, in that of France was—part of the kingdom of his realm admitting the laws of England to have been introduced into these towns, a French inhabitant of Calais, or a Spanish inhabitant of Gibraltar, having offended against the law under which he dwelt, might with equal reason complain, that he was not tried by the law of the place of his nativity, as an Hindu in Calcutta, because that town is situated in Bengal. There is nothing in the quality of an Hindu that makes the law of the country wherein he was born more attached to him than to a Frenchman or a Spaniard all must be obedient to the law that protects them. It was not till since the seat of government, and the collection of the revenue has been brought to Calcutta, that it has become populous by the influx of black inhabitants. The laws have not been obtruded on them, they have come to the laws of England."

He then commented on the case of Radachund Mittra—demonstrated that the inhabitants of Calcutta were conversant with the state of the law as regarded the capital nature of the crime of forgery, denied that Nuncomar had been brought to Calcutta by force, and showed that he was proved to be a settled inhabitant of Calcutta. He then proceeded to say :—

"I was particularly informed by a gentleman, formerly a member of the Council in Bengal and now of this House,* who has this day repeated to me the same information, that he had himself carried such sentence into execution against two Brahmans, without any disturbance, and even with the consent of the Hindus themselves. The prosecutor who sued for the execution in this case, was an Hindu, many of the witnesses were Hindus ; what the

* Mr. Barwell.

sentence must be, was well known to the prisoner, the prosecutor, and all the Hindus in the settlement ; yet no objection was made by the prisoner, or his counsel, before or after the sentence was pronounced, to the mode by which he was to suffer death ; no evidence was given of its being shocking to the religious opinions of the Hindus ; no mention is made of it in the address of the Hindus.

He then referred to the circumstances of the previous prosecution of Nuncomar in the Mayor's Court, proved that he could not have been tried a day earlier or a day later than he really was. He urged that the judges had been unanimous, that he had no recollection of any appeal in favour of Nuncomar ; maintained that there were no grounds for granting a respite ; spoke of the honors which had been shown to Nuncomar in prison, and went over, at much greater length, the ground travelled in the letter to Governor Johnston, which we quoted at an earlier stage of our article. He then commented upon the extraordinary story of Nuncomar's petition, intimating that he had a copy of it in his possession, and the conduct of General Clavering in keeping it back until after the execution, pointed out that the petition had been burnt by order of the Council as a libel on the Court, and concluded with* an unanswerable protest against the injustice of arraigning him individually, for acts committed by the Court in its collective capacity —

"Though called to answer," he said, "as for acts done by me singly" those acts not only were not, but would not have been done by me individually ; I was one member sitting in a Court consisting of four members, all the four members concurred in the acts imputed to me ; my voice, singly and by itself, could have had no operation. I might have been overruled by a majority of three to one. I was not more concerned in the proceedings than any other judge, I was less so than two. Informations had been laid against the criminal before two of the judges (Le Maistre and Hyde) who by committing him for felony, had applied this law to his case without my knowledge or privity. I was, indeed, applied to by the Council, as to the mode of his confinement, I had no right to revise the acts of the judges, their authority was equal to mine, I did what humanity required ; I made the strictest inquiries of the pundits as to the effect of his imprisonment on his caste and religion, I learned that they would not be hurt. I gave directions to the sheriff, that he should have the best accommodation the gaol would afford. The jailor and his family quitted their apartments and gave them up to him. I directed that every indulgence, consistent with his safe custody, should be granted him. These only were my individual acts, and these appear on the report of your committee. If it had

* With regard to Chambers he affirmed, that that judge was anxious to carry the sentence still further by seizing and sealing up all Nuncomar's effects both in Calcutta and Murshedabad.

been just so to do, it was not I but the Court which must have afforded protection to the criminal because the accuser of Mr. Hastings; it was not I but the Court that must have quashed that indictment; it was not I but the Court which retained the prosecution; had Sir Robert Chambers been overruled, it was not I but the Court that could have overruled him; it was not I but the whole Court that rejected the appeal—if there was an appeal—that refused the respite, and carried the sentence into execution. All signed the calendar; I executed no act of authority as a magistrate, but sitting in open Court assisted by all the judges; even those acts which are peculiarly objected to me, as mine individually, though I was the proper channel of the Court to pronounce them, are not my individual acts; as Chief Justice I presided in the Court—was the mouth of the Court; all questions put, or observations made by me, were with the judges sitting on my right hand and on my left; those questions and those observations were not mine, but the questions and observations of the Court. I did not presume to make observations in my summing up to the jury, without having first communicated with the judges and taken their unanimous opinion on every article.”

And then referring to his own personal character, said.

“It is hardly conceivable that any man whose constant habits of life have been known to be such as mine have been—and there are not wanting members in this house who know both how, and with whom the earlier part of my life, down to the time I quitted this country, had been spent—that I, a man, I will assume to say, who left this country with a character, at least unimpeachable, who maintained that character till May 1775. should, in the course of the last month, have been so totally lost to every principle of justice, every duty of office, every sense of shame, every feeling of humanity, to have been so deeply immersed and hardened in iniquity, as to be able deliberately to plan and steadily to perpetrate murder, with all the circumstances with which it is here charged and aggravated.—*Nemo repente fuit turpissimus.*”

“I now finally submit,” were his last words, “whether under all the circumstances, with which I have fatigued the house, it be consistent with its candour, wisdom and justice to put me alone at the bar of the House of Lords, to answer criminally for the judicial acts of an unanimous court.”

The speech made a deep impression on the house. Pitt said he scarcely doubted, that under all the circumstances of the case, he should have acted as Impey had done. The accusers were staggered and lost heart. Francis appears to have been astounded by the intimation that a copy of Nuncomar's petition, which he himself had consigned to the hangman as a libel on the court, was still in existence. When the committee met after the first hearing of the accused, Francis moved that Sir Elijah Impey should be required to produce a copy of the petition. To this the house objected, the motion was then amended, and it was carried, “that the

speaker should ask Sir Elijah Impey if he had any objection to produce the paper in question." Impey consented to do so ; but many days afterwards, when Francis rose to offer an explanation, he could do no more than acknowledge the fact, and accuse Hastings of having betrayed his colleagues, in publishing what had passed in the Secret Department.

This was on the 27th February. On the 28th of April, the evidence having been taken, Elliot began his reply—resumed it on the 7th, and completed it on the 9th of May. It was towards the end of this speech that he read the famous account of the execution of Nuncomar, attributed to Sheriff Macrable. Sir Richard Sutton, Mr Pulteney, the Solicitor and Attorney-General, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, spoke in favour of Sir Elijah Impey ; Fox, Burke, and Colonel Fullerton supported the impeachment. When the house divided, the motion was lost ;—*fifty-five* members voting for, and *seventy-three* against it

The Patna cause stood next on the list ; but as it was then before the Privy Council, the motion for its hearing was negatived ; and after some discussion in which Pitt took part, the further consideration of the charges was deferred to that day three months. And so ended the impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey !

He survived his acquittal for nearly a quarter of a century ; but took little part in public affairs. Mr. Impey says, that it was intimated to his father by Government, "through a proper channel, that he might even yet return to Calcutta as Chief Justice, and with that seat in the Supreme Council, which he had so earnestly and vainly solicited while in India."* But he wisely determined not to rush again into the burning fiery furanace, which had so nearly destroyed him. Chambers was appointed in his stead.

He, however, turned his thoughts towards Parliament, and in 1780 canvassed the borough of Stafford. Here the Sheridan interest opposed him. The Nuncomar charge was not forgotten. His opponents paraded the streets with an effigy of a black man hanging from a gallows. Impey was defeated ; but soon afterwards was returned for New Romney.

He was a regular attendant at the house—an useful member of Committee—but he seldom spoke. He felt that it was "too late a week" for him to enter, with distinction, upon a

* Impey had applied for the seat in Council, on the death of Monson—the death of Clavering, and again on the retirement of Barwell,

new theatre of action. His presence seems to have been galling to Fox, Sheridan, and others ; and on one occasion he brought down upon his head a shower of vituperation from his own assailants. He replied with dignity, but with spirit ; and the attempt to intimidate him does not seem to have been repeated.

We next find Sir Elijah Impey in the character of a country gentleman. In the spring of 1794, he removed from a residence, which he had occupied, on the skirts of Salisbury Plain, to Newick Park, in the county of Sussex ; and there, says Mr Impey, "became a busy and rather enthusiastic horticulturist and farmer. I hardly ever saw him on the morning of a working day at Newick, without a garden spade in his hand ; and he took his full share in most of the gardener's active operations. He enjoyed excellent health and excellent spirits. Time passed pleasantly away. He read, and he studied chemistry, fitted up a laboratory and experimentalised ; received his friends ; wrote verses ; superintended the education of his younger children, and corresponded with his elder ones ; and was beloved and respected by all the members of his household."

At the close of 1801, Sir Elijah Impey, with his wife and two of his children set out for Paris, where he had invested a part of his fortune, and was in a fair way to lose it. Here Impey fell in with the *cidevant* Madame Grand, now Madame de Talleyrand ; and here took place that remarkable meeting of Mr and Mrs Fox—Sir Elijah and Lady Impey—M. and Madame de Talleyrand—Sir Philip Francis and M. Grand, which in a former article, we ventured to pronounce apocryphal. Mr. Impey, however, vouches for the truth of the story—and *he was there*. We contradict it, on the authority of M. Grand, who declares that he never saw his wife after she left India, and especially denies the truth of the assertion, that he met her, at Talleyrand's. The matter is of no importance—though a somewhat curious point of enquiry—for, assuredly, a more extraordinary meeting never took place before or since.

Having settled his business—or rather having had it settled for him, for he lost his money, and was nearly losing his liberty—Impey returned to England. In the course of 1804, the family was again reunited at Newick. "The event," writes Mr Impey, "of my dear father's arrival and reception there lives still fresh and joyous in my memory, as the old family

"coach-and-four, which had met us at East Grinstead, drove through the Newick turnpike, and, rolling over the beautiful rural green, passed the scattered hamlet. in its approach to the church, we were greeted from the steeple by a merry peal of bells; handkerchiefs waved from every cottage window, and we were accompanied up Fount Hill, and through the Park lodge by a band of honest peasants, who ran at each side of the coach, shouting a hearty welcome to the good old man, who had so often encouraged their labours and assisted at their pastimes."

Impey was, at this time, seventy-two, but his trials were not over. He had not been long settled at Newick when he received from India, the heartbreaking tidings of the death of his beloved son Hastings. He never wholly recovered from the shock, though outwardly, after a time, he recovered his wonted spirits. Up to the year of his death he appears to have been healthy, cheerful and active, and in the enjoyment of constant social intercourse with his old friends, including the oldest—Hastings. He fell sick at last in September 1809, but made light of his ailments, and seemed, above all things, desirous not to distress or alarm his family. But the truth could not long be disguised. He rapidly grew worse, and though he retained his memory and all his intellectual faculties, and indulged in the old Latin quotations to which he was ever prone, it was obvious that death was approaching. On the 1st of October he breathed his last, "surrounded by an afflicted family, in charity with all men, and in communion with the holy Protestant Church of Christ" "The last and most affecting trait of his character," writes Mr. Impey, "whilst sense and sensibility yet remained, was displayed in the tenderness with which he treated, in his very last moments, a female servant who assisted in removing him from the sofa to his bed. He had leaned upon her bosom, so as to produce a slight ejaculation of pain. 'Did I hurt you, my dear?' were his last distinguishable words." In the family vault at Hammersmith, where a monument is erected to his memory, repose the ashes of the first Chief Justice of Bengal. His reputation has survived the calumnies of party; and our sons will yet do him the justice which our fathers have denied.

